

302426

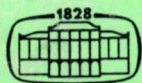
45/1998

Acta Linguistica Hungarica

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Volume 45, Numbers 1–2
1998

23



Akadémiai Kiadó
Budapest



Kluwer Academic Publishers
Dordrecht/Boston/London

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Acta Linguistica Hungarica publishes papers on the subjects of Finno-Ugric, Slavonic, Germanic, Oriental and Romance linguistics as well as general linguistics in English, German and French.

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

Institute for Linguistics
H-1250 Budapest, P.O. Box 19.
Phone: (36 1) 175 8285
Fax: (36 1) 212 2050
E-mail: kiefer@nytud.hu

Distributors:
for Hungary

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
P.O. Box 245, H-1519 Budapest, Hungary
Fax: (36 1) 464 5519

for all other countries

KLUWER ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS
P.O. Box 17, 3300 Dordrecht, The Netherlands
Fax: (31) 78 639 2254

Publication programme, 1998: Volume 45 (in 4 issues).
Subscription price: NLG 380.00 (USD 205.00)
per annum including postage & handling.

© Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1998

Acta Linguistica Hungarica is abstracted/indexed in Current Contents-Arts and Humanities, Arts and Humanities Citation Index and Bibliographie Linguistique/Linguistic Bibliography

45
1998

302426

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

MANAGING EDITOR:

F. KIEFER

ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

P. SIPTÁR



**AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
BUDAPEST**



**KLUWER ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS
DORDRECHT / BOSTON / LONDON**

**MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA**

GUEST EDITOR'S NOTE

This volume represents the second part of a collection of papers dealing with Hungarian syntax in the generative framework, published for technical reasons in two instalments: as *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 44(3–4), and *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 45(1–2). The papers in this volume all analyze the operators in the left periphery of the Hungarian sentence. Julia Horvath discusses WH-questions with a partially moved WH-phrase, i.e., questions in which a WH-operator in the WH-position of an embedded clause is assigned matrix scope by means of a scope marker. On the basis of a novel type of evidence involving embedded multiple questions, she argues that the WH-scope-marker is an expletive without binding a variable in theta position, and its associate is the embedded CP containing the partially moved contentive WH-phrase.

István Kenesei extends the analysis of focus phenomena also to others than those involving focus movement into a designated structural position, and associated with exclusiveness. Namely, he points out an adjunct–argument/head asymmetry in the case of ex-situ focus, and shows the asymmetry to be relevant also in the case of VP-focus. He examines the syntactic realizations of contrastive and non-contrastive VP-focus, which may consist in the placement of the head or one of its arguments into the designated focus position, depending on whether the V expresses activity, or achievement/accomplishment. He also provides an explanation of the argument–adjunct asymmetry attested.

Katalin É. Kiss's paper puts forward evidence against the standard view that a clause can contain only one focus operator—showing that the presence of the second, third, etc. focus is hidden by the fact that focusing triggers V-movement into the F head of the focus projection, as a result of which only the highest focus operator will surface preverbally.

Genovéva Puskás discusses the so far neglected topic of negation in Hungarian. She argues that sentential negation involves a Neg projection, a functional projection inside IP, with the V adjoining to *nem*, and *nem*+V moving out of IP into F. Negative Concord arises because negative phrases across the sentence enter into a representational chain, a member of which adjoins to SpecNegP, acquir-

ing sentential scope for the negative chain. Puskás places *sem* phrases in the specifier of a projection above the Focus Phrase, accounting for the different distribution of *sem* and *nem*.

Valéria Molnár's paper gives an extensive analysis of the syntactic, semantic, phonological, and pragmatic aspects of the ill-understood phenomenon called contrastive topic, analyzing it as an intersection between topic and focus in the pragmatic sense.

As in the first volume of this collection, the papers in the second volume, as well, analyze rich empirical material, some of which has not been taken notice of yet in the syntactic literature on Hungarian. Nevertheless, the papers intend to reveal, or test through the examination of Hungarian material, universal generalizations about human language.

Katalin É. Kiss

MULTIPLE TOPIC, ONE FOCUS?*

KATALIN É. KISS

Abstract

The paper argues against the assumption that in languages with structural focus, there can be several topics but only one focus per clause. The focus projection can also recur—however, because of cyclic V movement through the intermediate F positions into the highest F, only the highest focus precedes the verb. Three Hungarian constructions are analyzed in which the presence of a 2nd focus operator is proved by independent syntactic evidence. The in-situ analysis of the 2nd, postverbal focus is excluded on the basis that its scope corresponds to its S-structure position. Finally, it is shown that the recurring FPs can be separated by intervening TopP and QP projections, i.e., the whole left periphery of the Hungarian sentence is, in fact, recursive.

1. Introduction: the phenomenon and its standard explanation

In most languages in which the logical-semantic functions topic ('the subject of predication'; 'that which the sentence is about') and focus (an identifying operator) are structurally expressed, it has been found that a clause can contain more than one topic constituent but only one focus operator.

Consider, for example, Hungarian. A sentence can begin with any number of topic constituents, i.e., [+specific] arguments preposed from the predicate phrase. (The predicate phrase may be a VP, beginning with the V or a preverbal incorporated constituent; it may be an FP dominating the VP, beginning with a focus followed by the V; or it may be a QP dominating the VP/FP/another QP, beginning with a quantifier.) As (1a-d) illustrate, the order of topic constituents with respect to one another is free, and does not affect interpretation; (1a-d) all predicate about the pair 'John and Mary'.

* A version of this paper was presented at the Workshop on the Syntax of Finno-Ugric Languages of the Tromsø GLOW Colloquium, in June 1995. I am thankful for the comments of the audience of the workshop, as well as for the comments of István Kenesei and Giampaolo Salvi.

- (1) (a) János Marinak [_{QP} mindig [_{FP} egy doboz bonbont visz ajándékba]]
 John Mary-dat always a box bonbon.acc takes as.present
 'Mary, John always takes a box of bon-bons as present'
- (b) Marinak János [_{QP} mindig [_{FP} egy doboz bonbont visz ajándékba]]
 'Mary, John always takes a box of bon-bons as present'
- (c) János Marinak [_{VP} szeretném [_{CP} ha [_{QP} mindig egy doboz bonbont vinne ajándékba]]]
 John Mary-dat I.would.like if always a box bonbon.acc took as.present
 'I wish if John always took Mary a box of bon-bons as present'
- (d) Marinak János [_{VP} szeretném [_{CP} ha [_{QP} mindig egy doboz bonbont vinne ajándékba]]]
 'I wish if John always took Mary a box of bon-bons as present'

On the other hand, the Hungarian sentence appears to contain at most one focus operator per clause. (2b), in which two stressed constituents are squeezed between the V and a quantifier, is ungrammatical.

- (2) (a) János mindig EGY DOBOZ BONBONT visz ajándékba Marinak.
 John always a box bonbon.acc takes as.present Mary.dat
 'It is always a box of bon-bons that John takes Mary as present'
- (b) **János mindig MARINAK EGY DOBOZ BONBONT visz ajándékba.

This apparent asymmetry between topicalization and focusing has been generally derived from the assumptions that topic movement is adjunction, hence iterable; focus movement, on the other hand, is substitution into a specifier position. The actual phrasal node to which a topic constituent is assumed to be adjoined varies from description to description: it is a CP according to Ortiz de Urbina (1991), an IP according to Vallduví (1992) and King (1995), an FP according to Brody (1990), and a TenseP in the opinion of Tsimpli (1994). The focus operator has been assumed to appear in Spec,CP (Ortiz de Urbina 1991); in Spec,IP (Tuller 1992; King 1995); in Spec,FP (Brody 1990; Tsimpli 1994); in Spec,SigmaP (Laka 1990; Piñón 1992); and in Spec,PolP (Drubig 1994). According to Horvath (1994), the focus occupies the specifier of a functional projection the identity of which may vary from language to language.

In section 2 of this paper, I will show that topic movement cannot be adjunction, and therefore, as well as for other reasons, the structural explanation of the apparent asymmetry between topic movement and focus movement is untenable. Section 3 will argue that the alleged asymmetry between topic movement and focus

movement may actually not exist—by presenting sentence types in which there is evidence of a second (third etc.) focus operator. Section 4 will discuss the problem whether the second, third etc. foci of a sentence are in situ, or occupy the specifier position of a second, third etc. focus projection, and will opt for the latter view. It will show that the FP projection is recursive, merely its recursion is obscured by the fact that the recurring F heads are filled by successive cyclic V movement landing in the highest F, as a result of which only the highest focus will surface in preverbal position; the lower foci will be postverbal. Finally, section 5 will present some unexpected word order phenomena displayed by multiple focus constructions, and will argue that they are evidence of the fact that it is not simply the FP projection that can recur in the Hungarian sentence, but the whole [_{TopP} [_{QP} [_{FP}...]]] sequence.

2. Problems with the standard explanation

The standard explanation of why a sentence can contain more than one topic constituent in most languages is based on the assumption that topic constituents are adjoined to the predicate phrase, and adjunction is an iterable operation. However, as I have argued elsewhere (e.g. in É. Kiss 1992), there is evidence that topics cannot be adjoined to the predicate phrase; they must be dominated by a projection other than the projection dominating the predicate phrase. If they have their own projection, then it would be implausible to assume that they leave the specifier of this projection empty, and are merely adjoined to it; topic movement either first fills the Specifier of TopP, adjoining the 2nd, 3rd etc. topic constituents to TopP, or it fills the specifiers of multiple topic projections.

Consider again the case of Hungarian. In Hungarian, the maximal domain to which a topic constituent could be adjoined is a domain c-commanded by a quantifier. If Q-Raising, which is a visible, syntactic operation in Hungarian, is also adjunction, as has been traditionally assumed, then both topic movement and Q-Raising are instances of the same operation: adjunction to FP in sentences containing a focus, and adjunction to VP in focusless sentences. Topic movement and Q-Raising, however, are clearly different operations: they have different semantic interpretations; and they cannot be performed in any order, as demonstrated by (3a–d).

- (3) (a) Marinak mindenki minden alkalomra BONBONT visz ajándékba.
 Mary.dat everybody every occasion.for bonbon.acc takes as.present
 'To Mary, everybody takes bon-bons as present on every occasion'

- (b) Marinak minden alkalomra mindenki BONBONT visz ajándékba.
 (c) ??Mindenki Marinak minden alkalomra BONBONT visz ajándékba.
 (d) ??Mindenki minden alkalomra Marinak BONBONT visz ajándékba.

This argument, naturally, loses its force if Q-Raising is analyzed as substitution into the specifier position of a quantifier projection. In that case, the syntactic category of the predicate phrase is either VP, FP, or QP, and topic movement could be adjunction to the maximal projection constituting the predicate phrase.

A further, phonological argument, however, excludes this possibility, too. This argument is based on the observation that the predicate phrase (without the topic constituents) forms a separate domain for the Nuclear Stress Rule.

In Hungarian, the Nuclear Stress Rule puts phrasal stress on the initial constituent of each phrase. Notice how word stresses and phrasal stresses add up e.g. in the noun phrase and the postpositional phrase:

- (4) (a) a fehér ház 'the white house'
 x x
 x
 (b) a ház mögött 'behind the house'
 x x
 x
 (c) [[a fehér ház] mögött] 'behind the white house'
 x x x
 x x
 x

On the sentence level, the adding up of word stress and phrasal stresses stops at the left edge of the predicate phrase: the topic constituent is either unstressed, or if stressed, its stress is never stronger than the stress on the initial element of the predicate phrase.

- (5) [TopP János [QP mindig [QP mindenkinek [FP Péterre panaszkodik]]]]
 (x) x x x
 (x) x x
 (x) x
 John always everybody.dat Peter.on complains
 'John always complains to everybody of PETER'

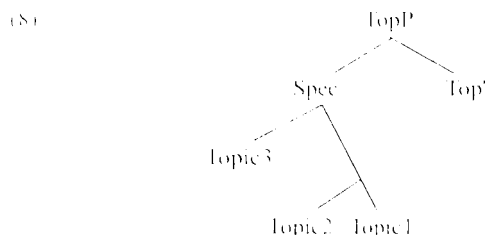
What (5) demonstrates is that in the Hungarian sentence, the predicate phrase represents an independent domain for the operation of the Nuclear Stress Rule. If the topic constituent were also adjoined to the projection constituting the predicate phrase, it could not be achieved that it receive a stress equal to or weaker than that of the initial constituent of the predicate phrase. A stressed topic (carrying new information) would receive the highest stress of the sentence, yielding a strictly ungrammatical stress pattern:

- (6) * $[_{QP}$ János $[_{QP}$ mindig $[_{QP}$ mindenkinek $[_{FP}$ Péterre panaszkodik]]]
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| x | x | x | x |
| x | x | x | |
| x | x | | |
| x | | | |

The assumption that the topic is adjoined to the predicate phrase would also make the prediction of the distribution of predicate adverbials impossible. Whereas various types of predicate adverbials can be adjoined to a VP, FP, or QP, they can never precede a topic – which is unexpected if topics are also adjoined to VP/FP/QP. Cf.

- (7) $[_{QP}$ (* hangosan) $[_{QP}$ János (* hangosan) $[_{QP}$ Marit (hangosan) $[_{QP}$ mindenkinek
 loudly John loudly Mary.acc loudly everybody.dat
 $[_{VP}$ (hangosan) $[_{VP}$ bemutatatta]]]]]
 loudly introduced
 'John introduced Mary to everybody loudly'

If topic constituents are not adjoined to the predicate phrase, they must have their own projection, presumably a TopP. The claim that they are adjoined to a TopP, whose Spec,TopP is always empty, would be theoretically absurd. It could be assumed that one topic constituent fills Spec,TopP, and the rest of them are adjoined to the one in Spec,TopP, undergoing some kind of absorption similar to multiple WH phrases, as follows:



This structure would lead to a problem in case a sentence adverbial intervenes between the topic constituents; the sentence adverbial would not c-command its scope, and it would be structurally undistinguishable from topic constituents.

There remain two solutions left for the description of multiple topic constructions: either one topic constituent is substituted into Spec,TopP, and the rest of them are adjoined to TopP; or each topic constituent is substituted into the specifier of a separate topic projection—assuming direct TopP recursion. Whichever solution should be the right one, it should, in principle, be available also in the case of the FP, as well; i.e., the alleged asymmetry between the iterable topic movement and the non-iterable focus movement remains unexplained.

In order to maintain that topic movement is a uniform operation, I will assume that every instance of it is substitution into Spec,TopP—i.e., I will assume TopP recursion in the Hungarian sentence.

The claim that maximal projections can directly recurse is not new; the constructions in (9a,b) are likely to involve PP and VP recursion, respectively.

(9) (a) [_{PP} [_P from [_{PP} right [_P behind the curtain]]]]

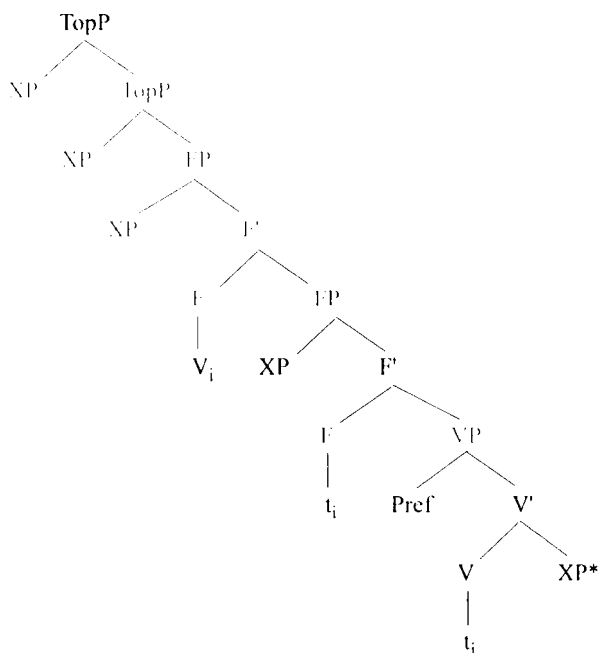
(b) I have [_{VP} seen [_{VP} John [_V cross the street]]]

Immediate XP recursion has not only been assumed in the case of lexical projections; thus Vikner (1990), Salvi (1990), Burchert (1994), and others have proposed CP-recursion for languages displaying V2 in embedded contexts, as well as for the German construction in (10):

(10) Ich frage mich [_{CP} ob [_{CP} dass [_{IP} die Maria ausgegangen ist]]]
 I ask myself whether that the Mary out gone is
 'I wonder if Mary has gone out'

If CP, as well as lexical projections, can directly recurse, then the direct recursion of maximal projections must be allowed by Universal Grammar. Therefore, I raise the hypothesis that the focus projection is also potentially recursive; merely its recursion is less transparent than TopP recursion is—as in Hungarian (and presumably in other languages displaying preverbal focus, as well), movement into Spec,FP goes together with V movement into F. Owing to V movement, only the highest focus operator will be preverbal; the lower ones will be left-adjacent to a verb-trace, as follows:

(11)



V-movement into F may be a consequence of the requirement that F be lexicalized. If the structure hypothesized in (11) turns out to be tenable, it means that the condition that triggers V movement into F is also satisfied by a V-trace in F.

Rizzi (1995) has also come to the conclusion that multiple topic movement is substitution into the specifiers of recurring TopP projections, and that the recursion of FP cannot be syntactically excluded, either. He, nevertheless, maintains that there can only be one structural focus position per clause, and he derives this restriction from an alleged semantic constraint. He claims that in an FP, the complement of the F head is to be interpreted as a presupposition; hence it cannot contain a lower focus, given that a constituent cannot simultaneously function both as presupposition and as focus. However, the existence of multiple focus constructions is a fact of language which is both intuitively obvious, and has been motivated in the semantic literature (e.g. Krifka 1991). The alleged constraint blocking multiple focus constructions is a mere stipulation; it is not clear why the complement in an FP should all be presupposed, or, from a different perspective, why the presupposed sentence part should form a syntactic constituent.

Below, I will discuss Hungarian sentence types which contain more than one focus, and, crucially, the focus function of the constituents in question is not based merely on intuition but has independent syntactic (or syntactic and semantic) evidence.

Notice that in the analyses below, I will only consider sentences containing more than one focus **operator**, i.e., more than one operator introducing a set and exhaustively identifying a proper subset of it (cf. É. Kiss 1995; 1996). A sentence with multiple constituents carrying new information, only one of which expresses exhaustive identification, does not count as a multiple focus construction in the framework to be proposed.

3. Sentences with multiple focus

Unquestionable evidence of the presence of a focus operator is provided by a clause-mate superlative predicative adjective or adverb—as in such superlative constructions, the focus operator introduces the set that serves as the ordering domain for the ordering property denoted by the adjective/adverb in the superlative (cf. Farkas–É. Kiss 1995). As demonstrated by (12a) below, a superlative predicative adjective or adverb is illicit in lack of a focus operator:

- (12) (a) *_[TopP] Mari _[VP] el énekelt a népdalt a legszebben]]
 Mary prev sang the folk-song-acc the most beautifully
 ‘Mary sang the folk-song the most beautifully’

- cf. (b) _[FP] MARI énekelt el _[VP] a népdalt a legszebben]]
 ‘MARY sang the folk-song the most beautifully’

- (c) _[TopP] Mari _[FP] A NÉPDALT énekelt _[VP] el a legszebben]]
 ‘Mary sang THE FOLK-SONG the most beautifully’

In (12b) the superlative adverb is interpreted on the domain of the set of contextually determined persons (singers) introduced by the focus *MARY*, and in (12c), on the domain of the set of contextually determined things (genres) introduced by the focus *THE FOLK-SONG*.

The focus operator providing the set of individuals serving as the domain ordered by the superlative is not necessarily preverbal. Compare the following examples:

- (13) (a) MIKOR énekelt el Mari a népdalt a legszebben?
 when sang prev Mary the folk-song the most beautifully
 ‘WHEN did Mary sing the folk-song the most beautifully?’

(b) MIKOR énekelte el MARI a népdalt a legszebben?
 'When did MARY sing the folk-song the most beautifully?'

(c) MIKOR énekelte el Mari A NÉPDALT a legszebben?
 'When did Mary sing THE FOLK-SONG the most beautifully?'

In (13a), the set of points of time introduced by the focussed *mikor* 'when' are ordered with respect to the beauty of singing; in (13b), on the other hand, the set of persons (singers) to which Mary belongs, whereas in (13c), the set of things (genres) a member of which the folksong is. *Mari* and *a népdalt* 'the folk-song', though in postverbal position, introduce a set of individuals and identify a subset of it just as in (12b,c); hence, just as in (12b,c), they must represent focus operators.

Certain types of constituents must land in Spec,FP position; it is plausible to assume that they have an inherent focus (operator) feature. Such are *only*-phrases, negative existential quantifiers, and interrogative WH-phrases. Sentences containing more than one of such phrases also represent clear cases of multiple focus constructions.

Consider first *only* phrases. As (14a,b) demonstrate, they cannot be left in situ; they must be focused. However, a postverbal *only*-phrase can also be grammatical if the preverbal focus slot of the sentence is filled by another focus operator, as in (14c).

(14) (a) *[_{TopP} János [_{VP} meg evett csak két süteményt]]
 John prev ate only two cookies-acc

(b) [_{TopP} János [_{FP} CSAK KÉT SÜTEMÉNYT evett_i [_{VP} meg t_i]]]

(c) [_{FP} JÁNOS evett meg CSAK KÉT SÜTEMÉNYT]
 'It was John who ate only two cookies'

Since a non-focused *only*-phrase is ungrammatical, the postverbal *only*-phrase of (14c) must be in Spec,FP. (Whether it occupies the specifier of an additional FP, or is preposed to the preverbal Spec,FP in LF, of course, remains to be examined.)

Negative existential quantifiers display a similar distribution:

(15) (a) *[_{TopP} János [_{VP} kezét fogott kevés emberrel]]
 John hand.acc shook few person-with
 'John shook hands with few people'

(b) [_{TopP} János [_{FP} KEVÉS EMBERREL fogott_i [_{VP} kezét t_i]]]

- (c) [_{FP} KI fogott kezét KEVÉS EMBERREL]?
 'Who shook hands with few people?'

According to the evidence of (15a,b), an NP containing the quantifier *kevés* 'few' must land in Spec,FP. This must be true of the postverbal *kevés*-phrase in (15c), as well.

Horvath (1981) claims that WH-phrases can only function as interrogative operators if they have a focus feature; in other words, interrogative operators form a subset of focus operators—see (16a,b). In multiple questions, nevertheless, the second WH-phrase follows the V—see (16c).

- (16) (a) * [_{TopP} János [_{VP} meg [_V vert kit]]]?
 John prev beat whom
 'John beat who?'

- (b) [_{TopP} János [_{FP} KIT_i vert [_{VP} meg t_i]]]?

- (c) [_{FP} KI vert meg KIT]?
 who beat prev whom
 'Who beat somebody, and who was the person beaten by him?'

Since an *in-situ* WH-phrase is impossible, it is reasonable to assume that the postverbal WH-phrase in (16c) is not *in situ* but occupies Spec,FP—at S-structure or in LF.

Hungarian also displays another multiple WH-construction: the 2nd (3rd etc.) WH-phrase can precede the one in Spec,FP. In this construction, yielding a pair-list reading, however, the WH-phrases on the left of the one in Spec,FP are interpreted as universal quantifiers, and their position also corresponds to that of universal quantifiers; i.e., they are presumably in Spec,QP. For example:

- (17) [_{QP} Ki [_{FP} KIT vert meg?]]
 who whom beat prev
 'Who beat whom? [For each person, who did he beat?]'

Consequently, the construction in (17) is not a multiple focus construction either formally or semantically.

Certain constructions involving the (In)definiteness Effect also provide indirect evidence of a second, postverbal focus operator.

As Szabolcsi (1986) observed, a large set of Hungarian predicates, including *alakul* 'form (intr.)' display the Indefiniteness Effect, requiring a [–specific] subject. Consider:

- (18) (a) Alakult egy énekkar.
 formed a choir
 'A choir has been formed'

- cf. (b) *Az énekkar alakult.
 the choir formed
 'The choir has been formed'

Interestingly, the Indefiniteness Effect is neutralized if an additional focus operator is inserted into the sentence:

- (19) Az énekkar TAVALLY alakult.
 the choir last year formed
 'The choir was formed LAST YEAR'

The focus operator neutralizing the Indefiniteness Effect must be other than the argument on which the Indefiniteness Effect is realized:

- (20) *_[FP] AZ ÉNEKKAR alakult
 'The choir was formed'

É. Kiss (1995) proposes the following explanation of these facts: As Szabolcsi (1986) observed, predicates like *alakul* 'form (intr.)' assert the existence of their theme; hence their theme cannot be realized by a [+specific] NP carrying an existential presupposition (or else a tautology arises). In the presence of a focus, on the other hand, the focus represents the main assertion. The focus asserts, instead of the existence of the theme, a circumstance (e.g. time, place, or manner) of its existence; therefore, the existence of the theme itself can just as well be presupposed, hence the theme can just as well be represented by a [+specific] NP.

Notice that even though the Indefiniteness Effect cannot be neutralized by the focusing of the theme argument involved in the Indefiniteness Effect, it is neutralized in (21), in which the preverbal Spec,FP is occupied by the theme argument involved in the Effect.

- (21) _[FP] AZ ÉNEKKAR alakult TAVALLY, _[FP] A ZENEKAR TAVALYELŐTT]
 the choir formed last year the orchestra the year before
 'It was the choir that was formed LAST YEAR, and it was the orchestra that was formed THE YEAR BEFORE'

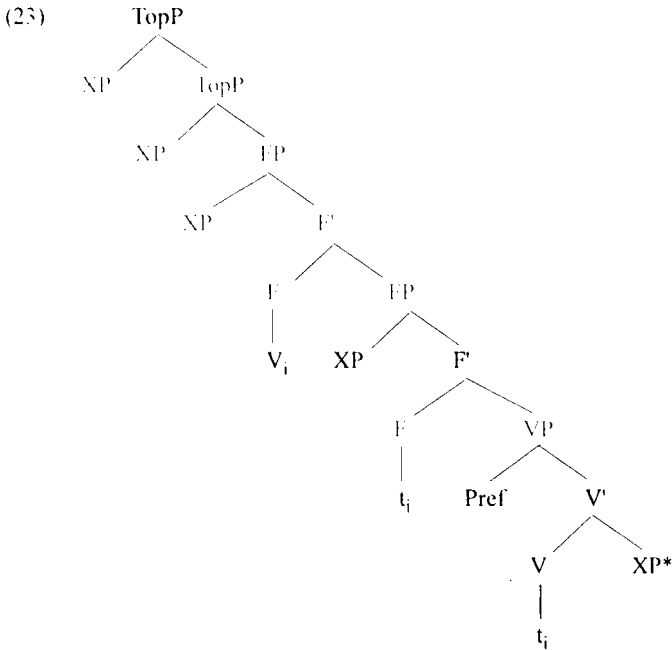
The only reasonable explanation of the disappearance of the Indefiniteness Effect in (21) is that it is due to the presence of a postverbal focus operator (the time adverbial).

So far, we have discussed examples in which the assumption of a second, postverbal focus operator is unavoidable—either because a second, postverbal constituent also has a morphologically overt, inherent focus feature, or because it licenses a syntactic phenomenon which can only be licensed by a focus operator. In addition to these cases, in sentences containing a preverbal focus, any postverbal XP associated with exhaustive interpretation and emphatic stress can be analyzed as a second, postverbal focus operator. Naturally, if the focus analysis of a postverbal emphatic constituent is not forced by morphological or syntactic reasons, its exhaustive interpretation, hence focus operator analysis is merely an option; it is triggered clearly only in an appropriate context, involving two sets of individuals, and a double contrast. For example:

- (22) (a) JÁNOST hívtam meg ÉN, és PÉTERT (hívták meg) A TÖBBIEK.
 John.acc invited prev I and Peter.acc invited prev the others
 'It was John who I (MYSELF) invited, and it was PETER who THE OTHERS (invited)'
- (b) CSAK JÁNOST hívtam meg ÉN; Pétert és Évát A TÖBBIEK hívták meg.
 only John.acc invited prev I Peter.acc and Eve.acc the others invited prev
 'It was only John who I (MYSELF) invited; Peter and Eve were invited by THE OTHERS'

4. Are postverbal foci in situ, or in Spec,FP?

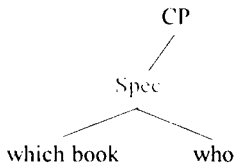
In section 3, we have arrived at the conclusion that the sentence types discussed represent multiple focus operator constructions, with one of the focus operators occupying an immediately preverbal position, the other standing behind the V. The next question to be answered is whether this sentence type can indeed be assigned the hypothetical structure in (11) involving FP-recursion, rewritten below as (23), or the postverbal focus is a focus in situ, adjoined to the focus in the preverbal Spec,FP slot invisibly, in LF.



Below, I will demonstrate that the *in-situ* analysis of postverbal foci is untenable. The strongest evidence against the *in-situ* analysis is based on scope facts. When an operator left *in situ* is adjoined to an operator preposed into scope position, as in (24a), the two operators will have identical c-command domains—see (24b), hence they will have identical scopes.

- (24) (a) [_{CP} Who has [_{VP} read which book?]]
 'For each person, which book has he read?'
 'For each book, who has read it?'

Cf. (b)



If two operators have identical scopes, they can be interpreted in either scope order. Accordingly, (24a) is ambiguous, as indicated by the glosses.

If a postverbal focus, e.g. that in (25), were also *in situ* in syntax, and would undergo adjunction to the preverbal focus in LF, we would expect it to be scopally ambiguous with respect to the preverbal focus. However, the post-verbal focus always has narrower scope, i.e., its scope corresponds exactly to its S-structure c-command domain. Cf.

- (25) CSAK KÉT LÁNY választott CSAK EGY KÖNYVET.
 only two girls chose only one book
 (a) 'There were only two girls who chose only one book'
 (b) '*There was only one book which only two girls chose'

- (26) CSAK EGY KÖNYVET választott CSAK KÉT LÁNY.
 only one book.acc chose only two girl
 (a) '*There were only two girls who chose only one book'
 (b) 'There was only one book which only two girls chose'

These facts provide evidence that the postverbal focus is moved into scope position—presumably Spec,FP—in S-structure already.

Consider also Hungarian sentences containing an interrogative operator and an *only*-phrase. In such sentences, the higher, preverbal Spec,FP must be occupied by the interrogative operator, and the *only*-phrase must be postverbal. We can predict this fact: the interrogative phrase is a sentence operator with maximal scope, which cannot be subordinated to a clause-mate operator (at least in Hungarian). Cf.

- (27) *Mindenki mit rendelt?
 everybody what.acc ordered
 'What did everybody order?'¹

An *only*-phrase, on the other hand, need not have maximal scope; it can freely be subordinated to clause-mate operators, e.g. to clause-mate quantifiers. Hence the only possibility for an interrogative operator–*only*-phrase interaction within a clause is that the latter is c-commanded by the former, as attested:

- (28) (a) Ki látogatta meg CSAK MARIT?
 who visited prev only Mary.acc
 'Who visited only Mary?'

¹ In fact, (27) does have an interpretation, irrelevant from our point of view, in which the two operators have branching readings, with neither operator subordinated to the other, i.e., with neither operator interpreted relative to the other. Under this interpretation, (27) is associated with the presupposition that everybody ordered the same thing.

(b) Kit látogatott meg CSAK MARI?
 whom visited prev only Mary.nom
 'Who did only Mary visit?'

(c) *Csak Mari látogatott meg KIT?
 only Mary visited prev whom

(d) *Csak Marit látogatta meg KI?
 only Mary-acc visited prev who.nom

(Notice that the relative order of the interrogative operator and the *only*-phrase is independent of their grammatical functions, that is, the Superiority Condition is not involved.)^{2,3}

The evidence against the *in-situ* analysis of postverbal foci serves as indirect argument for the structure proposed in (23), involving FP recursion. Structure (23)

² It is less obvious what renders the construction in (i) marginal:

- (i) (a) ??CSAK JÁNOS evett NEM KÉSSEL-VILLÁVAL..
 only John ate not knife.with-fork.with
 'It was only John who did not eat WITH A KNIFE AND A FORK'
 (b) ??NEM JÁNOS evett NEM KÉSSEL-VILLÁVAL..
 not John ate not knife.with-fork.with
 'It was not John who did not eat WITH A KNIFE AND A FORK'

These are the preferred versions of (ia,b):

- (ii) (a) CSAK JÁNOS nem evett KÉSSEL-VILLÁVAL..
 (b) NEM JÁNOS nem evett KÉSSEL-VILLÁVAL..

Olsvay (1997) argues that the negative particle in (ia,b) is the head of a negative projection (NEGP) immediately dominating FP. Apparently, NEGP is marginal unless *nem* c-commands the head of the V-chain. It is not clear whether this fact is the consequence of a semantic, syntactic, or perhaps phonological constraint.

³ As István Kenesei pointed out to me, the generalization that the postverbal focus operator has narrow scope with respect to the preverbal one does not extend to double questions. Consider (i), in which both interrogative operators have identical, maximal scope:

- (i) Ki vert meg kit?
 who beat prev whom
 'Who beat whom?' ['Which person beat someone, and who was beaten?']

In (i), neither interrogative operator is subordinated to the other; i.e., the interpretation of neither of them depends on the interpretation of the other; in other words, they display the so-called branching reading discussed in connection with (27) in footnote 1. Obviously, the generalization that in Hungarian operators c-command their scope at S-structure, and their surface order corresponds to their scope order, does not cover the marked case of branching quantification. Branching quantification will have to be taken care of by an auxiliary principle, which will also handle (i).

may at first sight appear to be problematic from the point of view of the Relativized Minimality Principle of Rizzi (1990)—as the higher focus will always bind its trace across the lower one. At a closer look, however, it becomes evident that a closed operator-variable chain nested between an operator and its trace does not, in general, block antecedent government. Consider the LF representations in (29a,b), and (30a):

(29) (a) ?Which person_i do you wonder what present_i to give t_i to t_j?

(b) [What_i did [everybody_i [t_i order t_j?]]]

(30) (a) [each film_i [more than 1000 people_i [t_i saw t_j]]]

cf. (b) More than 1000 people saw each film.

The observation that the intervention of a closed operator-variable chain does not block antecedent government between an operator and its trace is derived by Pesetsky (1989) from the **Nested Dependency Condition**, according to which, if two WH-trace dependencies overlap, one must contain the other. The Nested Dependency Condition appears to constrain not only WH-dependencies but $\bar{\Lambda}$ -dependencies, in general. As I have argued elsewhere extensively (cf. e.g. É. Kiss 1987), in the Hungarian VP, the order of postverbal constituents is not defined—consequently, in the case of dependencies with clause-mate roots, the Nested Dependency Condition is not applicable (i.e., in the case of a multiple focus construction, the creation of crossing dependencies can always be avoided).

In sum: in multiple focus constructions not only preverbal but also postverbal foci occupy scope positions. This property is only compatible with the FP-recursion analysis of multiple foci represented in (23). The proposed structure never leads to a violation of the Nested Dependency Condition—as the base-generated order of VP-internal constituents subject to focus movement is free.

5. Postverbal word order

It follows from the proposed analysis of multiple focus constructions that, whereas the first focus always immediately precedes the V, the second focus always immediately follows it. In fact, this is not the case; the following word order variants can all occur:

- (31) (a) CSAK KÉT LÁNY olvasott CSAK EGY KÖNYVET el a vizsgára.
 only two girls read only one book prev the exam.for
 'It was only two girls who read only one book for the exam'
- (b) CSAK KÉT LÁNY olvasott el CSAK EGY KÖNYVET a vizsgára.
- (c) CSAK KÉT LÁNY olvasott el a vizsgára CSAK EGY KÖNYVET.
- (d) CSAK KÉT LÁNY olvasott el az idén a vizsgára CSAK EGY KÖNYVET.
 only two girls read prev this year the exam-for only one book-acc

(31a) represents the word order variant corresponding to our expectations. (31b), in which the V+preverb sequence intervenes between the two foci, is still not very surprising; the V and the preverb, after all, constitute a single lexical and semantic unit; it is only natural that the V can incorporate the preverb also in syntax, and can take it along into F. What is unclear is what happens in (31c) and (31d), in which, in addition to the V and the preverb, also referential adjuncts (optional arguments?) intervene between the F and the lower focus.

Even though the word order variants in (31c,d) do not directly follow from structure (23), certain facts suggest that they are not manifestations of a free base-generated order with an *in-situ* focus, either; that is, structure (23) does not have to be discarded. These facts are as follows:

(i) It is not the case that anything can intervene between the V and a postverbal focus. Predicative adjuncts, for example, are marginal at best in this position:

- (32) (a) [_{FP} Mikor énekelt el [_{FP} JÁNOS [_{VP} a dalt a legszebben]]]?
 when sang prev John the song the most beautifully
 'When was it that it was John who sang the song the most beautifully'
- (b) [_{FP} Mikor énekelt el a dalt [_{FP} JÁNOS [_{VP} a legszebben]]]?
 when sang prev John the song the most beautifully
- (c) ??[_{FP} Mikor énekelt el a dalt a legszebben [_{FP} JÁNOS]]?
 when sang prev John the song the most beautifully

(ii) As Varga (1981) observed, in the Hungarian VP, stressed new information follows unstressed old information. Varga considers this tendency so strong that he marks sentences contradicting it (e.g. (33b) and (34b)) by a star. Here are some of his examples (stress is denoted in them by an accent mark):

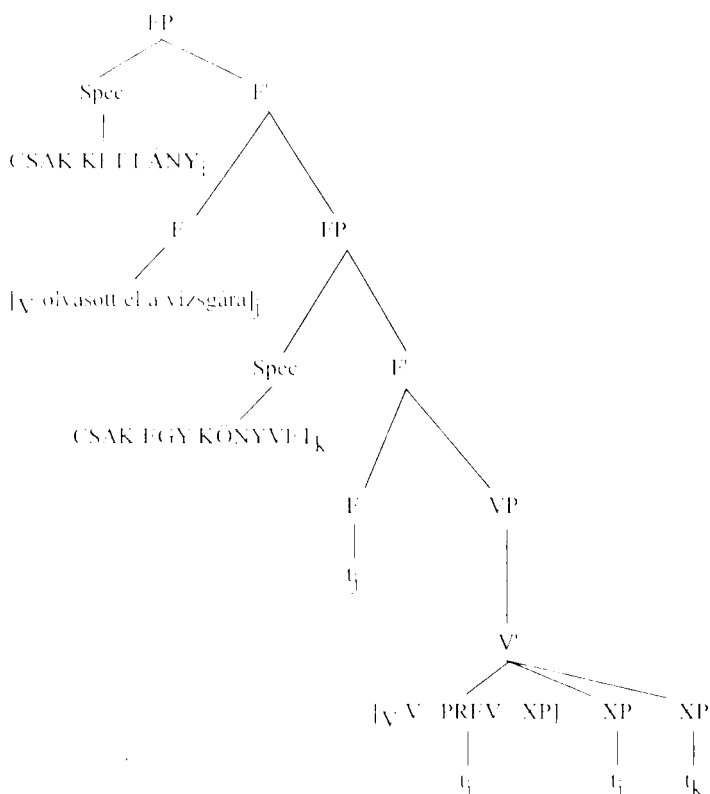
- (33) Mit csinált a konyhában?
 'What did he do in the kitchen?'
 (a) 'Begyújtott a konyhában a 'fiának.
 lit.3sg the kitchen-in the his son.dat
 'He made fire in the kitchen for his 'son'
 (b) *?'Begyújtott a 'fiának a konyhában.
 'He made 'fire for his 'son in the kitchen'
- (34) Hogy várta a fiát?
 'How did he wait for his son?'
 (a) 'Begyújtott a fiának a 'konyhában.
 'He made 'fire for his son in the 'kitchen'
 (b) *?'Begyújtott a 'konyhában a fiának.
 'He made 'fire in the 'kitchen for his son'

If postverbal foci were *in-situ* operators located in the VP, the constructions containing an immediately postverbal focus e.g. in (31)–(32) would be non-distinct with respect to stress and information structure from those in (33b) and (34b), ruled out by Varga. In fact, the pattern displayed by postverbal focus constructions is just the opposite of that observed by Varga: the postverbal focus is best if it immediately follows the V+preverb, and is worse at the end of the clause. Consequently, its stress pattern cannot be derived from the regularity determining the distribution of stressed and unstressed constituents in the VP; it must presumably be derived from the operation of a rule assigning obligatory stress to the constituents in Spec,FP.

In view of these facts, I conclude that the possible intervention of material between the V and a postverbal focus operator is not evidence of the *in-situ* position of the focus operator; on the contrary, the phenomenon must be explained in the framework of structure (23), containing a recursive FP.

Three potential explanations come to mind. First, it could be assumed that all the constituents intervening between the verb and the post-verbal focus are incorporated into the V, prior to V-movement into F. Under this assumption, e.g. (31c) would be assigned the following structure:

(35)



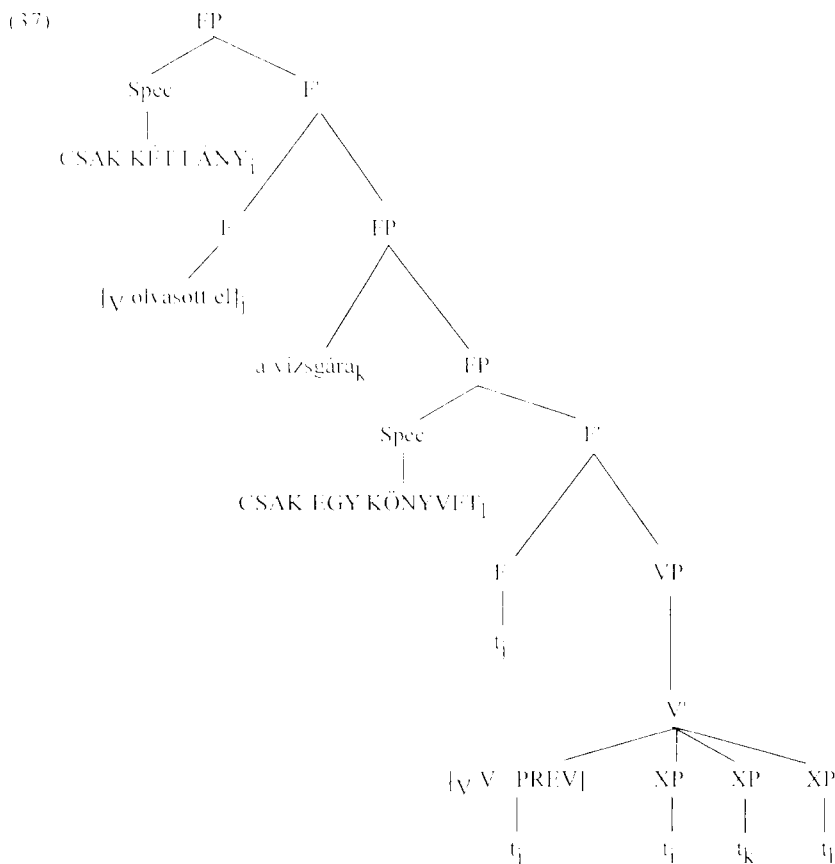
This proposal is unappealing because it employs a very powerful device, the limitations of which remain unclear. But what is even worse, it cannot account for the fact that a quantifier intervening between the V and the postverbal focus is in scope position. Consider the interpretation of (36):

- (36) CSAK JÁNOS vett minden ételből CSAK KÉTSZER.
only John took every dish.from only twice

- (a) 'It was only John who helped himself to every dish only twice'
(b) **'For every dish, it was only John who helped himself to it only twice'
(c) **'It was only John who only on two occasions helped himself to all the dishes'

If the quantifier phrase in (36) were part of the V, it would neither c-command its scope at S-structure, nor would it be available for LF-movement—and even if it were, there would be no appropriate LF landing site for it from which it would c-command the lower focus and would be c-commanded by the higher one.

Alternatively, it could be assumed that the constituents intervening between the verb and the postverbal focus operator are adjoined to FP, having undergone Scrambling. That is:

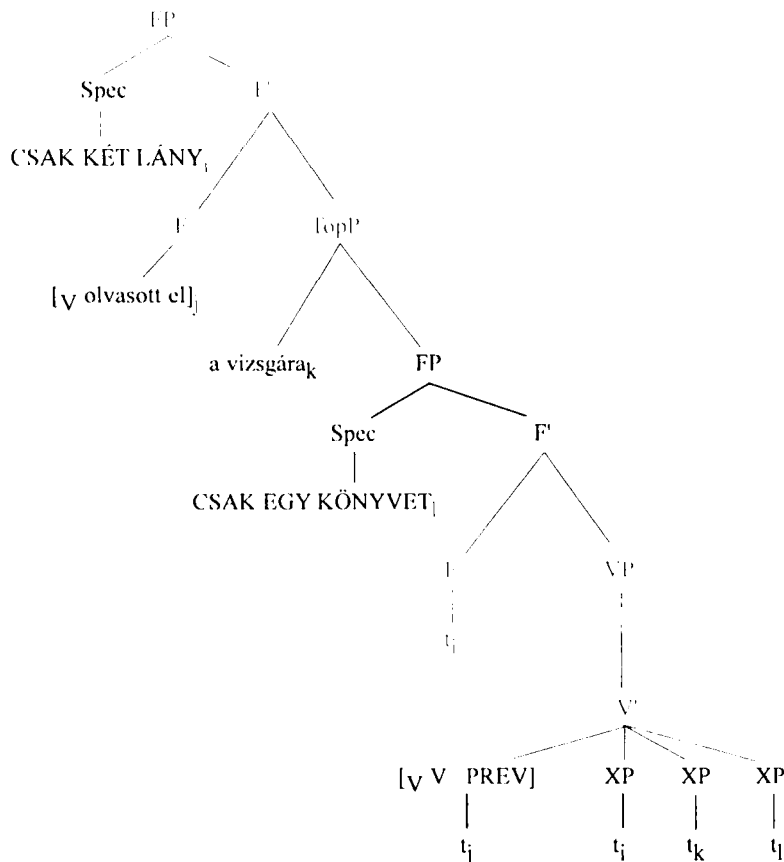


This solution raises the following problems: If Scrambling can adjoin constituents to the lower FP projection, it should be able to adjoin constituents to the higher FP, as well. A (non-quantified) constituent adjoined to the higher, preverbal FP, however, would be non-distinct from a topic constituent, which, as I have argued in sec-

tion 2, cannot be dominated by an FP node; it must have its own projection. If quantifiers occupy Spec,QP, then it would also be a problem how to distinguish quantifiers adjoined to the higher FP from pre-FP quantifiers Q-raised into Spec,QP.

As a third solution, we could interpret the constituents intervening between the V and the lower focus operator as constituents occupying the specifier positions of TopP and QP projections generated between the two FPs. That is, under this assumption, FP would not be directly recursive; the FP, QP and TopP projections would be allowed to recurse above the VP. In this framework, (31c) would have the following structure:

(38)



Consider also the structure of a sentence containing an intervening quantifier, as well:

- (39) [_{FP} Melyik tárgyól_i [_F kérdezett_j [_{TopP} a vizsgán_k [_{TopP} a tanár_l [_{QP} mindenkitől_m
 which subject.from asked the exam-at the teacher everybody-from
 [_{FP} CSAK EGY KÉRDÉST_n t_j [_{VP} t_j t_i t_k t_l t_m t_n]]]]]]]?]
 only one question.acc
 'In which subject did the teacher ask of everybody only one question?'

The structures assigned to (38) and (39) raise a technical problem: how does the movement of the V from the lower F to the higher F across the QP and TopP projections satisfy Subjacency? Perhaps the V proceeds through the empty Q and T heads. This assumption would not have any visible consequences: since movement is a last resort, and the Q and T heads need not be lexicalized by a V, the V will never surface in a Q or a T position; it will only proceed through them in case it is forced to move to an F position above QP/TopP.

The assumption that the sequence of TopP QP FP projections can recurse makes it possible to predict the full range of scope interactions among post- and preverbal quantifiers. In my previous work (e.g. É. Kiss 1987), I claimed that unstressed postverbal quantifiers, e.g. that in (40a), are *in situ* in the VP, having scope only over V', being in the scope of all preverbal operators. Stressed postverbal quantifiers, e.g. that in (40b), on the other hand, occupy Spec,QP at S-structure. Their postposing into postverbal position is due to a stylistic quantifier postposing rule which is invisible for LF; hence they have scope over FP, the domain they c-command at S-structure.

- (40) (a) [_{FP} Csak János kapott [_{VP} jelest mindegyik tárgyból]]
 only John got A+ each subject.from
 'It was only John who got an A+ in each subject'

- (b) [_{QP} t_i [_{FP} Csak János kapott jelest MINDEGYIK TÁRGYBÓL_i]]
 'In each subject, only John got an A+'

If the sentence contains two FPs, we predict that a stressed quantifier following both foci will be scopally ambiguous: it can be reconstructed to either the lower or the higher Spec,QP. This is, indeed, the case:

- (41) Csak egy félévben kapott csak János jelest MINDEGYIK TÁRGYBÓL.
 only one term.in got only John A+ each subject.from
 'Only in one term did only John get an A+ IN EACH SUBJECT'

- (a) [_{FP} Csak egy félévben kapott [_{QP} t_i [_{FP} csak János jelest MINDEGYIK TÁRGYBÓL_i]]]
 'There was only one term in which in each subject, it was only John who got an A+'
 (b) [_{QP} t_i [_{FP} Csak egy félévben kapott [_{FP} csak János jelest MINDEGYIK TÁRGYBÓL_i]]]
 'For each subject, there was only one term in which it was only John who got an A+'

If the quantifier is unstressed, it is analyzed to be *in situ*, and it is predicted, correctly, to have the narrowest possible scope:

- (42) [_{FP} Csak egy félévben kapott [_{FP} csak János [_{VP} jelest mindegyik tárgyból]]]
 'It was only in one term that it was only John who got an A+ in each subject'

If the quantifier precedes the lower focus, occupying the specifier of a postverbal QP, we predict it to have scope over the lower focus and to be in the scope of the higher focus. For example:

- (43) [_{FP} Csak egy félévben kapott [_{QP} mindegyik tárgyból [_{FP} csak János [_{VP} jelest]]]]
 only one term.in got each subject.in only John A+
 'It was only in one term that in each subject, it was only John who got an A+'

We predict straightforwardly, without the assumption of LF movement, the presence or lack of 'inverse scope' also in the following examples of Szabolcsi (1995):

- (44) Egy keddi napon harapott meg hatnál több kutya minden fiút.
 a Tuesday day.on bit prev six.from more dog every boy.acc
 'It was on a Tuesday that more than six dogs bit every boy'
 (a) a Tuesday > more than six dogs > every boy
 (b) a Tuesday > every boy > more than six dogs

- (45) Egy keddi napon harapott meg hatnál több kutya kevés fiút.
 'It was on a Tuesday that more than six dogs bit few boys'
 (a) a Tuesday > more than six dogs > few boys
 (b) ?? a Tuesday > few boys > more than six dogs

- (46) Egy keddi napon harapott meg minden kutya kevés fiút.
 'It was on a Tuesday that every dog bit few boys'
 (a) a Tuesday > every dog > few boys
 (b) * a Tuesday > few boys > every dog

In (44) under its (a) reading, the narrow scope universal quantifier is *in situ*, in the c-command domain and the scope of the existential quantifier occupying the lower Spec,FP. In (44) under its (b) reading, the wide scope universal quantifier has undergone stylistic postposing; at S-structure, it is in the specifier of the QP immediately dominating the lower FP. (In fact, it could also occupy the specifier of a QP dominating the higher FP, which would yield a reading not considered by Szabolcsi.) In (45), both quantifiers are in Spec,FPs, i.e. they occupy scope positions at S-structure. Consequently, their surface order also yields their scope order; the inverse scope in (45b) is ruled out. In (46), the universal quantifier is visibly in the specifier of a QP immediately dominating the lower FP; it is in scope position; hence the sentence has only reading (a). (If (45b) is, indeed, marginally acceptable, it can be derived by leaving both postverbal quantifiers *in situ*, in which case their scope order is free. For me, (46b) is not worse than (45b), so if we want to derive (45b), we should also derive (46b) in the same manner.)

Szabolcsi (1995) needs an extremely complex machinery, involving several invisible postverbal LF landing sites (in addition to the PF quantifier postposing rule which she also assumes) to derive the scope possibilities which fall out for free in the present system. A further advantage of the current proposal as compared to Szabolcsi's approach is that it allows to maintain the generalization of É. Kiss (1987; 1991; etc.) that in Hungarian, the S-structure and the LF representations of a sentence are non-distinct (at least with respect to the location of operators).

If the non-quantified constituents intervening between the V and a postverbal focus are topics, it follows that they must be [+specific]—similar to the topics preceding the maximal FP/QP. Unfortunately, the relevant judgements of informants are extremely uncertain—but those informants who find a grammaticality difference between e.g. (47a) and (47b), find the difference that we predict: they find (47b), containing a non-specific topic between the focus and the V, to be worse. Cf.

- (47) (a) [_{FP} Melyik tesztben követett el [_{FP} CSAK JÁNOS [_{VP} súlyos hibát]]]
 which test.in committed prev only John grave mistake
 'In which test was it only John who committed a grave mistake?'

- b) ?[_{FP} Melyik tesztben követett el [_{Topic} súlyos hibát [_{FP} CSAK JÁNOS]]]

The observation made above in connection with (31), according to which predicative adjuncts are barely tolerated between the V and a postverbal focus, also supports the hypothesis that the intervening constituents, unless quantifiers, are topics associated with a specificity requirement.

If topic projections and topics can occur both outside and inside the maximal Focus Phrase, then, naturally, the semantic-logical terms ‘notional subject’ (or ‘subject of predication’) and ‘notional predicate’ will have to be redefined. The highest operator projection (FP or QP) will function as the notional predicate, and the constituents occupying Spec,TopP positions outside the notional predicate will function as the notional subjects.

In sum: it is not the FP projection but the whole FP QP TopP sequence that can recurse in the Hungarian sentence. The assumption of FP QP TopP recursion predicts a large—but not unlimited—set of scope interactions between pre- and postverbal operators, which are attested in reality.

6. Conclusion

The observation that in languages with structural focus, there can be several topics but only one focus per clause, has been claimed to be based—at least in the case of Hungarian, but presumably in other languages, as well—on false perception. A clause can contain both multiple topic and multiple focus projections—merely FP recursion is obscured by the fact that the filling of Spec,FP goes together with successive cyclic V movement into F, as a result of which the highest focus immediately precedes the finite verb, whereas the rest of the foci follow it.

The assumption of FP recursion is supported by both theoretical and empirical considerations. Since there is empirical evidence indicating that topic movement, similar to focus movement, is a substitution transformation, an asymmetry between topic movement and focus movement with respect to recursion would be unmotivated. That is, if topic projections can recur, focus projections should be able to recur, as well.

Indeed, as has been demonstrated, a clause can contain more than one constituent having an inherent focus operator feature which must be checked in Spec,FP. Two constructions have also been discussed in which syntactic phenomena that can only be licensed by a focus operator are licensed by a postverbal—in all probability focussed—constituent. I have argued that these sentence types all contain two focus operators: an immediately preverbal focus, sitting in the specifier of an FP whose head position is filled by the lexical V moved into it, and a postverbal focus, sitting in the specifier of a lower FP whose head is filled by the trace of the moved V.

The possibility that the postverbal focus is a focus *in situ* has been excluded on the basis that its scope always corresponds to its S-structure position.

It has been found that the recurring focus projections are not necessarily adjacent. The material between the V occupying the head position of the higher FP, and the specifier of the lower FP consists of topic and/or quantifier constituents. It has been concluded that these constituents occupy the specifiers of intervening TopP and QP projections, i.e., not simply the FP can recur in the Hungarian sentence, but the sequence [_{TopP} [_{QP} [_{FP} ...]]]

References

- Brody, M. 1990. Remarks on the order of elements in the Hungarian focus field. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian 3*: 95–121. JATE, Szeged.
- Burchert, F. 1994. CP-recursion in French embedded infinitives and declaratives. In: *Linguistics in Potsdam 1*: 13–25.
- Drubig, H.-B. 1994. Island constraints and the syntactic nature of focus and association with focus. In: *Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340, Bericht 51*. Tübingen.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987. Configurationality in Hungarian, Reidel, Dordrecht.
- É. Kiss, K. 1992. Move alpha and scrambling in Hungarian. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian 4*: 67–98. JATE, Szeged.
- É. Kiss (ed.) 1994. *Discourse configurational languages*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- É. Kiss, K. 1995. The definiteness effect revisited. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian 5*: 63–88. JATE, Szeged.
- É. Kiss, K. 1996. Identificational focus versus information focus. To appear in *Language*.
- Farkas, D.–É. Kiss, K. 1995. On the comparative and the absolute reading of superlatives. University of California at Santa Cruz Working Paper in Linguistics.
- Horvath, J. 1981. *Aspects of Hungarian syntax and the theory of grammar*. Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, Los Angeles CA.
- Horvath, J. 1994. Structural focus, structural case, and the notion of feature assignment. In: É. Kiss, K. (ed.): *Discourse configurational languages*, 28–64 Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- King, T. 1995. *Configuring topic and focus in Russian*. CSLI Publications, Stanford CA.
- Krifka, M. 1991. A compositional semantics for multiple focus constructions. In: *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT) 1*: 127–158. Cornell Working Papers 11, Ithaca.
- Laka, I. 1990. Negation in syntax. On the nature of functional categories and projections. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.
- Olsvay, Cs. 1997. A syntactic analysis of negative universal quantifiers in Hungarian, ms. Budapest.
- Ortiz de Urbina, J. 1991. *Parameters in the grammar of Basque*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Pesetsky, D. 1989. Wh-in-situ: movement and unselective binding. In: Reuland, E.–ter Meulen, A. G.B. (eds): *The representation of (in)definiteness*, 98–130. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Piñón, C. F. 1992. Heads in the focus field. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian 4*: 99–122. JATE, Szeged.
- Radford, A. 1988. *Transformational grammar*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Rizzi, L. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Rizzi, L. 1995. *The fine structure of the left periphery*, ms, Université de Genève.

- Salvi, G. 1990. La sopravvivenza della legge di Wackernagel nei dialetti occidentali della Penisola Iberica. In: *Medioevo Romano* 15: 177–210.
- Szabolesi, A. 1986. From the definiteness effect to lexical integrity. In: Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds): *Topic, focus and configurationality*, 321–48. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Szabolesi, A. 1995. Strategies for scope taking. *Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Working Papers in the Theory of Grammar*, Vol. 2, No. 1.
- Tsimpli, I. M. 1994. Focusing in Modern Greek. In: É. Kiss, K. (ed.): *Discourse configurational languages*, 176–206. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Tuller, L. 1992. The syntax of postverbal focus constructions in chadic. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10: 303–34.
- Vallduví, E. 1992. *The informational component*. Garland, New York.
- Varga, L. 1981. A topicről és a fókusz utáni elemek sorrendjéről. [On topics and the order of elements following the focus]. In: *Magyar Nyelv* 27: 198–200.
- Vikner, S. 1990. *Verb movement and the licensing of NP-positions in Germanic languages*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Geneva.

Address of the author: Katalin É. Kiss
 Research Institute for Linguistics
 Hungarian Academy of Sciences
 Színház u. 5–9.
 11–1250 Budapest, P.O. Box 19
 Hungary
 e-mail: ekiss@nytud.hu

MULTIPLE WH-PHRASES AND THE WH-SCOPE-MARKER STRATEGY IN HUNGARIAN INTERROGATIVES*

JULIA HORVATH

Abstract

The paper assesses earlier analyses of the Wh-scope-marker/partial Wh-movement phenomenon and tests an alternative account developed on the basis of Hungarian in Horvath (1995; to appear) in light of novel types of evidence, involving **scope-marker constructions with multiple contentive Wh-phrases in their embedded clause**. Multiple Wh data in Hungarian are shown to offer an ideal testing ground, due to the variety of syntactic options they display. After reviewing the two major syntactically distinct types of multiple Wh-questions, we explore the adequacy of direct Wh-dependency/Wh-chain accounts and indirect Wh-dependency/CP-as-associate accounts of Wh scope-marking. We discuss three distinct sets of phenomena involving multiple Wh-phrases generated in the embedded CP of the scope-marker construction, which differ from each other in terms of having interrogative ([+WH]) vs. declarative ([-WH]) selecting matrix predicates, and in terms of the syntactic position of the multiple Wh-phrases within their embedded CP. The first two patterns analyzed will confirm Horvath's (1995; to appear) conclusion regarding the inadequacy of any direct dependency account, and the superiority of the indirect dependency approach for this empirical domain. The third pattern of data, involving "split" multiple Wh-interpretations, will be shown to provide (further) evidence in favor of a **syntactic** association between the "scope marker" and the embedded CP motivated in Horvath (1995; to appear), as opposed to Dayal's (1994) **purely semantics-based** indirect dependency account.

1. Introduction

The so-called "Wh-scope-marker" strategy of wide scope assignment for Wh-phrases has attracted increasing attention in recent years. This strategy—existing as an alternative to overt Wh-extraction in a variety of languages—has been studied for instance in languages such as German, Romani, Hindi, Iraqi Arabic. This construction—often referred to also as the "partial Wh-movement" construction—involves a Wh-dependency established neither by movement of the Wh-phrase to

* I would like to thank Katalin É. Kiss, Anna Szabolcsi, and an anonymous referee for helpful comments and for input with respect to grammaticality judgements of my data.

the relevant scope-position, nor by the Chinese-type Wh-in-situ strategy based on unselective binding. It exhibits a minimal, expletive-like Wh-word (e.g. *was* 'what' in German) which appears to indicate the scope of a "true" (= contentive) Wh-phrase occurring in a lower clause. Crucially, in languages with overt Wh-movement, such as e.g. German (see example (1) below), the construction exhibits the contentive Wh-phrase not in situ, but in a Spec of CP position in the lower clause, i.e., the contentive Wh-phrase undergoes "partial" Wh-movement.

- (1) Was glaubst du mit wem Hans spricht?
 what think-2sg you-nom with who-dat Hans-nom talk-3sg
 what think you with whom Hans talks
 'With whom do you think that Hans is talking?'

Until recently there have been two major types of analyses proposed in the literature attempting to come to grips with this curious and challenging phenomenon. The first type is best represented by McDaniel's (1989) proposal made on the basis of the analysis of partial Wh-movement in German and in Romani. This proposal, as well as related subsequent work, such as Rizzi (1992), McDaniel-Chiu-Maxfield (1995), Müller (1995), assume the existence of an A-bar chain—using McDaniel's term, a "Wh-chain"—constructed between the Wh-scope-marker and the partially moved contentive Wh-phrase and its trace(s). In other words, the Wh-scope-marker is taken to be an expletive element base-generated in an A-bar position whose associate is the contentive Wh-phrase in the lower clause. The other, alternative, type of analysis, was developed by Dayal (e.g., 1994) based primarily on the Wh-scope-marker construction in Hindi. It denies the existence of any direct dependency between the Wh-scope-marker and the contentive Wh-phrase. Instead it proposes a purely semantic account, maintaining that the "Wh-scope-marker" is in fact an ordinary Wh-quantifier ranging over propositions, and the embedded clause with the contentive Wh-phrase in its Spec is a normal question, interpreted as a set of propositions. The denotation of this clause is assumed to get integrated into the matrix clause as the restriction on the matrix Wh-quantification, via functional application. Thus the relevant interpretation is taken to arise based on an indirect Wh-dependency, mediated by the embedded CP of the scope-marker construction.

In Horvath (1995; to appear) it is argued that neither of these two leading analyses can provide an adequate account for the syntax of the Wh-scope-marker phenomenon universally, contrary to their proponents' claims. This conclusion is based primarily on an in-depth investigation of the Hungarian Wh-scope-marker construction in relation to the predictions made by each earlier account, namely on

the one hand by the “Wh-chain proposal” (this analysis has specifically been adopted as the account for Hungarian e.g. in Brody 1993), and on the other hand, by the alternative allegedly universal purely semantic indirect Wh-dependency account presented by Dayal (1994). What the detailed analysis of the Hungarian case suggests is that there is no chain, at any level of representation, formed between the position of the contentive Wh-phrase and the Wh-scope-marker, contrary to the direct Wh-dependency proposals. However, contrary to Dayal’s claim, there does need to be a **syntactic**, rather than only an interpretive, relation between the “Wh-scope-marker” and its CP-“associate”, namely the embedded clause with the contentive Wh-phrase. Crucially, the syntactic nature and position of the contentive Wh-element in the embedded CP is shown to play a central role in the well-formedness of the scope-marker construction; evidence is presented that (a) there are clauses that are well-formed full questions, yet they cannot serve as the embedded clause of a scope-marker construction (e.g. yes/no questions), and (b) there are clauses that are impossible as ordinary interrogative clauses, but still occur as the embedded CP of scope-marker structures (see e.g. (5a–b) in section 2 below). Thus it is concluded there that contrary to Dayal’s analysis, the embedded clause of the (Hungarian) scope-marker construction is not just a fully interpreted normal interrogative clause that combines with the matrix Wh only in the semantics.

In view of these findings, Horvath (1995; to appear) puts forward and motivates an analysis (to be summarized in section 2) under which (a) the Wh-scope-marker is considered an “expletive”, rather than the true Wh-phrase ‘what’, in the sense that it does not bind a variable in a theta-position, in contrast to Dayal’s (1994) Hindi-based proposal, and (b) its associate is **the embedded CP containing the partially moved contentive Wh-phrase**, not the Wh-phrase whose scope the “Wh-scope-marker” seems to mark, in contrast to McDaniel (1989) and related work.¹

Multiple Wh-phrases base-generated in the same minimal clause and their scope-taking options are of great intrinsic interest quite independently of the issue of Wh-scope-marker constructions. They have been playing a central role in the

¹ The use of the term “expletive” here is not meant to imply that it is a “pure” expletive in the sense of Chomsky (1995), such as English *there*. It obviously has some features, including Case and Wh-features. The question of its status with respect to interpretability, the issue of what may drive the assumed “expletive replacement” process from the perspective of versions of the minimalist program, and possible alternatives are explored in work in progress, and to some extent also in Horvath (to appear). The reason why we refer to this “Wh-scope-marker” (and to its non-Wh counterpart *az* ‘it’) loosely by the term “expletive” in Horvath (1995; to appear) and also in the present study is that at least in Hungarian, this element **does not originate in a theta-position, like arguments do**. In Horvath (to appear) we have argued that what occurs in the corresponding theta-position is the embedded CP (whose Spec contains the contentive Wh-phrase). While we have assumed covert CP-movement to provide the necessary linking of these two elements, as noted in Horvath (to appear), an “extraposition”-based alternative to establish the link is not inconceivable.

development of the syntax of A-bar dependencies and of the LF-interface ever since Chomsky's (1973) discussion of Wh-island phenomena, of multiple Wh-question interpretation, and of superiority effects. Also from the point of view of cross-linguistic variation, the topic has been subject to extensive investigation. For obvious reasons, the occurrence of more than one (contentive) Wh-phrase in a single clause and their interpretive options promise to be of special importance in obtaining further insight into the proper analysis of the Wh-scope-marker/partial Wh-movement construction as well. Yet, in previous studies, this type of empirical material has been utilized only marginally, if at all.

The present paper will explore precisely this kind of multiple Wh data. We will assess the empirical adequacy of the account of the Wh-scope-marker strategy developed and argued for on independent grounds by Horvath (1995; to appear), and compare it with the above alternative analyses on the basis of the predictions it makes in relation to Wh-scope-marker data that involve **more than one contentive Wh-phrase originating in a single clause**. Notice that Hungarian is of great interest in this respect since it exhibits a wider than usual array of overt syntactic options involving multiple Wh-phrases. These can be expected to provide good testing grounds for the proposed analyses of the Wh-scope marker construction. Furthermore, the behavior of multiple Wh-phrases occurring in a single clause under the Wh-scope-marker strategy may turn out to be informative with respect to the nature and proper analysis of multiple Wh-constructions as well. Before the outset, a word of warning is in order here regarding the status of the Hungarian multiple Wh-data used in section 4, involving Wh-phrases in postverbal positions. Whereas the contrasts between our starred and non-starred examples do exist, it should be noted that there is considerable variation in acceptability judgements for the non-starred examples, such as (8), (10a–b), and (13), mainly depending on the choice of the particular Wh-phrases in these kinds of examples (on some relevant factors, see section 3, and fn. 7), and speakers tend to consider this construction-type rather marginal to begin with. The multiple Wh data that the arguments of sections 5 and 6 are based on—exhibiting all Wh-phrases in pre-verbal position—give sharper, clear-cut judgements. Yet I believe that the somewhat marginal empirical material discussed in section 4 too provides a sufficient degree of relevant acceptability contrasts to support the point to be made there.

After reviewing the proposal developed in Horvath (1995; to appear), we will survey the behavior of multiple Wh-phrases in a variety of syntactic contexts. It will be argued that the pattern of grammatical structures and corresponding interpretive options found would present serious problems for any direct Wh-dependency/Wh-chain analysis of the Wh-scope-marker construction (at least of the Hungarian type). However, the observations would be adequately accounted for by

CP-as-associate approaches such as Horvath's (1995; to appear) syntactically based CP-as-associate account, or Dayal's semantically-based indirect dependency proposal. Furthermore, some additional previously unanalyzed **"split" multiple Wh interpretation** phenomena, to be presented in section 6, will be shown to (further) undermine the initial appeal of Dayal's purely semantic version of the CP-as-associate analysis (see Dayal 1994, and its evaluation based on independent considerations in Horvath to appear).

2. The CP-as-associate analysis

Hungarian—an overt Wh-movement language—has been argued to exhibit a Wh-scope-marker/partial Wh-movement construction as well (Horvath 1995; to appear), which, at least superficially, appears to be parallel to the corresponding construction of German exemplified in (1) above. Consider for instance the Hungarian example (2) and the contrast with its scope-marker-less counterpart (3a), and with an ordinary sentence involving a selected Wh-question complement (3b).²

- (2) Mit mondta, hogy kit hívott fel Mari?
 what-acc said-3pl that who-acc called up Mary-nom
 what said they that whom called up Mary
 'Who did they say that Mary had called up?'

- (3) (a) *Mondták, hogy kit hívott felMari?
 said-3pl that who-acc called up Mary-nom
 'Who did they say that Mary had called up?'³

² The variation in the form of verbal inflection in the Hungarian data, as e.g. in (2) vs. (3a), which is not reflected in different glossing is due to the well-known definite vs. indefinite object agreement phenomenon. Hungarian finite object clauses trigger the definite conjugation on the matrix verb; however if there is an indefinite accusative-marked noun phrase moved from such a clause into the matrix, then the agreement-marking on the matrix verb "switches" to indefinite. Similarly, an accusative-marked Wh-scope-marker, *mit* 'what'—being indefinite—triggers indefinite agreement on the verb of the matrix clause. This phenomenon is not directly involved in the present discussion. (On its relevance for the proposed analysis of scope-marking, see Horvath 1995; to appear.)

³ The star on example (3a) is only meant to indicate that the sentence is ungrammatical under the interpretation given in the translation. In other words, the embedded Wh-phrase cannot receive matrix construal, hence the sentence cannot be interpreted as a Wh-question. It has an interpretation irrelevant for our discussion, under which it is grammatical: it can be a matrix yes/no question with an embedded interrogative complement, equivalent to the English *Did they tell (you) who Mary had called up?*.

- (b) Kérdezték, hogy kit hívott fel Mari.
 asked-3pl that who-acc called up Mary-nom
 'They asked who Mary had called up.'

The (alleged) Wh-scope-marker *mi-t* occurs at S-structure in the surface A-bar position which is the landing site for ordinary moved interrogative Wh-phrases. This position—shown also in the embedded clauses in (2)–(3)—is a Spec position to the right of the complementizer *hogy* 'that' (usually taken to be identical to the landing site of moved Focus-phrases in the language). The occurrence of the landing site in a post-complementizer position can be attributed to the fact that Hungarian, like some other agglutinative-type languages, has a "split" in the functions of C in the sense of Bhatt–Yoon (1992). Specifically, *hogy* is a pure subordinator, and it cooccurs with a preposed interrogative Wh-phrase which functions as a clause-type indicator in the Spec of a lower (A-bar) functional projection—M(ood)P, or possibly, F(ocus)P. Since it is the latter assumption that is made in most recent work on Hungarian clause-structure, I will be referring to the landing site as the Spec of FP position, but it must be noted here that our analysis is in no way dependent on whether the relevant A-bar position in cases like (2)–(3) is indeed the Spec of FP, or whether an FP projection even exists.

Notice now that similarly to the better-known case of German scope-marking, when a matrix clause has a "Wh-scope-marker" in Hungarian, then a Wh-phrase in the Spec of the embedded clause, can, and in fact must, take matrix scope. This is demonstrated by the contrast between sentence (2) above, having a matrix verb *mond* that selects a [–WH], i.e., non-interrogative, embedded clause, and the structurally parallel, yet ungrammatical example (4), having an interrogative ([+WH]) selecting matrix verb, *kérdez*.

- (4) *Mit kérdezték, hogy kit hívott fel Mari?
 what-acc asked-3pl that who-acc called up Mary-nom
 what asked they that whom called up Mary

Clearly, it is the presence of the scope-marker *mi-t* in (2) that makes it possible for the moved Wh-phrase of the embedded clause to receive matrix construal (cf. the impossibility of matrix scope for the Wh-phrase in (3a)). Example (4) shows that the presence of the scope-marker not only permits, but actually forces matrix scope for the Wh-phrase in the Spec of the embedded clause; this is what accounts for its ungrammaticality, given that the matrix verb of (4) requires an interrogative, i.e., [+WH], complement, and this is unavailable when the presence of the "Wh-scope-

marker” forces the sole Wh-phrase in the embedded Spec to take matrix scope (cf. the grammatical (3b) above).

As discussed in detail by Horvath (1995, to appear), the existence and effect of the alleged “Wh-scope-marker” in Hungarian receives striking confirmation from the following type of contrasting data (capitalization is used to indicate emphatic stress on the constituent, and the sentence is pronounced with falling, i.e., non-echo-question, intonation):⁴

- (5) (a) Mit kérdeztek, hogy KIVEL találkoztam-e?
 what-acc asked-3pl that WHIO-WITH met-1sg-y/n Q prt
 what asked they that WITH WHOM whether I met
 (‘With whom did they ask whether I had met?’)

- (b) *Kérdezték, hogy KIVEL találkoztam-e.
 asked-3pl that WHIO-WITH met-1sg-y/n Q prt
 they asked that WITH WHOM whether I met

The crucial observation is that a Wh-phrase in Spec position normally cannot cooccur with the yes/no question particle (-e) in a single non-echo question clause, as demonstrated by (5b) above. This phenomenon is a manifestation of the universal

⁴ In my own judgement, sentences like (5a) are fully acceptable—and if pragmatically well-chosen, not even particularly difficult to interpret—, provided that the preposed Wh-phrase of the embedded clause bears emphatic/focus stress. A. Szabolesi (p.c.) points out that type (5a) sentences are acceptable for her, but not necessarily every specific instance. Curiously however, speakers often find this kind of sentence unacceptable. A revealing comment, made by an anonymous referee is that such a sentence sounds actually worse than examples like (4). What this suggests is that when speakers reject sentences like (5a), they might be trying to process it not as a Wh-scope-marker construction, but as a sequence of (matrix) questions. This latter construction is universally available, and often parallel in meaning to true Wh-scope marker structures: e.g. the English *What did they say? Who did Mary call up?* is parallel in meaning to our Wh-scope-marker example (2). (For arguments establishing the existence of true Wh-scope-marker constructions, in addition to the English-type “sequence of questions” case, see Horvath 1995; to appear.) If some speakers only permit (or have a strong preference for) the latter, universally available construction-type, this might explain why they reject examples like (5a) while accepting “plain” examples like (2). The reason is that taking the (alleged) embedded clause in this particular type of example as a second matrix question is indeed impossible, since this clause would have both a Wh-phrase and a yes/no question operator. Obviously, this hypothesized variation in the availability of actual Wh-scope-marker sentences among speakers would need to be tested empirically. A prima facie independent observation may be of relevance here: certain speakers—for instance K. É. Kiss (p.c.)—seem to prefer having no overt complementizer (*hogy* ‘that’) introducing the second clause of the alleged scope-marker construction, such as in example (2). This preference does not exist for me, and is not characteristic of embedded clauses in Hungarian; thus it could be indication of a preference to analyze such examples as consisting of a sequence of two main clause questions.

ban on multiple Wh-questions involving a Wh-phrase and a yes/no question operator with the same scope, which has been noted as early as in Chomsky (1973). In light of this, the grammaticality status of the non-echo question (5a), which is clearly superior to that of (5b), reinforces the conclusion that the presence of the “Wh-scope-marker” *mi-t* in the matrix clause enables the partially moved Wh-phrase to take scope in the matrix clause, thus rendering the otherwise uninterpretable embedded clause a well-formed yes/no question complement.

The above properties of partial Wh-movement constructions could in principle be derived by the formation of a Wh-chain between the partially moved contentive Wh-phrase in Spec and the Wh-scope-marker, as actually proposed by McDaniel (1989) and related studies, based on German and Romani. Under this account, the Wh-scope-marker construction is a base-generated counterpart of the Wh-chain created via full Wh-extraction. Furthermore, McDaniel (1989) takes advantage of this parallelism between movement-derived Wh-chains and her Wh-scope-marker chains—claimed to be formed at S-structure—to account for the striking successive cyclicity property observed in the case of Wh-scope-marker constructions, and for the existence of complex-NP and Wh-island effects. These particular island phenomena, i.e. these apparent subjacency effects, do hold with respect to Hungarian scope-marking as well. Yet, a more comprehensive comparison of the syntactic properties of full Wh-movement and of alleged Wh-scope-marker chains with respect to Hungarian data in Horvath (1995; to appear) reveals a number of significant unexpected discrepancies between the two cases.

Specifically, contrary to the predictions of a Wh-chain analysis, the Hungarian Wh-scope-marker strategy is shown to manifest no CED effects, and on the other hand, it permits no Wh-scope-marking for a Wh-phrase that is in an A-bar Spec position of a complement DP or an infinitival clause. As for the antecedent government requirement, expected to hold within the alleged Wh-chain, the construction exhibits no factive island effect, not even when the contentive Wh-phrase is nonreferential (e.g. an adjunct) in the sense of Rizzi (1990). Furthermore, the pattern of negative island effects is shown to be non-uniform, contrary to Rizzi's (1992) prediction derived from the Wh-chain hypothesis, and crucially, its variation is argued to be dependent not on the nature of the contentive Wh-phrase, but on the choice of the matrix predicate (see Horvath to appear, 5.2).

Consideration of Case and agreement effects in the Wh-scope-marker construction (manifested overtly in Hungarian) make the Wh-chain proposal even less plausible, and at the same time point to the alternative hypothesis developed in Horvath (1995; to appear). The Hungarian Wh-scope-marker, even though appearing in an A-bar Spec position at S-structure, still exhibits Case and triggers appropriate agreement that are independent of, and may be in conflict with, the Case and agreement properties of the contentive Wh-phrase with which it allegedly would be

forming a chain. In fact, the Case and agreement triggering behavior of the Wh-scope-marker turns out to depend on the properties of the particular predicate of its clause, namely, on what grammatical function the embedded CP whose Spec contains the contentive Wh-phrase bears with respect to the predicate.

In view of the evidence uncovered, Horvath (to appear) puts forward an alternative syntactic analysis for the Wh-scope-marker construction, which is based on the hypothesis that **the associate of the expletive “Wh-scope-marker” (*mi* ‘Case’ ‘what’) is the CP whose Spec contains the contentive Wh-phrase, and that the alleged Wh-scope-marker itself is not an A-bar expletive at all, but is simply a morphologically Wh instance of the set of A-position “expletives” (like *az* ‘Case’ ‘it’) taking finite CPs as their associate**, familiar from earlier studies of subordination in Hungarian (on what we mean by “expletive” here, see fn. 1). Crucially, under this proposal there is no chain or any other direct syntactic relation (such as A-bar binding or LF-movement) between the contentive Wh-phrase and the Wh-expletive(s). Instead, the relation between the Wh-phrase and the Wh-expletive indicating its scope is shown to emerge **indirectly, namely as a by-product of independently motivated syntactic processes**. The proposed account is based on the following two assumptions: (a) the existence of a highly restricted process of operator-feature transfer from [Spec, XP] to XP, proposed independently for pied-piping phenomena by Webelhuth (1992), and applied specifically to Wh-feature transfer from Spec to the dominating CP, by Ortiz de Urbina (1990) in his analysis of the overtly attested clausal pied-piping phenomenon of Basque; (b) the existence of an expletive–CP association inherent in Hungarian clausal subordination, and “expletive replacement”—an LF movement process instrumental in the satisfaction of Full Interpretation (FI) in expletive constructions (Chomsky 1986)—which adjoins to the expletive an appropriate contentful associate.

What assumptions (a) and (b) mean in our case is that the embedded CP having a Wh-phrase in its Spec (more precisely in Spec of FP) has the option of undergoing Wh-feature transfer (percolation), as a result of which this CP itself gets defined as a **Wh-constituent**, i.e., a Wh-phrase of the category-type CP; as such it matches its clause-mate Wh-expletive, and hence can adjoin to it properly, via the general, non-Wh-specific mechanism of expletive replacement. The same process may repeat itself in successively higher and higher clauses, until the position of the topmost occurrence of a Wh-expletive is reached. (The Wh-expletive itself is taken to move overtly from its original A-position—a Case-checking Spec position—to the A-bar Spec position of Wh-checking, due to its Wh-morphology.) As a result of the adjunction of the embedded CP to the Wh-expletive

in the Spec of the matrix clause, the contentive Wh-phrase in the Spec of this adjoined CP may now take matrix scope.⁵

As demonstrated in detail in Horvath (to appear), this particular CP-as-associate proposal for the Wh-scope-marker/partial Wh-movement construction can account for the otherwise puzzling apparent inconsistencies involving the subadjacency and antecedent government effects observed, and can furthermore correctly predict the selectional and clause-typing phenomena characterizing the construction (see the data in (2), (4) and (5a) above).

Since our account outlined above involves the whole CP moving into, i.e., linking up with, the matrix Spec position, whereas under the alternative Wh-chain analysis of McDaniel (1989) and most subsequent work on partial Wh-movement, it is only the partially moved contentive Wh-phrase itself that is linked to that Spec position, it obviously may be very informative to check what happens when there is more than one contentive Wh-phrase generated in the embedded CP of the scope-marker construction. However before turning to an exploration of whether and how additional contentive Wh-phrases occurring in the embedded clause of the construction may acquire scope and interpretation, we need to examine how multiple Wh-phrases function in the regular, full movement interrogatives of Hungarian.

3. Multiple Wh-phrases in Hungarian interrogatives

Hungarian—in contrast to English, German, etc.—permits more than one Wh-phrase to appear in peripheral A-bar position in the same clause. Superficially, this generalization seems to place Hungarian in the class of overt Wh-movement languages described by Rudin (1988) in which multiple Wh-questions involve overt preposing of all Wh-operators, such as Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Romanian. As noted by Rudin, these languages actually display some systematic differences in the syntax of their multiple Wh-interrogatives, hence instead of proposing a single uniform account for the apparent multiple Wh-movement phenomenon observed in all these cases, she motivates a two-way subdivision, and cor-

⁵ On how matrix scope-taking is possible from the given syntactic position (i.e., from within the Spec of CP occupying the matrix Spec), see our discussion in section 5. The account assumed there is based on some independent observations—mainly from phenomena of bound anaphora—motivating a minimal extension of the traditional definition of c-command. Under the version formulated and argued for by Hornstein (1995) (reproduced as our (21) in section 5), certain—but not all—Spec nodes would c-command positions occurring outside of their own maximal projection. The proposed minimal extension turns out to yield—under our CP-as-associate analysis—the options of matrix scope for the relevant Wh-phrases.

respondingly proposes distinct analyses for the Polish-type manifestation of the construction on the one hand (including also Czech, and Serbo-Croatian), and for the Bulgarian/Romanian-type on the other hand. The case of Hungarian multiple Wh-questions however seems not to fall together either with the Polish or with the Bulgarian/Romanian pattern of distinctive properties identified by Rudin. For instance, Hungarian permits multiple Wh-extraction, and Wh-island violations (see (6a–b)) like Rudin's Bulgarian/Romanian type, yet it exhibits freedom of nominative/accusative Wh-phrase order (i.e., lack of an alleged superiority effect), like Rudin's Polish type does (see (7a–b)).

- (6) (a) *Ki_i kinek_j akart Mari hogy bemutassunk t_i t_j?*
 who-acc who-dat wanted Mary-nom that introduce-subjunc-1pl
 'Who did Mary want us to introduce to whom?'

- (b) *Kivel_i kérdezted hogy hol_j találkozott János t_i t_j?*
 who-with asked-2sg that where met John-nom
 ('With whom did you ask where John had met?')

- (7) (a) *Mit ki rendelt?*
 what-acc who-nom ordered

- (b) *Ki mit rendelt?*
 who-nom what-acc ordered
 'Who ordered what?'

In fact, Hungarian multiple Wh-questions have been discussed independently of Rudin's classification, in a broader context, as in É. Kiss (1993). It has traditionally been observed in studies of quantification in Hungarian that scope-relations in this language tend to be overtly represented, as a result of overt A-bar movement of the various scope-taking elements. Thus, in a sense, the possibility of multiple overtly moved Wh-phrases in the same clause comes as no surprise within this language. Yet the question that needs to be addressed in this case too is what are the possible landing sites, and what interpretation is associated with the particular structures observed.

É. Kiss (1993) points out that in Hungarian multiple Wh-questions such as e.g. (7a–b) above, only one of the proposed Wh-phrases gets interpreted as a true interrogative operator, namely, only the immediately pre-verbal one; any additional ones occurring to its left function as universal quantifiers with a distributive meaning, similar to 'each'. She also notes that in contrast to Wh-in-situ multiple Wh-ques-

tions (such as in English), these Hungarian questions have no singular interpretation; only a pair-list reading is available for them. Specifically, for instance in the case of (7a) there is a set of things known to the speaker from the context/situation, and what he/she asks is for the listener to specify for each member of this set who ordered it. Conversely, in (7b) the interrogation involves the direct object, i.e., there is a set of persons given in the context, and the speaker only wants to know for each person what he/she ordered.

Importantly for our present discussion, É. Kiss argues that corresponding to their distinct interpretation, the preposed Wh-phrases of these Hungarian multiple questions do not occupy symmetrical, i.e., identical types of, syntactic positions. Instead, only the immediately pre-verbal (rightmost) one—being interpreted as a true interrogative quantifier—occurs in the S-structure position for interrogative Wh-phrases (assumed to be Spec of FP); the additional one(s) must be in a left-adjoined pre-Focus position, which is known to be the landing site of (overt) Quantifier raising in the S-structure of Hungarian. What is clear from this brief description of the Hungarian multiple Wh-question construction is that the standard GB-type analysis for multiple Wh-questions relying on the adjunction of the additional Wh-phrases to the one in Spec, and on Higginbotham and May's (1981) absorption mechanism as commonly construed in the analysis of the English-type multiple Wh construction would not be correct for this case. The amalgamation of two or more Wh-phrases (at LF) to form a single Wh-operator binding several variables, as under the accepted absorption-based analysis, would incorrectly predict a uniform, and possibly also symmetrical interpretation for the different Wh-phrases of the clause (unless blocked by some interfering factor, such as an ECP or superiority violation). Contrary to what is expected under this type of account, the Hungarian multiple Wh-questions under discussion exhibit only pair-list readings, they have only their rightmost, preverbal Wh-phrase (in Spec of FP, with the verb adjoined to the head F) interpreted as a normal interrogative operator, and they are unambiguous with respect to Wh-scope.⁶

In addition to the pair-list type multiple Wh-construction considered above (henceforth referred to as "Type I"), Hungarian also exhibits another type of multiple Wh-question, one which superficially seems like having one Wh-phrase moved to the Spec of FP position, and the other(s)—similarly to English multiple Wh-questions—appearing in situ at S-structure. Yet, on closer examination, this latter (henceforth "Type II") construction as well can be argued to have all Wh-phrases

6 Interestingly, Hornstein (1995) motivates and develops a theory of multiple interrogation that eliminates the absorption mechanism from UG altogether.

in A-bar positions, and not to permit *in-situ* Wh-phrases at S-structure. The construction is exemplified in (8) below:

- (8) (a) Ki rendelt mit?
 who-nom ordered what-acc
- (b) Melyik fiú táncolt melyik lánnyal?
 which boy-nom danced which girl-with

The two Wh-phrases in (8a–b) both function as true interrogatives, in contrast to the case of (7a–b). These questions have an interpretation under which there are two given sets: for instance in (8a), a set of persons known to the speaker as having ordered something and a set of things (e.g. dishes on the menu) that have been ordered by them; the interrogation involves the pairings that hold between the members of the two sets.⁷ This latter reading seems to correspond to the interpretation attributed in Higginbotham and May (1981) to Wh-phrases having undergone absorption. In fact (8a–b) appear to parallel the type of multiple question interpretation manifested by English questions with inherently d(iscourse)-linked Wh-phrases, as in (9):

- (9) Which guest ordered which dish?

É. Kiss (1993; 1996, fn 6) claims that the postverbal Wh-phrases in questions like (8a–b) are in fact not *in situ*, but occupy lower A-bar positions, which are right-dislocated focus positions, or, possibly, are additional (lower) Spec of FP positions attributed to FP-recursion in Hungarian clause-structure. While the precise position involved here has not been convincingly determined at this point, there is evidence suggesting that the postverbal Wh-phrase of such constructions is in a lower A-bar position rather than *in situ*. Beyond the asymmetrical scope relations holding between the preverbal and the postverbal Wh-phrases, there is supporting evidence from prosody, as well as from syntactic distri-

⁷ Some Hungarian speakers seem to accept Type II multiple Wh-questions only when the Wh-phrases in it are uniform, as in *Ki hívott meg kit?* 'Who invited whom?'. The corresponding interpretation for such speakers presupposes a single set of persons given in the context, and the interrogation involves only which role each played with respect to the predicate (e.g., in our example, which of the two was the Agent and which one was the Theme). While this is clearly one major type of interpretation for the Wh-phrase–V–Wh-phrase pattern, it is not the only one, as noted in the text, in relation to (8a–b). Examples like (8a–b) involve two distinct sets. But even in more permissive dialects, such as mine, these kinds of examples are acceptable only when the members of each set denoted by a Wh-phrase are known from the context, and crucially, what the question is asking for is merely the exhaustive specification of the particular one-to-one pairing that holds between the members of these sets.

bution: postverbal Wh-phrases in multiple Wh-questions bear emphatic/focus stress, and their syntactic positions in the clause appear to be more limited than those of their non-Wh counterparts (see e.g. (10) below, suggesting a right-dislocated position for the Wh-phrase):⁸

- (10) (a) Kinek mutatott be a főnök a gyűlésen KIT?
 who-dat showed in the boss-nom the meeting-at WHIO-acc
 to whom introduced the boss at the meeting whom
 'To whom did the boss introduce who at the meeting?'
 (b) ??Kinek mutatott be a főnök KIT a gyűlésen?
 who-dat showed in the boss-nom WHIO-acc the meeting-at
 to whom introduced the boss whom at the meeting
 (c) Kinek mutatott be a főnök egy ügynököt a gyűlésen?
 who-dat showed in the boss-nom an agent-acc the meeting-at
 to whom introduced the boss an agent at the meeting
 'To whom did the boss introduce an agent at the meeting?'

Interestingly, the claim that the postverbal Wh-phrases of Hungarian Type II multiple questions are not *in situ*, but in A-bar positions at S-structure receives further support based on their d-linked-type interpretation, i.e., from the parallelism between Type II

⁸ K. É. Kiss (p.c.) points out that in contrast to the data in (10a–b), some examples with postverbal Wh-phrases sound better when the Wh-phrase is not in clause-final position, as e.g. in (i) below:

- (i) Ki adott át mit Jánosnak?
 who-nom gave over what-acc John-dat
 'Who handed over what to John?'

This kind of example may be construed as a case where the postverbal Wh-phrase is in a lower Spec of FP position, given É. Kiss's (1996) FP-recursion hypothesis. Notice that in the somewhat less acceptable example (10b), the postverbal Wh-phrase was neither immediately post-verbal as it is in (i), nor clause-final (as in (10a)); so this type of example is more informative than (i) with respect to whether or not postverbal Wh-phrases in multiple Wh-constructions occur *in situ*.

At the same time, it has to be noted here that the arguments suggesting that postverbal Wh-phrases of Hungarian Type II multiple Wh-questions must be in A-bar positions rather than *in situ* are not particularly strong, and further study would be needed to reach a firmer conclusion regarding this issue. While the discussion in the text assumes them to occur in A-bar positions, this assumption only plays a minimal role in our argumentation. It is involved only in the first of the three phenomena to be discussed, and even there, the argument hinges only on whether post-verbal Wh-phrases can, rather than must, occur in A-bar positions.

questions like (8a) and the English (9) we observed above. Hornstein (1995) points out—based on English data—that simple, not inherently d-linked Wh-phrases, like *who*, *what*, may receive a d-linked interpretation in multiple interrogatives only if, they occur in an A-bar position. So the fact that *mit* ‘what’ in (8a) displays a (necessarily) d-linked interpretation constitutes further indication that it occupies an A-bar position.

So what we can conclude from the above discussion—and what we will draw on below—is that both types of multiple Wh-questions in Hungarian have all of their Wh-phrases in A-bar positions. In the case of Type I multiple questions, a Wh-phrase occurs in the surface position for quantifiers—to the left of Spec of FP—and it actually functions as a distributive universal quantifier, taking wide scope over the immediately pre-verbal true interrogative, which occupies the Spec of FP position (e.g. (7)). In the case of Type II multiple interrogatives, one Wh-phrase occurs in the Spec of FP position left-adjacent to the finite verb, and the post-verbal Wh-phrase(s) occur(s) in some additional lower (focus-bearing) A-bar position (e.g. (8) and (10)). Given this, we may now turn to cases of Wh-scope-marker constructions within which—unlike in the instances discussed in earlier studies—more than a single Wh-phrase gets generated in the embedded CP, and we will explore the predictions made for them by the alternative accounts outlined in sections 1 and 2.

4. Scope-taking out of Wh-islands in Hungarian: Extraction, “in situ”, and the scope-marker strategy

Hungarian manifests a particular pattern of options for wide scope assignment to Wh-phrases originating within Wh-islands that will be shown to go against what would be expected under McDaniel’s (1989) Wh-chain proposal and its variants, i.e., under any direct Wh-dependency account for scope-marking constructions. Consider first the following contrast between the Hungarian (overt) full Wh-movement construction vs. the Wh-scope-marker construction when each involves more than one (contentive) Wh-phrase originating in the embedded clause.

(11) Overt full Wh-extraction:

Melyik lányal_i kérdezték hogy hol_i találkoztál t_i t_j?
which girl-with asked-3pl that where met-2sg
(‘Which girl did they ask where you had met?’ = For which x,
x a girl, they asked for which y, y a place, you had met x at y)

- (12) Wh-scope-marker strategy (scope-markers are capitalized):

*MIT kérdeztek, hogy (MIT) hol találkoztál MELYIK LÁNNYAL?
 WHIAT-ACC asked-3pl that (WHIAT-ACC) where met-2sg WHICH GIRL-WITH
WHAT did they ask where you met *which girl*? (intended meaning = (11))

What we see here is that a Wh-phrase ('*which girl*')—whose variable ranges over individuals—can take matrix scope out of an embedded question via overt extraction (at most with a very mild subjacency effect arising) as in (11); yet the same phrase could not take matrix scope via the Wh-scope-marker strategy from a postverbal position, as shown by the total unacceptability of a (non-echo) question like (12). Notice that adding the extra MIT (Wh-expletive) to a Spec position in the lower clause to overcome a suspected locality violation within the alleged Wh-chain is of no help either. Furthermore the ungrammaticality of (12) cannot be due to the often-alleged incompatibility of [+WH] selecting matrix verbs with Wh-scope-marking, since the same matrix verb (*kérdez* 'ask') occurs also in well-formed Wh-scope-marker constructions, as shown by (5a) above, and by (22a–b) to be discussed in section 6.

Thus the question arising here is: why no Wh-scope-marker option exists in this case? If the Wh-scope-marker chain were indeed an alternative to movement-created chains, as claimed by the Wh-chain proposal, the ungrammaticality of scope-marker constructions like (12) would be unexpected. Crucially, the impossibility of Wh-scope-marking out of a [+WH] clause as in (12) cannot be attributed here to the requirement—implicit in all direct Wh-dependency/Wh-chain proposals—that the contentive Wh-phrase must be in an A-bar position, rather than *in situ*, in order to participate in scope-marking chains. As shown in section 3 above, Wh-phrases of Hungarian multiple Wh constructions in fact do not occur *in situ*; specifically, we have suggested that also postverbal Wh-phrases (as in the Type II examples (8) and (10)) are in A-bar positions. Hence also the contentive Wh-phrase *melyik lánnnyal* in (12) may, and presumably must, be in an A-bar position, and as such should be able to link up—say, via expletive replacement—with the matrix scope-marker.

Observe furthermore that the problem with (12) cannot be claimed to be due to the general unavailability of matrix scope for postverbal Wh-phrases of embedded clauses in Hungarian. The language in fact does exhibit this option for embedded postverbal Wh-phrases, as manifested in multiple Wh-questions. Crucially, as long as their variables range over individuals, such Wh-phrases can take matrix scope out of Wh-islands as well. This is demonstrated for instance by one of the readings of (13):⁹

⁹ Some speakers consider matrix scope for multiple Wh-data like (13) unacceptable. In my judgement, they are possible, as long as they meet the conditions on Type II multiple Wh-questions described in fn. 7, and if the postverbal Wh-phrase intended to take matrix scope bears emphatic stress (indicated by capitalization in (13)).

- (13) *Melyik fiú* kérdezte hogy *hol* találkozhat *MELYIK LÁNNYAL?*
 which boy-nom asked that where meet-can-3sg WHICH GIRL-WITH
 'Which boy asked where he could meet which girl?'

Given the appropriate intonation pattern, namely, emphatic stress on the postverbal Wh-phrase, this phrase can take matrix scope, as indicated by the type of appropriate answer to (13) shown in (14) (focus phrases are capitalized):

- (14) JÁNOS kérdezte hogy hol találkozhat MARIVAL, PÉTER
 JOHN-NOM asked that where meet-can-3sg MARY-WITH PETER-NOM
 kérdezte hogy hol találkozhat KATIVAL, ...
 asked that where meet-can-3sg CATHY-WITH
 'JOHN asked where he could meet MARY, PETER asked where he could meet CATHY,...'

Based on the above discussion, it seems that there is no independent factor blocking the possibility of Wh-scope-marking out of Wh-islands of the type represented by example (12). Consequently, Wh-chain/direct Wh-dependency accounts of scope-marking would wrongly predict that this option should in fact be available in the case of a language like Hungarian.

The otherwise mysterious absence of matrix scope assignment to postverbal Wh-phrases in such Wh-scope-marker constructions (see the ungrammaticality of (12)) falls in place naturally within analyses of Wh-scope-marking that assume the whole embedded CP, rather than a single contentive Wh-phrase in an embedded A-bar position, to be the associate of the expletive Wh-scope-marker. Specifically, the above pattern of data could be accounted for both under the CP-as-associate proposal of Horvath (1995; to appear), as well as under Dayal's (1994) semantic indirect Wh-dependency proposal (summarized in section 1). However, in Horvath (to appear) I presented a variety of arguments indicating that Dayal's particular version of the indirect dependency proposal is inconsistent with the facts of Hungarian scope-marking. Thus, since the Wh-island data under discussion is from Hungarian, clearly, what we need to examine here is whether the particular syntactic CP-as-associate proposal I put forward to replace Dayal's analysis (at least in the case of Hungarian) can indeed account for the phenomenon exemplified by (12).

Recall that under the account of Horvath (1995; to appear) it is the embedded clause itself (whose Spec contains the contentive Wh-phrase) that is the associate of the Wh-expletive, and matrix scope assignment for the contentive Wh-phrase results only from expletive replacement by this full CP. Thus any assignment of matrix scope to an embedded Wh-phrase under the scope-marker strategy arises

only as a by-product of this independent process covertly adjoining CP to an expletive that—as argued in Horvath (to appear)—matches it in terms of bearing or not bearing a morphological Wh feature (see *az* ‘it’/*mi* ‘what’). In turn, the ability of CP to match the Wh-bearing version of the expletive is crucially dependent on the option of Wh-feature transfer/percolation from its highest Spec position (Spec of FP) to the dominating CP-node (this option is independently attested in languages with clausal pied-piping such as Basque).

Now, in Wh-island cases, like our (12), the (highest) Spec of FP position of the embedded CP is occupied by a Wh-phrase that needs to satisfy [+WH] selection/clause-typing, i.e., must receive embedded construal, in its S-structure position. Consequently, the Wh operator-feature of this Wh-phrase is not available for transfer/percolation to the CP node; hence the CP fails to become a Wh-constituent, and as a result it cannot licitly adjoin to the matrix Wh-expletive “scope-marker”.¹⁰ So our CP-as-associate proposal turns out to provide a reasonable account for (a) why the postverbal Wh-phrase of the embedded clause as in (12) cannot take matrix scope via the scope-marker strategy, even though it can by overt full extraction (as in (11)), as well as by a *prima facie* English-type “in situ” strategy (as in (13)), and (b) why sentences like (12) are in fact ungrammatical. The reason is that the embedded CP has no way to acquire the Wh-feature necessary for proper expletive replacement, which in turn would create the possibility of a well-formed LF output, and of matrix scope for embedded Wh-phrases. The Wh operator-feature of the phrase in the embedded Spec of FP position is needed and used up for clause-typing the selected interrogative embedded clause and the postverbal Wh-phrase is either in a lower non-Spec position or even if it were in a Spec of FP position (as suggested in É. Kiss 1996), this position too would be hierarchically lower than the topmost Spec of FP position of the clause, so that no Wh-feature transfer to CP, and hence no CP-adjunction to the expletive, is possible.

Thus the asymmetrical pattern of the different strategies of matrix scope assignment to embedded Wh-phrases out of Wh-islands we analysed above seems

¹⁰ The same set of assumptions regarding operator-feature percolation/transfer used in our account for (12), is involved in accounting for the possibility/impossibility of overt clausal pied-piping in Basque (as noted in Horvath to appear, based on Ortiz de Urbina’s 1990 discussion of the latter). Furthermore, some apparent clausal pied-piping data from English—observed originally by A. Szabolcsi—also seem to manifest properties that would fall in place under the proposed Wh-feature-transfer analysis. Specifically, the ungrammaticality of (ii)—contrasting with the grammatical (i)—would be explained under the same assumptions we made in relation to the ungrammaticality of (12).

- (i) Who did he visit do you think?
- (ii) *Who did he visit do you wonder?

to constitute further empirical evidence against the various direct Wh-dependency proposals, and in favor of a CP-as-associate-type analysis, at least as far as the Hungarian scope-marker construction is concerned.

5. Type I multiple questions and Wh-scope-marking

Another phenomenon of interest which involves multiple Wh-phrases generated in the embedded clause of scope-marker constructions and which turns out to provide evidence empirically distinguishing the different types of competing analyses proposed is exemplified in (15) below:

- (15) Mit állított Mari hogy ki mire számít?
 what-acc claimed Mary-nom that who-nom what-onto count-3sg
 what claimed Mary that who what expects
 'Who did Mary claim expected what?'

Observe that unlike in cases like (12), in this case, we have a [–WH] (declarative) selecting matrix verb, and crucially, the embedded clause of the scope-marker construction is what looks like a Type I multiple interrogative (see section 3), having two preposed preverbal Wh-phrases. According to its interpretation, (15) is a multiple Wh-question with a pair-list reading in which both Wh-phrases of the embedded clause receive matrix scope (see also the English translation).

Dayal (1994) has already suggested—with respect to German data—that the possibility for more than one contentive Wh-phrase of an embedded clause to receive matrix scope via the Wh-scope-marker strategy argues against McDaniel's (1989) Wh-chain proposal. Based on multiple Wh data from German, as in (16) below (Dayal's (7a)), she noted that in such cases the Wh-chain approach would run into the problem of having a chain with one head and two or more tails.

- (16) Was glaubst du, wann Hans an welcher Universität studiert hat?
 what think you when Hans at which university studied has
 'When do you think Hans studied at which university?'

McDaniel's (1989) solution for this problem was to claim that the multiple Wh-phrases of the embedded clause undergo Higginbotham and May's (1981) absorption process at S-structure, so that the scope-marker can be coindexed with the index of the single absorbed Wh-expression created by this process in the embedded clause. However Dayal correctly points out that this claim would be inconsis-

tent with the standard assumption that absorption creates operators, i.e., involves heads, rather than intermediate links, of A-bar chains; under McDaniel's proposal, the absorbed Wh-expression would have to be precisely an intermediate link.

While this point of Dayal's is indeed a valid argument against a particular, purely S-structure-based version, of the direct Wh-dependency approach, still there is an alternative version of the same approach which would not face this problem. This alternative assumes the LF-raising of the Wh-phrase occupying the Spec position of the embedded clause to the matrix Spec, to replace the Wh-scope-marker it is coindexed with (see reference to this option in the context of FI by McDaniel herself (1989, fn. 17)). Under such an account, the case of scope-marking for multiple Wh-phrases like in (16), would reduce at LF, after expletive replacement (by *wann*), to the case of a multiple question with overt full Wh-extraction of the same phrase. Hence whatever LF-mechanism serves to assign matrix interpretation to the in situ Wh-phrase of the embedded clause in the latter sentence-type in the language, would also account for examples like (16). So the German multiple question case does not really argue against all versions of the direct Wh-dependency approach.

However, the parallel case from Hungarian, exemplified in (15) above, indeed turns out to provide a global counter-argument, namely, one that is independent of whether or not the direct dependency analysis assumes LF-raising of the embedded partially moved Wh-phrase. The reason for this difference between the German and the Hungarian case, as we will see, involves the fact that in Hungarian multiple questions no Wh-phrase remains in situ; they all move to appropriate A-bar positions overtly (see section 3). More specifically, consider the case of scope-marker constructions like (15), which display a Type I multiple question as their embedded clause. Recall that in Type I multiple questions of Hungarian, all Wh-phrases occur to the left of V at S-structure. Only the immediately preverbal one (the one in the Spec of FP position) is interpreted as a true interrogative operator, while the Wh-phrase preceding it—usually assumed to be in a left-adjoined quantifier position—functions as a distributive universal quantifier taking scope over the interrogative.

Now notice first that given the above facts, Hungarian Type I multiple questions may not involve absorption if the latter process could only apply to uniform quantifiers, i.e., in our case to two true interrogatives, as implied by Higginbotham and May's (1981) discussion of English. If so, then in the Hungarian case, there is no way to create a single Wh-expression from the embedded contentive Wh-phrases as would be required under the account proposed by McDaniel for German; so even if one did make the undesirable move of relaxing the absorption mechanism so that it could apply to intermediate/non-operator members of a chain, Hungarian multiple Wh examples like (15) would still remain unaccounted for.

The more interesting issue however is whether or not cases like (15) can be accommodated by the amended version of the Wh-chain proposal—shown above to work for the German construction (16)—which assumes LF-raising (expletive replacement) of the partially moved Wh-phrase. In contrast to the case of German, it turns out that for the Hungarian multiple Wh scope-marking data, this variety of the direct dependency approach fails as well. Notice that the postulated LF-raising of a Wh-phrase out of the embedded clause to replace the matrix expletive would result in an LF-representation parallel to that of overt full extraction of the same Wh-phrase, as we noted already with respect to the German case above. But crucially, unlike in the case of German, these LF-representations in Hungarian would give rise to no well-formed interpretation. This can be seen based on the ungrammaticality of the corresponding overt full Wh-movement examples ((17b–c) below). No matter which of the two preposed Wh-phrases would be assumed to replace the Wh-expletive scope-marker at LF, the other Wh-phrase left behind in the embedded clause would fail to receive matrix scope; consequently, the embedded clause would end up clause-typed as a question, which is in violation of the selectional properties of the matrix verb. That this is indeed so is shown by the ungrammaticality of the overt extraction structures (17b) and (17c), which contrast with the full grammaticality of the allegedly parallel multiple Wh scope-marker construction in (17a). (Notice that the ungrammaticality of (17b–c) cannot be attributed here to some locality constraint on overt movement, since as we observed in section 3, Hungarian does permit Wh-movement out of Wh-clauses.)

(17) (a) Mit állítottak hogy kit kinek mutatott be Mari?
 what-acc claimed-3pl that who-acc who-dat showed in Mari-nom
 what claimed they that whom to whom introduced Mary
 'Who did they claim Mary introduced to whom?'

(b) *Kit állítottak hogy kinek mutatott be Mari?
 who-acc claimed-3pl that who-dat showed in Mary-nom
 whom claimed they that to whom introduced Mary

(c) *Kinek állították hogy kit mutatott be Mari?
 who-dat claimed-3pl that who-acc showed in Mary-nom
 to whom claimed they that whom introduced Mary

One might still try to dismiss the evidence from the ungrammaticality of (17b–c) by claiming that it could be due simply to some prohibition against “splitting up” the two adjacent preposed Wh-phrases of the embedded clause by overtly extract-

ing only one of them. But there is independent evidence, from full movement multiple questions that involve no extraction at all demonstrating that without a “scope-marker” to replace, a preposed Wh-phrase in the embedded clause indeed cannot get assigned matrix scope at LF even when the matrix Spec contains another obviously legitimate Wh-phrase:

- (18) *Ki állította hogy kit mutatott be Mari a vendégnek?
 who-nom claimed that who-acc showed in Mary-nom the guest-dat
 who claimed that whom introduced Mary to the guest
 ‘Who claimed that Mary introduced whom to the guest?’

Notice that the pattern of Hungarian, shown in (17) and (18), contrasts with the German case discussed above in a crucial way. In German, the other Wh-phrase was left *in situ* in the embedded clause (see (16)), and *in situ* Wh-phrases can demonstrably receive matrix interpretation in the language whenever a Wh-phrase appears in the matrix Spec; hence the facts of German do not exclude the possibility of—an LF-raising-based version of—the direct dependency account.

Based on the above observations about Hungarian, we can conclude that the grammaticality and scope properties of its scope-marker constructions with multiple Wh-phrases in the embedded CP, demonstrated in (15) and (17a), cannot be accounted for by any known version of the Wh-chain analysis of scope-marking; neither the relaxation of constraints on absorption (as in McDaniel 1989), nor the addition of LF-raising of the partially moved Wh-phrase would be of help in the case of Hungarian.

Now while these facts constitute (additional) evidence against the direct dependency approach, we also need to examine whether the alternative indirect-Wh-dependency approaches to the scope-marker strategy, and more specifically, the syntactic CP-as-associate account proposed on independent grounds in Horvath (1995; to appear), are able to handle the above multiple Wh scope-marking data.

Clearly, under accounts where the Wh-scope-marker is not taken to be forming a chain with, or being replaced by, a single (partially moved) Wh-phrase, but rather it has the whole embedded CP as its “associate”, there is in principle no problem expected with having more than one contentive Wh-phrase in that CP. This is transparently true for Dayal’s (1994) semantic indirect dependency proposal (motivated by scope-marking in Hindi). Under this analysis, the embedded CP of the construction is taken to be **a fully interpreted ordinary question**, whose denotation gets integrated into the matrix interrogation by functional application, as the restriction on the propositional variable bound by the matrix Wh-quantifier (the “scope-marker”) ‘what’. Thus the option of multiple questions occurring as embed-

ded CPs in scope-marker constructions is clearly predicted. (But note that Horvath (to appear, sect. 5), as well as section 6 below present independent empirical evidence casting doubt on the adequacy of Dayal's particular account—at least—for the instantiation of the scope-marker strategy in Hungarian.)

Based on the assumptions of the syntactic CP-as-associate analysis put forward and argued for in Horvath (1995; to appear) (see section 2 above), matrix scope could be assigned to any number of Wh-phrases of the embedded CP, as long as the following two conditions are met: (a) the embedded CP has a Wh-phrase in a position from which a Wh-feature may properly transfer to the dominating CP turning it into a Wh-CP, so that it can licitly adjoin—by expletive replacement—to the morphologically Wh expletive in the Spec of the matrix clause; (b) the hierarchical position of the Wh-phrases within the covertly moved embedded CP is such that they c-command the rest of the matrix clause whose Spec the CP occupies.

Condition (a) is obviously satisfied in cases like (15) and (17a) just like in single-Wh cases, given the restrictive feature percolation mechanism adopted from accounts of (clausal) pied-piping (though the question of which one of the preposed Wh-phrases transfers its Wh-feature to CP is not resolved decisively at this point). As for condition (b), notice first that the same issue of taking matrix scope from the Spec of an embedded CP that itself has covertly moved up to the Spec of the matrix arises also in plain, single-Wh cases of the scope-marker strategy (see fn. 5). Since in Hungarian multiple Wh-clauses all of the Wh-phrases appear in A-bar Spec or adjoined positions outside the VP/IP (propositional) level, the issue of their scope will reduce to the case of a single preposed Wh-phrase. We will suggest below that all preposed Wh-phrases within an embedded CP that occupies the Spec (of FP) position of the matrix clause at LF in fact c-command the rest of that clause. If this turns out to be tenable, then the possibility of matrix construal for these embedded Wh-phrases—whether a single one or more—will be accounted for.¹¹

Independent support for such a claim about c-command comes from analyses of the bound interpretation of pronouns. The problem of apparent c-command effects out of the Spec of a constituent has often been discussed in relation to the licensing of a bound variable interpretation for pronouns. Consider some relevant examples from English and from Hungarian. (19a) and (20) involve the Spec of DP

¹¹ A contentive Wh-phrase taking matrix scope in this manner—i.e., from within the LF-raised CP-complement—would need to bind a variable occurring in the matrix IP. We assume that this would in fact be available, if one adopts the copy theory of movement (see Chomsky 1995). In its most general form, this would extend to covert movements too; thus in the present case, the LF-raised CP would have a full copy, with the trace of the partially moved Wh-phrase in it. It also must be noted here however, that the covert CP-movement of the present version of our CP-as-associate account is incompatible with some major assumptions of Chomsky's (1995) minimalist program.

position, and (19b) involves a DP-adjoined position; all of these are assumed to dominate (at LF) the variable to which the DP-external pronoun is apparently linked (for discussion and examples (19a–b), see Hornstein 1995, 100–10).

(19) (a) No one's_i mother kissed him_i.

(b) Someone from every small town_i hates it_i.

(20) [DP Kinek_i a szomszédai] törték be a *pro*_i házába?
 whose_i the neighbours-nom broke-3pl in the *pro*_i house-3sg poss-into
 'Whose_i neighbours broke into his_i house?'

A bound variable interpretation for the pronouns is possible in these cases even though the pronoun in each case is outside of the DP containing the variable, and this interpretation (under most analyses) is possible only if the variable c-commands the pronoun. In a recent discussion of the topic, Hornstein (1995, sect. 6.6) proposes the following modification of the definition of c-command to draw the right distinctions (see Hornstein 1995, 121):

(21) A c-commands B iff every lexical category that dominates A dominates B.

The effect of this is that categories like DP, and crucially for our purposes, CP and FP (and other non-lexical categories) are irrelevant for the computation of c-command. This modified version of c-command obviously has a wide—and so far untested—range of empirical consequences, but it shows initial success with respect to the type of data in (19)–(20), and also is able to avoid some wrong predictions with respect to binding options by non-quantified phrases in Spec positions of lexical categories discussed by Hornstein.

Adopting (21), the multiple Wh-cases in (15) and (17a) would pose no problem under our CP-as-associate analysis for the scope-marker construction. The structure resulting after covert CP-raising to Spec would have all the CP-internal Wh-phrases in positions where the only categories dominating them but not dominating the rest of the matrix clause would be **non-lexical** ones, namely, CP and FP nodes. So these Wh-phrases would indeed c-command hence have scope over the matrix clause.

6. "Split" multiple Wh-phrases and Dayal's analysis

Based on the multiple Wh phenomena discussed in sections 4 and 5, one might make the (premature) generalization that either all of the Wh-phrases generated in the

embedded CP of a scope-marker construction take matrix scope, or none of them do (in which case the sentence ends up ill-formed). In section 4 we found that Wh-phrases in Type II multiple Wh clauses were unable to take matrix scope from within a Wh-island, as shown by the ungrammaticality of examples like (12); in section 5 above, we saw that all of the Wh-phrases occurring within (Type I) multiple Wh-clauses in the scope-marker construction could, and in effect had to, take uniformly matrix scope.

Now observe that this apparent state of affairs is exactly what Dayal's (1994) purely semantically-based indirect dependency approach would predict to be the case. Recall that on her analysis, the embedded CP is claimed to be—and get interpreted as—an ordinary full question (whose denotation combines with the matrix Wh-quantification via functional application). Under such an account, one would indeed not expect the possibility of a "split", non-multiple question interpretation for scope-marker constructions with multiple Wh-phrases in their embedded CP, namely, a case where one of the Wh-phrases of the embedded CP takes matrix scope, while the other receives embedded construal (satisfies the selectional requirement of an interrogative taking matrix verb).

However, Hungarian manifests some previously unnoticed multiple Wh data that seem to depart from the expected pattern in precisely the above way. These data display a Type I multiple Wh-clause as the embedded CP of the scope-marker construction, and exhibit a "split", non-multiple question interpretation of the kind referred to above. They occur (only) with matrix verbs that select [+WH] (interrogative) clauses, contradicting the well-known generalization of the literature that all scope-marker constructions have a [-WH] selecting matrix verb. Consider for instance the (non-echo) questions (22a–b) (the Wh-phrase receiving matrix interpretation is capitalized):

- (22) (a) Mit kérdezték hogy KIT mikor látott Mari?
 what-acc asked-3pl that WHIO-acc when saw Mary-nom
 what asked they that WHIOM when saw Mary
 'Who did they ask when Mary had seen *t*?'
 (b) Mit árult el János hogy MELYIK LÁNY kivel találkozott?¹²

what-acc reveal away John-acc that WHICH GIRL-nom who-with met
 what revealed John that WHICH GIRL with whom met
 'Which girl did John reveal who *t* had met?'

¹² The matrix verb of (22b) permits also a [-WH] (declarative) complement clause. The choice of a [-WH] embedded CP would give rise to a multiple question interpretation in (22b), as expected based on section 5. Since it would not raise the problem of "split" interpretation under discussion, this alternative option should be ignored here.

The question then is: how could Dayal's purely semantic proposal account for the possibility of "split" Wh-interpretation cases like (22a–b)?

This proposal crucially assumes that the embedded clause is fully interpreted as is (an ordinary question) and that it is its denotation that combines, via functional application, with the matrix Wh-quantification, to provide the observed "matrix construal" for the embedded Wh-expression(s). So the question is what interpretation could we assign to the embedded CP of sentences like (22a–b) that would give rise to the "split" construal they exhibit. The embedded CPs involved—at least superficially—look like Type I multiple questions described in section 3 above. But clearly, assigning to them the corresponding question denotation that in turn would combine with the matrix Wh-quantification over propositions would be inappropriate in (22a) and give only one of the existing options in (22b): it could not predict the fact that one of the Wh-expressions receives embedded rather than matrix construal, in (22a) obligatorily, and in (22b) as an option (due to the matrix verb of the latter permitting both [+WH] and [–WH] complements). This conclusion is reinforced also by the observation that (22a), and (22b) under the "split" Wh construal do not display the intonation pattern (heaviest stress on the immediately pre-verbal Wh-phrase) characterizing Type I multiple questions. Thus Dayal's account would have to consider these embedded CPs to be of a semantic type other than ordinary interrogatives (sets of propositions).

The case of "split" interpretation multiple Wh-clauses (22a–b) is clearly parallel to the option of Wh-scope-marking for a Wh-phrase out of yes/no question complement clauses (see example (5a) in section 2 above), which was pointed out originally in Horvath (to appear). In both cases, the matrix verb selects an interrogative complement, and an "extra" Wh-phrase occurring within this Wh or yes/no question complement receives matrix scope due to the presence of the "scope-marker". As noted already in Horvath's (to appear) discussion of Wh-scope marking out of embedded yes/no questions, Dayal's proposal could deal with such data only by claiming that the complement clause involved denotes a set of sets of propositions, i.e., a set of questions, the proper answer to which would be a question. This would seem to work for getting the right readings in cases like (22a–b) as well as in (5a). But the crucial question to ask here is whether the claim that these complement clauses are of the semantic type $\langle\langle\langle s, t \rangle, t \rangle, t \rangle$ has any independent plausibility, or it is only an otherwise unmotivated artifact of the particular proposal.

The only clauses independently attested in natural language that may be of this semantic type are echo questions, such as: *Has John bought WHAT?/What did WHO read?* (for relevant discussion of the latter question type, see Comorovski 1989). So this potential solution to the problem presented by cases like (22a–b) for Dayal's analysis would be tenable only if it turned out that these clauses indeed are

necessarily echo questions. There are several observations indicating that (22a–b), and (5a), are in fact not (necessarily) echo questions.

First of all, while echo question phrases can be preposed in Hungarian (unlike in English), echo vs. regular questions are still distinguishable based on their clearly distinct intonation patterns. Echo questions have a rise-fall intonation pattern, whereas non-echo Wh-questions have falling intonation. Sentences (22a–b) can be—and in fact most naturally are—pronounced with the typical falling intonation of genuine, non-echo Wh-questions. They do require primary stress on the leftmost Wh-phrase, which is the one receiving matrix construal, but this is a phenomenon independent of the echo question issue (for instance Type II multiple questions exhibit heavy stress on their postverbal Wh-phrase, yet they are true multiple Wh-questions).

There also exists syntactic evidence based on which the two possibilities can be separated. There are certain matrix contexts that make an echo question interpretation extremely unnatural. Consider for instance a matrix like *sejtem, hogy ...* ‘I suspect (have an inkling) ...’, which permits both declarative and interrogative complements in Hungarian. When we try to embed under it a clause having the kind of Wh-element that is possible only with an echo interpretation, this yields anomaly, which is clearly due to the incompatibility of the matrix context with the echo interpretation (manifested also in the English translation):

- (23) **Sejtem, hogy a legnagyobb MIT választotta János.*
 suspect-1sg that the biggest WHAT-acc chose John-nom
 *‘I suspect (have an inkling) that John chose the biggest WHAT.’

But notice that this same context gives rise to no such anomaly when we embed under it sentences such as our (22a–b) (exemplified below for the case of (22a)):

- (24) *Sejtem, hogy mit kérdeztek, hogy KIT mikor látott Mari.*
 suspect-1sg that what asked-3pl that WHO-acc when saw Mary-nom
 ‘I suspect (have an inkling) who they asked when Mary had seen *t*.’

Thus sentences like (22a–b) must permit a non-echo question reading, contrary to what would be expected based on Dayal’s purely semantics-based analysis of scope-marking.

Finally, let us consider how our syntactic CP-as-associate analysis could meet the challenge of the above “split” multiple Wh phenomenon. Notice first that sentences such as (22a–b) contrast minimally with the ungrammatical sentence-type discussed in section 4 above. In this latter case—exemplified by (12), repeated

below as (25)—the embedded CP had the “extra” Wh-phrase in a postverbal position (as in Type II multiple Wh-clauses) rather than preceding the immediately preverbal Wh-phrase, as in the grammatical (22a–b)-type cases.

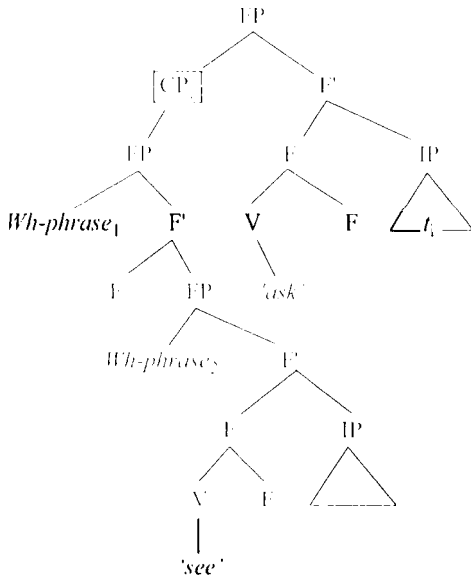
- (25) *Mit kérdeztek hogy hol találkoztál MELYIK LÁNNYAL?
 what-acc asked-3pl that where met-2sg WHICH GIRL-WITH
 what asked they that where met you WITH WHICH GIRL
 ‘Which girl did they ask where you had met?’

Both sentence-types (25) and (22a–b) are scope-marker structures in which the matrix verb selects a [+WH] complement, and the embedded CP is a multiple Wh-clause, so the source of the difference in their grammaticality status must be the different syntactic positions occupied by the “extra”, i.e., not immediately preverbal, Wh-phrase in their embedded CP.

Under the CP-as-associate proposal of Horvath (1995; to appear), this structural difference between the two embedded CPs does in fact automatically derive the observed distinction. Recall that the LF-adjunction of the embedded CP of the construction to the Wh-expletive is possible under this account only when the CP-associate and the expletive match in terms of Wh, as well as other features; so the CP needs to acquire a Wh-feature in order to licitly raise to Spec to “replace” the expletive. Crucially, the proposal assumes that this can be achieved only by the restrictive and independently motivated operator-feature transfer mechanism, which permits feature-percolation only from the (topmost) Spec of XP position to the dominating XP. The process itself, and this particular restriction on it, are attested in—and in fact have been proposed for—(overt) pied-piping phenomena, as well as the licensing of negative polarity items (see e.g. Webelhuth 1992; Ortiz de Urbina 1990). Given this, the contrast between (25) and (22a–b) follows. In the embedded CP of (25) = (12),—as we noted already in section 4—no Wh-feature transfer, and consequently no “expletive replacement” by CP, is possible, since the postverbal Wh-phrase is not in the hierarchical position required for feature-percolation, and while the immediately preverbal Wh-phrase in Spec of FP is in a position of feature-transfer, it needs to retain its Wh-operator feature to be able to satisfy interrogative clause-typing locally for the selected [+WH] embedded CP.

Now in the case of the grammatical “split” Wh data (22a–b), the same restrictive assumptions correctly predict a grammatical outcome, with matrix scope for the leftmost, and embedded scope for the immediately preverbal Wh-phrase (see diagram (26) showing the schematic LF-representation assigned to a “split” Wh-interpretation case (22a), under our proposal).

- (26)
- (a) Wh-feature transfer from Wh-phrase₁ to CP_i
 - (b) Expletive replacement by (wh-)CP_i in matrix Spec (via LF-movement)
 - (c) Wh-phrase₂ in pre-V Spec of FP clause-types the complement clause (selected by 'ask') as an interrogative.



The reason is that here, the leftmost Wh-phrase of the embedded CP is in the top Spec position (assuming the existence of FP recursion suggested in É. Kiss 1996); hence its Wh-feature can transfer to the dominating CP (more precisely FP) node, thus making CP-adjunction to the matrix Wh-expletive possible. As a result of this the Wh-phrase takes scope over the matrix (as discussed in section 5). The immediately preverbal Wh-phrase, which occupies the Spec position of the lower FP, needs to get interpreted with **embedded** scope, since otherwise the selected [+WH] embedded clause would not get properly typed as an interrogative; hence its exclusively embedded construal in cases like (22a).

Based on the above, it seems that these “split” multiple Wh cases of the scope-marker construction represent one of the empirical distinctions detectable between Dayal’s (1994) purely semantic indirect dependency account and the conceptually related but syntactically distinct CP-as-associate analysis proposed in Horvath (1995; to appear).

References

- Bhatt, R.–Yoon, J. 1992. On the composition of COMP and parameters of V2. In: Proceedings of the Tenth WCCFL, 41–53. CSLI, Stanford CA.
- Brody, M. 1993. Lexico-logical form—a radically minimalist theory. Ms. University College London, Institute of Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Chomsky, N. 1973. Conditions on transformations. In: Anderson, S.R.–Kiparsky, P. (eds): *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, 232–86. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York.
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Knowledge of language*. Praeger, New York.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Comorovski, I. 1989. *Discourse and the syntax of multiple constituent questions*. Doctoral dissertation. Cornell University.
- Dayal, V. 1994. Scope marking as indirect WH dependency. In: *Natural Language Semantics* 2: 137–70.
- É. Kiss, K. 1993. Wh-movement and specificity. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11: 85–120.
- É. Kiss, K. 1996. The focus operator and information focus. In: *Working Papers in the Theory of Grammar 3*. Budapest University and Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Higginbotham, J.–May, R. 1981. Questions, quantifiers and crossing. In: *The Linguistic Review* 1: 41–80.
- Hornstein, N. 1995. *Logical Form*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Horvath, J. 1995. Partial wh-movement and wh “scope-markers”. In: Kenesei, I. (ed): *Approaches to Hungarian* 5: 89–124. JATE, Szeged.
- Horvath, J. to appear. The status of “wh-expletives” and the partial wh-movement construction of Hungarian. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.
- McDaniel, D. 1989. Partial and multiple wh-movement. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 7: 565–604.
- McDaniel, D.–Chiu, B.–Maxfield, T. 1995. Parameters for wh-movement types: evidence from child English. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13: 709–53.
- Müller, G. 1995. Partial wh-movement and optimality theory. Ms. University of Tübingen.
- Ortiz de Urbina, J. 1990. Operator feature percolation and clausal pied-piping. In: Cheng, L.–Demirdash, H. (eds): *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 13: 193–208.
- Rizzi, L. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Rizzi, L. 1992. Argument/adjunct (a)symmetries. In: *Proceedings of NELS 22*, 365–81. University of Delaware.
- Rudin, C. 1988. On multiple questions and multiple wh fronting. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 445–501.
- Webelhuth, G. 1992. *Principles and parameters of syntactic saturation*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Address of the author: Julia Horvath
 Department of Linguistics
 Tel-Aviv University
 Ramat-Aviv 69978
 Tel-Aviv
 Israel
 e-mail: horvath@taunivm.tau.ac.il

ADJUNCTS AND ARGUMENTS IN VP-FOCUS IN HUNGARIAN*

ISTVÁN KENESEI

Abstract

It has been well-known since Höhle (1982), and in particular since Selkirk (1984), that the prosody of focusing is sensitive to the difference between adjuncts and heads or arguments. In Selkirk's proposal, when some item receives focus or pitch accent, an entire phrase can be interpreted as focused if the item is its head or an argument of the head. If, on the other hand, it is an adjunct of the phrase, only the adjunct, but not the dominating phrase node, can be taken to constitute semantic focus.

Whereas in English there is no formal distinction between exclusive (or contrastive, operator) and nonexclusive (or information) focus, Hungarian appears to distinguish the two by syntactic means. Not all answers to (focused) *wh*-questions display a contrastively focused structure.

The data surveyed in this paper serve to show that in contrast with a widespread view (cf. É. Kiss 1981; 1987; 1994) the VP is a true constituent of the Hungarian sentence and that it, too, can be focused. But the VP cannot be focused in the same way as other constituents. Firstly, VP-foci do not have to be understood as contrastive. Secondly, VP-focus is expressed by placing the verb, one of its argument, or referential adjuncts into the designated focus position. Thirdly, *ex situ* VP-focus is possible only in case of activity verbs; VPs of verbs of achievement or accomplishment can be focused only by placing the verb in the focus slot.

The fact that arguments can be used to focus the VP is consonant with the general properties of focusing. Since arguments are ultimately projected by the head, they are in a grammatical sense representative of it. This is shown to be the case even in case of idioms, which can be focused much like other predicates, although idiom chunks are not focusable as such. Adjuncts, and in particular non-referential adjuncts, have no role in the projection of categories and are therefore incapable of 'transferring' their focus properties onto the category they are adjoined to whenever they are focused. Nonreferential adjuncts, e.g. manner adverbials, have limited contrastibility, though exclusive focus in such adjuncts is not impossible in the semantic domains they determine.

*I am indebted to Ferenc Kiefer, András Komlósy, Márta Maleczki, and two anonymous reviewers, who have helped with the interpretation of the examples and have given advice and comments. All remaining errors and misinterpretations are of course my responsibility.

The research reported here was supported by a grant from the Hungarian National Research Fund (OTKA T17263).

1. Introduction

This paper presents new data and analyses relating to focus phenomena in Hungarian. The prevailing view of Hungarian maintains that it has a designated focus position in front of the inflected verb, which carries contrastive interpretation, or, in the terminology used in this paper, ‘exclusive focus’ reading. I will show not only that nonexclusive focus is a relevant notion in Hungarian, but also that there is an unexpected correlation between adjuncts versus arguments, as well as verb types and such foci. Similar distinctions between adjuncts and arguments come to play if VPs are contrastively focused. If, however, manner adverbials are focused, it appears that a similar type of contrast is not available. I will argue that not only manner adverbials, but also idioms can be contrasted, although in a fashion different from DPs or PPs.

I will start by reviewing the literature on the relationship between focus and grammatical structure in section 2. The distinction between heads/arguments and adjuncts are drawn up with respect to their focusability, first in connection with contrastive focus in section 3. Then structures expressing nonexclusive focus are examined in 4, and the findings arrived at there are developed for contrastive VP focus in 5. The focusing of manner adverbials, i.e. VP-adjuncts, are discussed in section 6, and that of idioms in section 7.

2. Focus types, language types

It has been well-known since Höhle (1982), and in particular since Selkirk (1984), that the prosody of focusing is sensitive to the difference between adjuncts and heads or arguments. In Selkirk’s presentation, cf. (1), when some item receives focus or pitch accent, an entire phrase can be interpreted as focused if the item is its head or an argument of the head. If, on the other hand, it is (a constituent of) an adjunct of the phrase, only the adjunct, but not the dominating phrase node, can be taken to constitute semantic focus.

(1) **Phrasal Focus Rule** (Selkirk 1984, 207)

A constituent may be a focus if (i) or (ii) (or both) is true:

- (i) The constituent that is its **head** is a focus.
- (ii) A constituent contained within it that is an **argument** of the head is a focus.

Selkirk’s phonologically based rule works on a simple example, such as (2), in the following fashion. (Boldface type stands for phonological focus, i.e. pitch accent,

marked on the word or syllable concerned; capitals signal items in the scope of semantic focus.)

- (2) (a) Bill bought a used **car**.
 (b) Bill bought a **used** car.

In (2a) pitch accent is on *car*, and the first choice is for this word to be interpreted for (narrow) contrastive focus as in 'Bill bought a used **CAR**, rather than a used **TRUCK**'. Another option is to take the whole noun phrase within which *car* is embedded as (broad) contrastive focus: 'Bill bought **A USED CAR**, rather than **THE TRUCK FOR SALE NEXT DOOR**'. A third option is to regard the whole VP as in focus, cf.: 'Bill **BOUGHT A USED CAR**, rather than **TAKE THE TRAIN**'. Finally, the remaining choice is to have the whole sentence in focus, as in answer to the question *What happened?*: '**BILL BOUGHT A USED CAR**'.

The case is different with (2b); *used* is an adjunct that can only be understood as being (narrowly) contrasted with some other adjective or attribute, such as *new*, *antique*, etc., in this case. Under no condition can (2b) be considered as contradicting anything like the sentence *Bill bought a boat*, i.e. contrasting the noun phrase of which the focused adjective is a constituent.

The regularity summed up in (1) is in need of some clarification. First of all, it was conceived outside of the customary framework of the T-model, in which the phonetic and the semantic modules are divorced from each other. In Selkirk's proposal phonology feeds semantics, i.e., a pitch accent placed on some word is accessible to semantic interpretation. This is a minor difficulty, which can be easily overcome by, say, assigning a focus feature to some arbitrary constituent (to be analyzed for semantic focus) and derive phonological focus by means of a simple algorithm, as for example Jackendoff (1972), Rochemont (1986), or Jacobs (1991) suggests. The rule below is from Kenesei (1993).

(3) (a) **Focus Assignment**

Assign [+focus] to a lexical head X^0 or a maximal projection XP.

(b) **Focus Percolation**

The feature [+focus] percolates onto the lexical head (and/or the lexical head of an argument) of the XP it is assigned to.

The rule in (3) guarantees that adjuncts are not accented if phrases receive the focus feature, and that no functional head receives a pitch accent if its maximal projection is focused.¹

Secondly, neither Selkirk's (1984) analysis, nor any of the others in her wake, pay attention to languages in which focus does not simply arise as a result of pitch accent placement, but through the movement of some constituent into a designated position. Languages having this type of 'ex situ' focus range from Basque and Russian, which have initial focus, cf. Ortiz (1986; 1989), King (1993), to Mayan and Hungarian, which have preverbal focus, cf. Aissen (1992) and Horvath (1986) or É. Kiss (1987), to the Bantu language of Aghem and the Chadic language of Podoko, which have postverbal focus, cf. Watters (1979), Tuller (1992), to the Chadic languages of Tangale and Ngizim, with final focus, cf. Tuller (1992). It is one of the points we will argue here that our reformulation of Selkirk's focus rule can handle this variety of focus movement, if it is supplemented by some mechanism of pied-piping and movement.

Finally, Selkirk's analysis makes no significant distinction between the types of foci pitch accents can carry. Discounting emotional 'highlighting' or 'contexts of repair', there are still two important subtypes that need to be distinguished: contrastive and noncontrastive focus.² Following Chomsky (1971), we understand contrastive focus as exclusion by identification in some finite domain of discourse D, and render it in case of (4) as (5a,b).³

¹ For a modified and updated version, see Selkirk (1995). The reference to lexical heads is necessary to prevent structures from arising in which an entire phrase is in semantic focus with the functional head having pitch accent as in (i), a possible sentence, though with a different meaning:

(i) *Bill bought **THE USED CAR**.

The use of *and/or* in the rule observes objections to the exclusive *or* in Selkirk's formulation, which a number of researchers have found counterintuitive in a right-branching language like English, cf. Stechow–Uhlmann (1986), Jacobs (1991), Richard Kayne, Mark Liberman and Mark Steedman (personal communication), but see below for data from Hungarian. One of the reviewers called my attention to the fact that right-adjoined adjuncts can also carry focus stress in English provided the head (of the argument) also has pitch accent, cf. (ii)–(iii). Cf. also Drubig (1994).

(ii) John **BOUGHT A CAR FROM JAPAN**.

(iii) John **READ THE BOOK ALOUD**.

² Emotional 'highlighting', cf. Bolinger (1961), is illustrated in (i); 'contexts of repair', i.e., contrasting parts of words, cf. Rochemont–Culicover (1990), are exemplified in (ii).

(i) I **hate** them.

(ii) I didn't say blue**berry**, I said blue**bird**.

³ The formula $x \in D$ is the restrictor; cf. also Kenesei (1986), Szabolcsi (to appear).

- (4) Jeff hit Bill in the office.
- (5) (a) $\lambda x, x \in D$, (Jeff hit x in the office), Bill
 (b) 'It is Bill, rather than Jim, Jack, John, ... (or any other student, man, person, ...), that Jeff hit in the office'

Contrastive or exclusive focus is understood to operate within a domain in which there are distinct entities or properties known at least to the speaker. Note that contrastive focus has the power of creating a domain, as in the case of (4), when the hearer is not aware of the intended range in which the referent of Bill is contrasted.

Nonexclusive focus carries out identification but differs from exclusive focus thus conceived in that it is not interpreted with respect to a domain or if it is, other entities in the domain are not negated, i.e. contrasted. In consequence, a characteristic context of nonexclusive focus, such as a VP-question as in (6), can be answered by any one of (7a–d), with the interpretation given in (8a) and the possible, though not quite satisfactory, logical rendering in (8b).

- (6) What did Jill do in the office?
- (7) (a) Jill **GAVE THE BOOK TO MARY**.
 (b) Jill **GAVE THE BOOK TO MARY**.
 (c) Jill **GAVE THE BOOK TO MARY**.
 (d) Jill **GAVE THE BOOK TO MARY**.
- (8) (a) 'What Jill did was give a book to Mary'
 (b) $\lambda x, (Jill \text{ did } x), [\text{give a book to Mary}]$

Note that wh-questions in general, and VP-questions in particular, do not necessarily elicit contrastively focused answers. It is thus possible to answer the question in (6) by a mere *Nothing*, without violating any truth-conditions the question and the answer may share.⁴ Moreover, none of the possible answers in (7a–d) commit the speaker to the belief that Jill did nothing other than give the book to Mary, although

⁴ Or alternatively, it may be claimed that the question is ambiguous between a presuppositional reading, in which the speaker believes that Jill did something in the office, and a nonpresuppositional one, i.e., an open question, according to which what the speaker asks is in fact something of the order *What did Jill do in the office if she did anything?*

Observe that nonexclusive focus is defined with reference to contrastive focus and we are not committed as to whether it is the same as information focus, presentational focus, rheme, etc. While we believe contrastive focus to be available in general, the semantics of nonexclusive focus can differ from language to language.

such a reading is, in principle, possible. In other words, the answer does not identify Jill's action **in some finite domain of actions**, consequently, it does not express contrastive focus.

Clearly, not all questions are nonpresuppositional, so not all answers are non-contrastive either. One standard example is the proverbial lawyer's question *When did you stop beating your wife?*, or in general adjunct questions constructed by means of question words like *when*, *how* or *why*. (We return to some of the problems adjunct focus constructions raise in section 6.) Nor are all focused answers interpretable for nonexclusive focus: in the context of the question *Is it night or day?* (9a) is understood in a contrastive sense, although pitch accent on the subject does not necessarily have this effect, as well-known cases of sentences 'out-of-the-blue' such as those listed in (9) illustrate, cf. Berman and Szamosi (1972), Bresnan (1972), Ladd (1980), Selkirk (1984), Schmerling (1976).

- (9) (a) THE **SUN** IS SHINING.
 (b) MY **UMBRELLA'S** BEEN FOUND.
 (c) MY **MOTHER'S** COMING.

Whereas in English there is no formal distinction between exclusive and nonexclusive focus, Hungarian appears to distinguish the two by syntactic means. To begin with, not all answers to (focused) *wh*-questions display a contrastively focused structure. (The constituent moved into the designated focus position is enclosed by brackets informally marked by 'F'.)

- (10) (a) Péter mi-t csinált tegnap?
 Peter what-acc did yesterday
 'What did Peter do/what was Peter doing yesterday?'

 (b) (Péter) **OLVASTA** A **HAMLET-ET** A **KERT-BEN**.
 read the Hamlet-acc the garden-in
 'Peter/He was reading Hamlet in the garden'

 (c) (Péter) **FEL-OLVASTA** A **HAMLET-ET** A **KERT-BEN**.
 up-read
 'Peter/He read out Hamlet in the garden'

 (d) ??(Péter) [A **KERTBEN**]_F olvasta (fel) a Hamletet.
 'It was in the garden that Peter was reading (out) Hamlet'

While (10d) is a possible sentence, it is not a conceivable answer to the VP-question in (10a), while either (10b) or (10c) are likely choices. Both are essentially identical with neutral (i.e. nonfocused) sentences in terms of both constituent order and stress/intonation, as is shown by the equal stresses on the notional words (indistinguishable from unreduced focus accents) and the usual intonational downdrift. (10d), in turn, has focused order, stress pattern and intonation, and it expresses a contrast between the garden and the range of places where Peter might have been reading. (For more on stress and intonation, see the next section.) Consequently, (10b) and (10c) contain nonexclusive foci, namely, the VP itself, as distinct from contrastive focus, as in (10d), which is associated with a different syntactic structure.⁵

Having set the scene, I will now proceed to review research showing that at least some differences between adjuncts and arguments with respect to contrastive focus are relevant also in a language that has ex-situ focus, and then I will extend these findings in section 4 onto nonexclusive foci in this language.

3. Asymmetries in contrastive focus

The recurrent and consistent differences between heads and arguments on the one hand and adjuncts on the other regarding the prosody and the semantics of focus structures, which were recapitulated in the previous section following Selkirk (1984), are not confined to languages with in-situ focus. As was claimed in Kenesei (1993), similar distinctions obtain in Hungarian, a focus-movement language.

Although there are diverse views concerning the prosodic structure and/or properties of focused sentences in Hungarian (cf. Varga 1986; É. Kiss 1987/88; É. Kiss 1994; Kálmán–Kornai 1989; Kálmán–Nádasdy 1994), here I will follow research reported in Vogel–Kenesei (1987), Kenesei–Vogel (1989; 1996), which agrees with all except É. Kiss's work in that it does not admit of an automatically left-branching prosodic structure with degrees of stresses decreasing from left to right, but differs from some, notably Kálmán and Kornai, and to some extent from Kálmán and Nádasdy, in that it makes use of prosodic constituents and, as a result of this, the items following and including the preverbal focus and the (completely destressed) verb form a phonological phrase in which postverbal constituents are not completely (as with Kálmán and Kornai)

⁵ The question in (10a), just as its English equivalent, is ambiguous between a process/activity and an accomplishment reading, as reflected in the range of possible answers. We return to the problem of contrastive VP-focus below.

or optionally (as with Kálmán and Nádasdy) destressed, but have reduced stresses throughout.⁶

Now if an adjunct within some maximal category is focused, the phrase containing it has to move into the designated focus position, since a left-adjunct is unable to move on its own, and constituents other than the VP have invariable left-adjunction in Hungarian. In other words, a focused adjunct pied-pipes the dominating phrase node. In the focus position it receives prosodic prominence, i.e. primary stress or pitch accent, accompanied by the concomitant stress reduction of the constituents following it.

(11) (a) Péter [az UNALMAS jelentéseket]_F olvassa.

Peter the boring reports-acc reads

'It's the BORING reports that Peter reads'

(b) Péter [a KÖNYVTÁRBAN olvasó fiút]_F találta meg.

Peter the library-ine reading boy-acc found pfx

'It's the boy reading in the LIBRARY that Peter found'

In (11a) the bracketed DP is moved into the preverbal position, the adjective has primary stress and is interpreted for contrast, so out of a set of reports of various properties, such as exciting, interesting, boring, insipid, fascinating, etc., it is the boring ones that Peter reads.⁷ In (11b) out of the set of boys each reading at some place, such as the library, the park, the school, the stadium, etc., Peter found the one reading in the library. In neither example can an interpretation go through which places the dominating category in contrast, e.g., '*Peter read the BORING reports, not the NEWS MAGAZINES' or '*Peter found the boy reading IN THE LIBRARY, rather than the one WALKING IN THE PARK'. Thus any reading that involves the semantic focusing of the phrase node dominating the adjunct is out of the question.

⁶ Items preceding the focus (e.g., topics, quantifiers) determine their own phonological phrases and have unreduced stresses. Items between the focus and the inflected verb (including the verb) are fully destressed. Thus, stress markings for (11a) and (12a) are given, respectively, in (i) and (ii). ['] stands for unreduced stress, ['] for reduced stress (illustrated in (iii)), and no marking for lack of stress. Boldface syllables are therefore to be regarded as carrying the last unreduced stress in the clause (before another focused constituent).

(i) "Péter [az "UNALMAS jelentéseket] olvassa.

(ii) "Péter [AZ "UNALMAS "JELENTESEKET] olvassa.

(iii) "Péter [az "UNALMAS jelentéseket] olvassa a 'kertben.

'It's the BORING reports that Peter is reading in the garden'

⁷ Another possible, though in this context irrelevant, reading would involve a generic sense of 'boring reports'.

The case is different with heads or arguments in prosodic focus. If, in contrast with the examples in (11), the (lexical) head *jelentéseket* or (the lexical head of) the argument *a könyvet* receives primary stress, the entire phrase that it is the head or the argument of can be interpreted for focus.⁸

(12) (a) Péter [AZ UNALMAS JELENTÉSEKET]_F olvassa.

Peter the boring reports-acc reads

'It is THE BORING REPORTS that Peter reads'

(b) Péter [A KÖNYVET OLVASÓ fiút]_F találta meg.

Peter the book-acc reading boy-acc found pfx

'It is the boy READING THE BOOK that Peter found'

In other words, (12a) is understood as contrasting boring reports with books, magazines, comics, journals, etc., which Peter may have been reading, and (12b) as contrasting boys readings books with boys eating chocolate, running in the garden, swimming, etc., that Peter may have found.⁹

Note that the structural correlation between the stress placement and the semantic interpretation of focused constituents makes it impossible to move items in a random fashion to the designated focus position and then assign them a focus feature there, as Horvath (1986; 1995), É. Kiss (1987; 1994), and Brody (1990) sug-

⁸ It would lead us too far afield to discuss the notion 'have primary stress' here. The idea that topics, or in general pre-focal items are as a rule unstressed was questioned by Varga (1986), while Vogel - Kenesei (1987), Kenesei - Vogel (1989; 1996) in agreement with Kálmán and Kornai (1989) claim that focus is distinguished from preceding constituents by being the last item that has unreduced stress, and by consequence a characteristic pitch accent. See also fn. 6.

⁹ On another reading, compatible with the analysis presented here, a sentence phonetically identical with (12a) can be understood as contrasting boring reports with, say, insipid magazines, constituting a case of multiple contrast. (In this instance the adjective *unalmas*, or its initial syllable, would also have to be in boldface.)

One reviewer objects that in examples like (12b) it is boys, rather than properties of boys, that are in focus. If, however, focus can be a function not only over (sets of) entities, but also over (sets of) properties, I see no difficulty in the semantic interpretation, although the logical formulae are far from simple. The domain in which contrast or exclusion by identification is at work is not that of boys but properties of boys, with the proposition 'Peter found some boy' constituting the (semantic) pre-supposition in (12b), even if it is sets of individuals (boys in our case) which are characterized by these properties.

In syntax, on the other hand, Chomsky's (1993) copy-and-deletion approach to reconstruction can accommodate these and similar structures by allowing the noncontrasted part of the focus-moved constituent to reconstruct into its root position for interpretation. That such a reconstruction is necessary is argued in section 7.

gest. If the DP *az unalmas jelentéseket* in (11b) or (12b) were to move into the pre-verbal position and were assigned a focus feature there, the feature would have to be allowed to percolate down onto either the lexical head or the adjunct without being able to guarantee that its location in Phonetic Form will correspond to its place at Logical Form, i.e., that the placement of the stress will allow the concurrent semantic interpretation as outlined above.

Rather, in agreement with Rochemont (1986), among others, items must be randomly marked for focus at the level of D-structure, and—following possible pied-piping—move in order to check their features in overt syntax in ex-situ languages, and at L.F in focus-in-situ languages, much in line with Chomsky's (1993) checking theory.

4. Arguments and VP-focus

The asymmetry between adjuncts and heads/arguments, well-known from in-situ languages, has not been extensively studied in ex-situ languages. Even less attention has been given to problems of adjunct-argument asymmetries in producing broad focus, although É. Kiss (1987/88) made an important attempt to adapt Selkirk's (1984) findings to Hungarian by trying to demonstrate that arguments in the focus position may result in noncontrastive focus. On the one hand, however, she does not consistently distinguish contrastive and nonexclusive foci, but quotes Selkirk's definition, which is neutral between the two, and, on the other hand, her crucial examples are ill-chosen in that they contain an adjunct for a purported argument.¹⁰ In this section I will concentrate on nonexclusive focus, while in the next one, I will take up the issue of contrastive VP-focus.

True internal arguments can indeed be placed in focus positions and convey VP focus in Hungarian. Using the examples in (10), a VP-question as in (10a), repeated below in (13a) can also be answered by a sentence that has the object argument in focus, whether with a plain or with a prefixed verb.

¹⁰ Consider her standard example (17), cited with our symbolism and translation.

(i) János **PIROSKÁVAL** ebédelt a menzán.
 John Piroška-ins had-lunch the canteen-sup
 'It is Piroška that John had lunch with at the canteen'

In (i) *Piroskával* is an adjunct of the verb *ebédelt*, and it can only be interpreted as contrastive focus, even in the context of the question É. Kiss quotes as introducing (i): 'You have any news from the department?' Clearly, the set of people determined by 'the department' suffices for a domain of discourse as required by our definition of contrastive focus above. For more, see fn. 15 and Varga (1987/88).

- (13) (a) Péter mi-t csinált tegnap?
 Peter what-acc did yesterday
 'What did Peter do yesterday?'
 (b) (Péter) [A **HAMLETET**]_F OLVASTA.
 the Hamlet-acc read
 'Peter/He was reading Hamlet'
 (c) (Péter) [A **HAMLETET**]_F OLVASTA FEL.
 'He was reading out Hamlet'

It is an interesting feature of the focused sentences in (13b,c) that in the relevant nonexclusive reading they can only be interpreted as progressive, even though the verb would otherwise be compatible with an accomplishment meaning, as in (13c): 'finished reading out Hamlet'. The nonexclusive reading is possible if there is no understood domain of discourse, i.e., if the action of Peter's reading (out) Hamlet is not one of a closed number of possible alternative activities as understood by the speaker (and the hearer), such as mowing the grass, picking apples, watering the flowers, walking, jogging, etc.

The object arguments of verbs of accomplishment/achievement cannot occur in the designated preverbal focus position in answer to a VP-question.¹¹

- (14) (a) Mit csinált Edison 1877-ben?
 what-acc did Edison 1877-ine
 'What did Edison do in 1877?'
 (b) **FEL-TALÁLTA** A **FONOGRÁFOT**.
 pfx-invented-3sg the phonograph-acc
 'He invented the phonograph'
 (c) ?? [A **FONOGRÁFOT**]_F találta fel.
 'It is the phonograph that he invented'

¹¹ For more on verb types and terminology, see Kiefer (1994) and the literature cited there. Here I concentrate on the three verb types: activities versus accomplishments and achievements. The focusing properties of other, such as stative or momentous (semelfactive), predicates fall outside the scope of this paper.

I am especially indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for comments on the remaining part of this section.

The answer in (14c) is only acceptable if the question is one of a series asking about what Edison invented in each year including 1877, i.e., in 1876 he invented the telephone receiver, in 1877 the phonograph, in 1878 the lightbulb, and in 1879 the carbon filament. Since such an enumeration determines a closed list of activities, it is clearly a context for contrastive, rather than nonexclusive focus.

Noncontrastive focus, in accordance with the picture outlined in section 2, identifies the entity, property, etc. in question, but does not exclude any other one in the domain of discourse. In other words, an answer along the lines of (10b,c), (13b,c) and (14b) in the relevant readings is **not** tantamount to saying that the referent of the subject was doing **nothing other** than what is specified in the predicate. Peter may have been having coffee, walking, etc., in the garden in the scenario depicted by (10b,c), and Edison may have travelled round the world in the situation portrayed in (14b). Note the impossibility of (15a), but not (15b).

(15) (a) *Miközben utazgatott, [A **FONOGRÁFOT**]_F találta fel.

'While he was traveling, it's the phonograph he invented'

(b) Miközben utazgatott, **FEL-TALÁLTA A FONOGRÁFOT**.

'While he was traveling, he invented the phonograph'

In contrast with (15a), sentences such as (13b,c) are perfectly acceptable in a similar context.

(16) Miközben a kertben üldögélt, A **HAMLETET** OLVASTA (FEL).

'While he was sitting in the garden, he was reading (out) Hamlet'

That the difference is not due to a distinction between affected and effected objects is shown by the following examples in which an affected object behaves the same way as the effected object in (14b,c).

(17) (a) (Péter)**KI-TAKARÍTOTTA A SZOBÁT**.

Peter perf-cleaned the room-acc

'Peter cleaned up the room'

(b) ??(Péter) [A **SZOBÁT**]_F TAKARÍTOTTA KI.

'It's the room that Peter cleaned'

(c) (Péter) [A **SZOBÁT**]_F TAKARÍTOTTA.

'Peter cleaned/was cleaning the room'

(d) (Péter) **TAKARÍTOTTAA SZOBÁT**.

'idem'

In the context of a question like (13a), i.e. 'What did Peter do yesterday?', (17a) is a possible answer, but (17b) is not, unless an exclusive reading is associated with it as before. The examples in (17c,d) both have progressive readings, and are fully acceptable as answers containing VP-foci, similarly to (10b) and (13b,c).

It appears that the distinction is between resultative actions and nonresultative processes. In other words, predicates containing achievement verbs (e.g., *megtalál* 'find', *elér* 'reach', *feltalál* 'invent') and accomplishment verbs (e.g., *megeszik* 'eat up', *kitakarít* 'clean up', *megtanul* 'learn [perf.]'), do not allow their (object or, in general, internal) arguments to be focused and have the entire VP in semantic focus, while the internal arguments of activity verbs (e.g., *tanul* 'study', *olvas* 'read', *takarít* 'clean') can move into the focus position with a concomitant VP-focus interpretation. Achievements and accomplishments are telic and denote an action in its totality. Processes or activities are atelic and partitive; (13b) is understood as a partial reading of Hamlet, but in (14b) there can be no partial invention of the phonograph. Partitive activities can then share the time span they define with other processes, but telic actions can only be executed consecutively.

Note, furthermore, that in every case when the focused argument allows a broad VP-focus reading to emerge, this interpretation oscillates freely between a contrastive and a noncontrastive alternative, depending on whether or not the action in the VP is understood with respect to a limited domain of discourse.

We have seen that focus on the VP is indeed possible in Hungarian with an internal argument placed in the designated focus position, as was surmised by É. Kiss (1987/88), but only if certain conditions are observed, such as the prohibition on achievement and accomplishment verbs. The picture we have presented of VP-focus is far from complete as yet. In order to obtain a clearer view, we have to compare contrastive VP-foci with noncontrastive ones.¹²

¹² These observations also have the consequence of providing an argument for a distinction between internal and external arguments in Hungarian, which has been challenged primarily by É. Kiss (1987; 1994). The question in (i) can be answered only by (ii) or (iii), and not by (iv) or (v).

- (i) *Mi ez a zaj?*
'What is this noise?'
- (ii) *PÉTER [A FÜVET]_F NYÍRJA A KERTBEN*
Peter the grass-acc mows the garden-ine
'Peter is mowing the grass in the garden'
- (iii) *PÉTER NYÍRJA A FÜVET A KERTBEN*
'idem'
- (iv) ?? *[PÉTER]_F NYÍRJA A FÜVET A KERTBEN*
'It's Peter that's mowing the grass in the garden'
- (v) ?* *[PÉTER]_F NYÍRJA A FÜVET A KERTBEN*

5. Contrastive VP-focus

In discussion with Szabolcsi (1981a; 1981b), I argued in Kenesei (1986; 1989) that whenever full sentences, i.e. propositions, are contrastively focused, every notion-al word except for the verb carries primary stress.

- (18) Nem **PÉTER** ALUDT A **PADLÓN**, hanem A **HÁZIGAZDA** KÖLTÖZÖTT **SZÁLLODÁBA**.
 not Peter slept the floor-sup but the host moved hotel-ill
 'It is not the case that Peter slept on the floor, but that the host moved to a hotel'

As regards the placement of primary stresses, this structure formally corresponds to Kálmán *et al.*'s (1989) 'sentences with multiple contrast', though the constituents are not contrasted pairwise here.

The case is not different when VPs are contrasted: if they have at least one argument, it will occupy the designated focus position, with the rest of the arguments lined up behind the verb.¹³

- (19) Péter [A **HAMLETET**]_F OLVASTA FEL **MARINAK**, míg
 Peter the Hamlet-acc read up Mary-dat while
 János [AZ **AUTÓT**]_F SZEDTE **APRÓ DARABOKRA**.
 John the car-acc took small pieces-sub
 'Peter was reading out Hamlet to Mary, while John was taking the car into small pieces'

Note that verb-initial VPs are also possible in contrast contexts, though structures with the argument in the preverbal focus position are somewhat more acceptable.

- (20) (a) ?Péter nem **OLVASTA A HAMLETET** **MARINAK**, hanem **SZALADGÁLT**.
 (b) Péter nem A **HAMLETET** OLVASTA **MARINAK**, hanem **SZALADGÁLT**.
 'Peter was not reading Hamlet to Mary, but running around'

Why verb-initial VPs are less likely or customary as VP-foci is an interesting puzzle, especially in view of the general applicability of Selkirk's rule (1) and the fact that lexical heads can carry phonological focus in Hungarian. This even includes verbs in Hungarian if (a) they are lexically marked for focus, i.e., when they are contrasted with some other verb, or (b) they are 'assertive' or truth-functional, that is, they are contrasted with the nonexecution of the same action.

¹³ The order of the arguments is immaterial: the dative object *Marinak* can also be placed in the preverbal focus position with the object *a Hamletet* remaining behind the verb.

(21) (a) Péter nem [OLVASTA/FELOLVASTA]_F a Hamletet, hanem TANULTA.

'Peter was not reading/reading out Hamlet; he was studying it'

(b) Péter (igenis) [OLVASTA/FELOLVASTA]_F a Hamletet.

'Peter (indeed) did read/read out Hamlet'

That the structure expressing lexical contrast differs from the assertive one was shown by Kálmán *et al.* (1989) by using the auxiliary *fog* 'will', which precedes the infinitive only if the contrast is assertive, rather than lexical.

(22) (a) Péter [FOGJA]_F olvasni a Hamletet.

Peter will-3sg read-inf the Hamlet-acc

'Peter WILL read Hamlet'

(b) Péter [OLVASNI]_F fogja a Hamletet.

'What Peter will do in relation to Hamlet is read (it).'

In (22a) assertive focus is involved, so we may conjecture that it is Tense, the head of the IP, and not the (lexical) verb, that is marked for focus and moves into the designated position. In (22b) the verb in infinitive has the focus feature and is thus moved into the appropriate position. The verb in (21b) has to move into Tense only to check its ϕ -features, and it is the head of Tense Phrase that moves on into the head of the Focus Phrase, carrying the verb adjoined to it along, as it were. Whereas contrastive and assertive foci correspond to two different structures in (22), they happen to coincide in (21a) and (21b), as illustrated in (23), in which (21a) would have focus marking on the verb, and (21b) on Tense.¹⁴

(23) [_{TopP} Péter_i [_{FP} [_F [_{V+T} olvas-t-a_j]] [... e_i e_j a Hamletet]]]

Peter read-past-3sg the Hamlet-acc

If the VP is focused, its focus feature trickles down on its head and its arguments. If movement into the Spec of FP is triggered by the focus feature, then not only an argument, but also the head of the VP, i.e., the verb itself can be moved into the focus position, as in (23), and consequently carry prosodic prominence. (It is prob-

¹⁴ Although, as seen in (23), the verb moves into the head of the Focus Phrase, for purposes of illustration we will continue to mark by brackets labeled for 'F' only constituents other than the verb that move into the focus position.

ably a 'low' phonological rule that destresses the verb whenever it is not initial in the focused phrase, cf. Kenesei–Vogel (1989).)

- (24) (a) Péter **ANNÁNAK** OLVASTA A **HAMLETET** (nem pedig szaladgált).
 Peter Ann-dat read the Hamlet-acc not rather ran-around
 'What Peter did was read Hamlet to Anna (rather than run around).'
 (b) Péter **OLVASTA ANNÁNAK** A **HAMLETET** (nem pedig szaladgált).
 'Idem'

If, however, an adjunct is placed in the designated focus position, it is impossible to interpret the VP as focused, cf. (25a). If, in turn, the verb is focused with the adjunct unfocused, the structure passes as VP-focus, cf. (25b).¹⁵

- (25) (a) *Péter [A **KERTBEN**]_F OLVASOTT FEL (nem pedig úszott).
 Peter the garden-ine read out not rather swam
 (b) Péter **FEL**OLVASOTT A **KERTBEN** (nem pedig úszott).
 'What Peter did was read out in the garden (rather than swim).'
 (26) (a) *Péter [**HANGOSAN**]_F OLVASOTT FEL A KERTBEN.
 aloud
 (b) Péter **HANGOSAN FEL**OLVASOTT A KERTBEN.
 'What Peter did was read out aloud in the garden'

Since heads project arguments, but not adjuncts, arguments can in their turn percolate their visible properties onto the dominating category that they are arguments of. This is the fundamental insight that lies behind Selkirk's (1984) observation on adjunct/argument asymmetry in focusing. As the case appears to be in Hungarian, it is not sufficient for a single argument to carry the focus feature. If a VP is focused, the head and every one of its arguments must be marked for focus, i.e., the feature percolates down onto every one of them, and either the verb or one of the arguments moves into the designated focus position with the rest of them (excepting the verb) remaining in situ and ultimately assigned focus stress.

However, the case is not as simple as it might appear. Alongside with the expected constructions in which the head or one of the arguments is moved into focus (with the rest of the arguments having focus stresses *in situ*), cf. (18a,b), an adjunct can also be focused, whether moved or *in situ*, and the VP can be inter-

¹⁵ It is shown by the preverbal position of the prefix *fel* that the verb, rather than the adjunct, is focused.

preted for semantic focus, provided there is at least one argument in a postverbal position (carrying unreduced, focus stress of course), cf. (27c).¹⁶

- (27) (a) Péter **FEL**OLVASTA A **HAMLETET** A **KERTBEN** (nem pedig úszott).
 Peter pfx-read the Hamlet-acc the garden-ine not rather swam
 (b) Péter A **HAMLETET** OLVASTA (FEL) A **KERTBEN** (nem pedig úszott).
 (c) Péter A **KERTBEN** OLVASTA (FEL) A **HAMLETET** (nem pedig úszott).
 'What Peter did was read (out) Hamlet in the garden (rather than swim).'

Note that the adjunct in the distinguished focus position must be referential, otherwise the purported interpretation of the VP as semantic focus fails. If a nonreferential (manner, reason, etc.) adjunct is moved into focus, whether or not there are postverbal arguments, the only reading possible is one of narrow contrastive focus on the adjunct. The following illustrates.

- (28) (a) *Péter (nem úszott, hanem) **HANGOSAN** OLVASTA FEL A **HAMLETET**.
 not swam but aloud
 'Peter was not swimming, but reading out Hamlet aloud'

- (b) *Péter (nem úszott, hanem) **HANGOSAN** OLVASOTT.¹⁷

¹⁶ That É. Kiss's (1987/88) example has an adjunct in focus is shown by the analogy with (26a): no VP-focus is possible in (i).

- (i) *János [**PIROSKÁVAL**]_F EBÉDELT (nem pedig úszott).
 John Piroška-ins had-lunch not rather swam
 'What John did was have lunch with Piroška (rather than swim)' (intended meaning)

The sentence in (i) is of course interpretable as contrastive: 'It is Piroška that John had lunch with.' The adjunct in focus position becomes acceptable as VP-focus if a postverbal referential phrase is also stressed, unlike her claim and as Varga (1987/88) suggests, cf. (ii).

- (ii) János **PIROSKÁVAL** EBÉDELT A **MENZÁN**.
 John Piroška-ins had-lunch the canteen-sup
 'What John did was have lunch with Piroška at the canteen'

¹⁷ The possible readings for (28a,b), provided postverbal constituents have reduced stresses, are the following: 'Peter was reading (Hamlet) ALOUD.' I am not concerned here with a version of (28a) in which each word has unreduced stress, resulting in a progressive reading, cf. Kiefer (1994). Another variant of (28b), in which the verb carries unreduced stress, belongs under a different heading, for the adjunct *hangosan* is not in focus, as shown by the preverbal prefix in (ii) in the same context and interpretation.

- (i) Péter (nem úszott, hanem) **HANGOSAN** OLVASOTT.
 (ii) Péter (nem úszott, hanem) **HANGOSAN FEL**-OLVASOTT.
 'Peter was not swimming but was reading (something out) aloud.'
 (iii) *Péter (nem úszott, hanem) **HANGOSAN** OLVASOTT FEL.

Finally, as is predictable, the integrity of the minimal VP must be observed. In other words, while adjuncts can be removed from the VP, no argument can stay outside the scope of focusing if the head or any other argument moves into the focus position, thus producing the effect of VP-focus.

- (29) (a) Pétera kertben [A FÜVET]_F NYÍRTA (és nem szaladgált)
 Peterthe garden-in_{the} the grass-acc mowed (andnot ran)
 'In the garden Peter was mowing the grass (rather than running around)'
- (b) *Péter a füvet [A KERTBEN]_F NYÍRTA (és nem szaladgált)
- (30) (a) Péter hangosan [A KÖNYVET]_F OLVASTA FEL (és nem énekelt)
 Peter aloud the book-acc read out and not sang
 'Peter was reading out the book aloud (rather than singing)'
- (b) *Péter a könyvet [HANGOSAN]_F OLVASTA FEL (és nem énekelt)
- (31) (a) *Péter Annának [A KÖNYVEKET]_F ADTA EL (és nem integetett)
 Peter Anna-dat the books-acc sold pfx and not waved
 'As for Anna, Peter sold the books to her (rather than waved)'
- (b) *Péter a könyveket [ANNÁNAK]_F ADTA EL (és nem olvasta)
 'As for the books, Peter sold them to Anna (rather than read them)'

In (29) the referential place adjunct can be outside the VP in focus, but the object cannot. (30) shows that the same holds for nonreferential adjuncts, such as manner adverbials. (31) illustrates the impossibility of extracting an argument even if another remains in the scope of focus.

We may conclude then that the VP can be focused if (a) the head and its argument(s) are all marked for focus, which may in part be a result of a parametrized version of our Focus Rule (3) by making use of the *and* option in (3b), and (b) the referential adjuncts in the VP are also all marked for focus *in situ*. Then (a) the verb, (b) one of its internal arguments, or (c) in case the verb has at least one argument, a referential adjunct must move into the designated focus position. No argument can be extracted from the VP unless it moves into the focus position. The focus feature can be percolated from the VP-node onto the head and the arguments with no difficulty, while an inclusion of the referential adjuncts must make reference to D-linking in ways to be studied by further research. We may, however, conjecture that the difference between the focusability of, for example, place and manner adjuncts

in case of VP-focus is compatible with an analysis of manner adverbials as predicates ranging over other predicates in distinction to place or time adjuncts.

6. Manner adverbials and focus domains

As was seen in the preceding section, one particular type of adjunct occurring in the focus position is manner adverbials. Their behavior is interesting also because they do not apparently fit in the mould of focus interpretation outlined in section 2.

As Szabolcsi (1981a; 1981b) demonstrated, focused DPs have semantic or truth conditional consequences different from nonfocused ones.

- (32) (a) Mária és Éva látta Pétert.
 Mary and Eve saw Peter-acc
 'Mary and Eve saw Peter'
- (b) [MÁRIA ÉS ÉVA]_F látta Pétert.
 'It is Mary and Eve that saw Peter'
- (c) Mária látta Pétert.
 'Mary saw Peter'
- (d) [MÁRIA]_F látta Pétert.
 'It is Mary that saw Peter'

She argues that focusing changes the truth conditions of the sentence since (32c) follows from (32a) and from (32b) but (32b) does not entail (32d), the focused version of (32c). Therefore, conjoined focused NPs do not arise out of any operation like conjunction reduction, which is a possible option for nonfocused sentences.

With reference to Szabolcsi's work, É. Kiss (1994, 28ff) claims that if manner adverbials are focused, the resulting reading is incompatible with the standard interpretation of focus, i.e. exclusion by identification. The argument she invokes is based on the fact that in contrast to DPs and PPs manner adverbials do not exclude each other from focus contexts.

- (33) (a) Mari SZÉPEN vasalta ki az inget.
 Mari beautifully ironed pfx the shirt-acc
 'Mari ironed the shirt BEAUTIFULLY'

- (b) Mari SZÉPEN ÉS GYORSAN vasalta ki az inget.
 'Mary ironed the shirt BEAUTIFULLY AND QUICKLY'
- (c) Mari AZ INGET vasalta ki.
 'It is the shirt that Mary ironed'

While (33a) does not exclude the truth of (33b), the sentence in (33c) is incompatible with any state of affairs in which Mary ironed anything other or more than the shirt. É. Kiss's conclusion is that focusing as exclusion by identification is "meaningless in the case of nonreferential adverbials, because, when an adverbial is true of an action or a property, an infinite number of other adverbials may simultaneously also be true of it" (29).

That, however, is an instance of overgeneralization; for although there may be a large number of adverbials applicable in addition to the one in focus without adversely affecting the truth conditions of the proposition, it is not the case that any adverbial can occur there.

- (34) (a) *Mari GYORSAN ÉS SEBESEN vasalta ki az inget.
 'Mary ironed the shirt QUICKLY AND FAST'
- (b) *Mari SZÉPEN ÉS CSÚNYÁN vasalta ki az inget.
 'Mary ironed the shirt IN A BEAUTIFUL AND AN UGLY WAY'

What rules the sentences in (34) ungrammatical is the fact that the adverbials involved are from the same realm of meaning, that of properties relating to speed and taste, respectively. Manner adverbials differ from referential phrases, or in general, from expressions designating (sets of) entities, exactly in that the domains corresponding to manner adverbials can remain disparate: *quickly* excludes only adverbials in the domain of speed, and *beautifully* those in the domain of aesthetic judgement, whether synonymous, antonymous or anything in between these extremes. Unlike the single domain of physical objects or entities, such as *shirt*, the domains of manners in which actions are carried out can be multiple.¹⁸

It is precisely this property of the multiplicity of domains that distinguishes actions from other entities in focus. We have seen above that unless explicitly contrasted, VP-focus does not exclude other VPs, cf. (10b, c), (13b, c), (14b), and their discussion in section 4. In other words, some action as expressed in a VP excludes only actions in the same domain, but not those in a different semantic 'field'.

¹⁸ This analysis of adverbs of manner in focus developed from discussions with Vieri Samek-Lodovici.

- (35) (a) Péter mi-t csinált tegnap?
 Peter what-acc did yesterday
 'What did Peter do yesterday?'
 (b) A HAMLETET olvasta.
 the Hamlet-acc read-3sg
 'He was reading Hamlet'
 (c) A HAMLETET olvasta és a HANGVERSENYT hallgatta.
 and the concert-acc listened
 'He was reading Hamlet and listening to the concert'

As was said before, if (35b) is true, it does not render (35c) false, unlike the case of (32b,d). In other words, (35b) and (35c) are not incompatible, as follows from the nature of actions. And if the two actions happen to be in the same domain and therefore exclude each other, it is always possible to salvage the interpretation of VP-focus by assigning the events expressed by the two VPs to different time segments, as in (36).

- (36) (a) Péter mit csinált a múlt héten?
 'What did Peter do last week?'
 (b) (Péter) LONDONBA repült és PÁRIZSBA GYALOGOLT.
 Peter London-ill flew and Paris-ill walked
 'Peter/He flew to London and walked to Paris'

The only actions that are truly incompatible are those in 'complementary distribution' with each other, such as *leave* and *stay*, *remember x* and *forget x*, *eat one's cake* and *have it*, etc. On the other hand, a DP or a PP in focus calls for an obligatory contrastive interpretation, as the following illustrates. (Note that postverbal constituents have reduced stresses.)

- (37) (a) Péter TEGNAP repült Londonba.
 Peter yesterday flew London-ill
 'It was yesterday (rather than last Thursday, Monday, week, etc.) that Peter flew to London'
 (b) Péter A HAMLETET olvasta tegnap.
 Peter the Hamlet-acc read yesterday
 'It was Hamlet (rather than King Lear, The Times, etc.) that Peter was reading yesterday'

VP focus works as noncontrastive focus probably because the element of exclusion is missing from its normal interpretation, in contrast with DP or PP focus. When, in turn, manner adverbials are in focus, they have to be interpreted as contrastive, i.e., relative to a domain in the same way as other focused items are.

7. Idioms

The last context in which the role of arguments in focusing VPs is studied is idioms. It is well known that some idioms lose their idiomatic sense if constituents within them are (contrastively) focused, cf. (38).

- (38) (a) *He kicked the BUCKET (rather than something else).
 (b) *He kicked THIS bucket (and not the other one).

There are, however, other types of idioms, whose modifiers can receive a focus interpretation, even though they do not allow their parts to be focused, cf. (39a–c), where (39c) is an informal illustration of the focus structure of (39a) in LF.

- (39) (a) He didn't keep CLOSE tabs on Jack.
 (b) *He didn't keep TABS on Jack (... he kept something else)
 (c) NOT [FOC [close *x*] [he kept *x* tabs on Jack]]

Similar observations hold for a focus-movement language like Hungarian.¹⁹ Parts of the idiom cannot be contrasted, cf. (40b), but a modifier can, as in (40c).

- (40) (a) Marit be húzták a csöbe.
 Mari-acc in pulled-they the tube-ill
 'They pulled Mary in the tube. (= 'They tricked Mary.)'

¹⁹ We cannot go into a survey of idiom types in Hungarian. Let it suffice here that there are two general syntactic classes: (i) one with a preverbal modifier (an articleless but casemarked noun or pronoun, generally thought to be incorporated in the verb) + a prefixless verb, and (ii) another with a verb (with or without a prefix) + a definite DP following it.

- (i) *rész-t vesz* 'part-acc take'; *tönk-re megy* 'trunk-sub go: go bankrupt'
 (ii) *le-teszi a lant-ot* 'down-puts the lute-acc: ends work or life';
fel-veszi a kesztyű-t 'up-takes the glove-acc: faces the challenge'

Since it is only in case of definite DPs that focusing can be illustrated, only idioms from the second class will figure in the discussion below.

- (b) *Marit [A **CSÖBE**]_F húzták be.
 (c) Marit [EBBE a csöbe]_F húzták be.
 : this-ill
 'They tricked Mary in THIS particular way'

Since parts of idioms cannot be focused, the movement of the case-marked DP in (40c) has the effect of focusing only the capitalized demonstrative, rather than the entire DP, in a semantic sense. In order to account for this, it is necessary to make use of some version of reconstruction, such as the one suggested by Chomsky (1993, 41), which is based on a copy-and-deletion resolution of problems raised by movement rules and on a 'preference principle' of reconstruction: "Do it when you can, (i.e., try to minimize the restriction in the operator position)." In the context of the interaction of Binding Principle and reconstruction, for example, the ambiguous sentence in (40a) and also the loss of the idiomatic sense on one reading can be easily accounted for by the two LF structures resulting from different options of deletion, and ultimately corresponding to *himself* bound by *John*, as in (41b), or by *Bill*, as in (41c),

- (41) (a) John_i wondered which picture of himself_{i,j} Bill_j took.
 (b) John wondered [which *x*, *x* a picture of himself] [Bill took *x*]
 (c) John wondered [which *x*] [Bill took [*x* picture of himself]]

The analysis carries over to other *wh*-phrases in English, as Chomsky (1993) points out, cf. (42), and to a focus-movement language, such as Hungarian, as seen in (42)–(44).

- (42) (a) [which *x*, *x* a book] [John read *x*] ("War and Peace")
 (b) [which *x*] [John read [*x* book]] ("that (book)")

- (43) (a) Anna [a [**KÖNYVTÁRBAN** olvasó] fiút]_i látta *e*_i
 Anna the library-inc reading boy-acc saw
 'It's the boy reading IN THE LIBRARY that Ann saw'

- (b) FOC[the library *x*] {Anna saw [the boy [reading in *x*]]}

- (44) (a) Anna [az [**EBBEN** a könyvtárban olvasó] fiút]_i látta *e_i*
 this-inc
 'It's the boy reading in THIS library that Anna saw'
 (b) FOC[this *x*] [Anna saw [the boy [reading in [*x* library]]]]

In other words, as was seen above, focus-movement languages do not make use of their designated focus positions to focus all and only the constituents moved there in either a phonological or a semantic sense. It is a syntactic slot into which constituents (containing items) marked for [+focus] move to have their focus features licensed or checked, just as wh-phrases have their wh-features licensed/checked in languages that have overt wh-movement.

One version of (39b) is, however, grammatical.²⁰

- (45) (a) He didn't KEEP **TABS** on Jack, he KEPT AN **EYE** on him.
 (b) He didn't KEEP **TABS** on Jack, he PAYED **HEED** to him.

Since in (45) the head of an argument (of an argument) is in focus, the whole VP can be contrastively focused, i.e., the whole idiom *keep an eye (on x)* is in contrast. But note that the corresponding structure in Hungarian, i.e., a focused idiom chunk as contrasted with another one, loses its idiomatic sense and results in veritable garbage.

- (46) (a) Anna ki-vágta a rez-et.
 Anna out-cut the copper-acc
 'Anna cut the copper out (= showed her best).'
 (b) *Anna [A REZET]_F vágta ki (nem a magas C-t).
 'Anna cut the copper out (rather than cut out [= sing] the high C note = excelled).'

But to conclude that it is impossible to focus arguments in idioms in a focus-movement language would be premature. Recall that one of the differences between VPs that allow their arguments to be focused and those that do not is related to whether or not they make an activity/progressive reading possible, cf. (13), (14) and their discussion.

²⁰ I owe the regularity behind (45a) to Richard Kayne and that captured in (45b) to one anonymous reviewer.

If we can show that idioms with a progressive aspect allow their arguments to move into the focus position, the analogy between in-situ and ex-situ languages will be complete. Consider now the following idioms.

- (47) (a) ?*Nem [A VIZES LEPEDŐT]_F HÚZTÁK RÁ, hanem csak egyszerűen cserben
not the wet sheet-acc pulled-3pl on-him but only simply in-lurch
hagyták.
left-3pl

'They didn't pull the wet sheet on him (= blame him for all), but simply left him in the lurch'

- (b) *Nem [A FOGÁT]_F HAGYTA OTT, csak megsebesült.
not the his-tooth-acc left-3sg there, but got-wounded-3sg
'He didn't leave his teeth there. (= kick the bucket, get killed) he simply got wounded'

- (48) (a) Nem [A ZAVAROSBAN]_F HALÁSZOTT, hanem csak összekeverte a dolgokat.
not the muddy-water-in was-fishing-3sg but simply bungled-up the things
'He wasn't fishing in troubled waters, he simply bungled up everything'

- (b) Nem [A LÓBŐRT]_F HÚZZA, hanem keményen dolgozik.
not the horse-skin-acc scrape-3sg but hard works
'He is not scraping horse-skin (= sawing logs, snoring), but is working hard'

The idioms in (47), together with the one in (46), are achievement or accomplishment verbs, without a progressive reading, and (47a) is possible only insofar as it allows such an option. The idioms in (48) in turn denote activities, rather than accomplishments or achievements, and consequently their arguments can be focused with the entire idiom understood as focused, just like their English counterparts in (45).

In short, arguments in verbal idioms expressing activity behave in the same way as the arguments of activity verbs: they can move into the focus position and have the full idiom understood as being focused.

8. Conclusion

The data surveyed in this paper have served to show that the VP is a true constituent of the Hungarian sentence and that it, too, can be focused. But the VP cannot be focused in the same way as other constituents. Firstly, VP-foci can, but do not have to be understood as contrastive; they can have nonexclusive readings, since actions are in general not incompatible. Secondly, VP-focus is expressed by placing the verb, one of its arguments, or one of the referential adjuncts of the VP into the designated focus position. Thirdly, focusing the VP by moving the argument or the referential adjunct into the focus position is possible only in case of activity verbs; VPs of verbs of achievement or accomplishment can be focused only by placing the verb in the focus slot.

The fact that arguments can be used to focus the VP is consonant with the general properties of focusing as was seen in constituents other than the VP and in a language-type other than an ex-situ language like Hungarian. Since arguments are ultimately projected by the head, they are in a grammatical sense representative of it: an argument can invoke the category it is an argument of just as a head can. This was shown to be the case even in case of idioms, which can be focused much like other predicates, although idiom chunks are not focusable as such. Adjuncts, and in particular nonreferential adjuncts, have no role in the projection of categories and are therefore incapable of 'transferring' their focus properties onto the category they are adjoined to whenever they are focused. Nonreferential adjuncts, e.g. manner adverbials, have limited contrastability, though exclusive focus in such adjuncts is not impossible in the semantic domains they determine.

References

- Abraham, W.-de Meij, S. (eds) 1986. Topic, focus and configurationality. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Aissen, J.L. 1992. Topic and focus in Mayan. In: *Language* 68: 43–80.
- Berman, A. Szamosi, M. 1972. Observations on sentential stress. *Language* 48: 304–25.
- Bolinger, D. 1961. Contrastive accent and contrastive stress. *Language* 37: 83–96.
- Bresnan, J. 1972. Stress and syntax: A reply. In: *Language* 48: 326–42.
- Brody, M. 1990. Remarks on the order of elements in the Hungarian focus field. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian Vol. 3*, 95–121. JATE, Szeged.
- Chomsky, N. 1971. Deep structure, surface structure and semantic interpretation. In: Steinberg, D.D.-Jakobovits, L.A. (eds): *Semantics: An interdisciplinary reader*, 183–216. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chomsky, N. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In: Hale, K.-Keyser, S.J. (eds): *The view from Building 20*, 1–52. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.

- Drubig, H.B. 1994. Island constraints and the syntactic nature of focus and association with focus. *Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340*, Bericht Nr. 51, Tübingen.
- É. Kiss, K. 1981. Structural relations in Hungarian, a "free" word order language. In: *Linguistics Inquiry* 12: 185–213.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987. Configurationality in Hungarian. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987/88. Még egyszer a magyar mondat intonációjáról és hangsúlyozásáról [Once more on the intonation and stress pattern of Hungarian sentences]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 89: 1–52.
- É. Kiss, K. 1994. Sentence structure and word order. In: Kiefer, F.–É. Kiss, K. (eds): *The syntactic structure of Hungarian*. *Syntax and semantics* 27, 1–90. Academic Press, San Diego.
- Höhle, T. 1982. Explikationen für 'normale Betonung' und 'normale Wortstellung'. In: Abraham, W. (ed.): *Satzglieder in Deutschen*, 75–154. Günther Narr, Tübingen.
- Horvath, J. 1986. Focus in the theory of grammar and the structure of Hungarian. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Horvath, J. 1995. Structural focus, structural case and the notion of feature assignment. In: É. Kiss, K. (ed.): *Discourse configurational languages*, 28–64. Oxford University Press, London.
- Jacobs, J. 1991. Focus ambiguities. In: *Journal of Semantics* 8: 1–36.
- Jackendoff, R. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Kálmán, C.Gy.–Kálmán, L.–Nádasdy, Á.–Prószéky, G. 1989. A magyar segédigék rendszere [The system of auxiliaries in Hungarian]. In: *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* 17: 49–103.
- Kálmán, L.–Kornai, A. 1989. Hungarian sentence intonation. In: v.d. Hulst, H.–Smith, N. (eds): *Autosegmental studies on pitch accent*, 183–95. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Kálmán, L.–Nádasdy, Á. 1994. A hangsúly [Stress]. In: Kiefer, F. (ed.): *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan* 2: *Fonológia*, 393–467. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Kenesei, I. 1986. On the logic of word order in Hungarian. In: Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds): *Topic, focus and configurationality*, 143–59. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Kenesei, I. 1989. Logikus-e a magyar szórend? [Is Hungarian word order logical?] In: *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* 17: 105–52.
- Kenesei, I. 1993. A minimalist program for the syntax of focus. Unpublished manuscript, University of Szeged and University of Delaware.
- Kenesei, I.–Vogel, I. 1989. Prosodic phonology in Hungarian. In: *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 39: 149–93.
- Kenesei, I.–Vogel, I. 1996. Focus and phonological structure. Unpublished manuscript, University of Szeged and University of Delaware.
- Kiefer, F. 1994. Aspect and syntactic structure. In: Kiefer, F.–É. Kiss, K. (eds): *The syntactic structure of Hungarian*. *Syntax and semantics* 27, 415–64. Academic Press, San Diego.
- King, T.H. 1993. Configuring topic and focus in Russian. PhD dissertation, Stanford University, Stanford CA.
- Ladd, D.R. 1980. *The structure of intonational meaning*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington IN.
- Ortiz de Urbina, J. 1986. Some parameters in the grammar of Basque. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign.
- Ortiz de Urbina, J. 1989. Parameters in the grammar of Basque. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Rochemont, M.S. 1986. *Focus in generative grammar*. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Rochemont, M.S.–Culicover, P.W. 1990. *English focus constructions and the theory of grammar*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge MA.
- Schmerling, S. 1976. *Aspects of English sentence stress*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Selkirk, E.O. 1984. *Phonology and syntax*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.

- Selkirk, E.O. 1995. Sentence prosody: Intonation, stress and phrasing. In: Goldsmith, J.A. (ed.): *The handbook of phonological theory*, 550–69. Blackwell, London.
- Stechow, A. von–Uhmann, S. 1986. Some remarks on focus projection. In: Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds): *Topic, focus and configurationality*, 295–320. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1981a. The semantics of topic/focus articulation. In: Groenendijk, J.A.G. *et al.* (eds): *Formal methods in the study of language*, MC Tract 136, 513–40. Amsterdam.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1981b. Compositionality in focus. In: *Folia Linguistica* 15: 141–61.
- Szabolcsi, A. To appear. All quantifiers are not equal: The case of focus. In: *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*.
- Tuller, L. 1992. The syntax of postverbal constructions in Chadic. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10: 303–34.
- Varga, L. 1986. Vélemények a magyar mondat hangsúlyozásáról, avagy Brassai és a többiek [Opinions about Hungarian sentence stress, or, Brassai and the others]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 88: 181–88.
- Varga, L. 1987/88. Hozzászólás egy hangsúlytanulmányhoz [Comments on a study on stress]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 89: 53–66.
- Vogel, I.–Kenesei, I. 1987. The interface between phonology and other components of grammar. In: *Phonology* 4: 243–63.
- Watters, J. 1979. Focus in Aghem. In: Hyman, L. (ed.): *Aghem grammatical structure*, 137–97. SCOPIL 7, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Address of the author: István Kenesei
Institute of English and American Studies
and PhD Program in Theoretical Linguistics
József Attila University
Egyetem u. 2.
H-6722 Szeged, Hungary
e-mail: kenesei@lit.u-szeged.hu

TOPIC IN FOCUS
ON THE SYNTAX, PHONOLOGY, SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS
OF THE SO-CALLED “CONTRASTIVE TOPIC”
IN HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN

VALÉRIA MOLNÁR

Abstract

In linguistic tradition, the standard view of informational structuring maintains the strict dichotomy of the involved relevant notions figuring in different theoretical frameworks under different labels such as *theme* vs. *rheme*, *topic* vs. *focus*, *topic* vs. *comment*, *background* vs. *focus*, etc. In several recent syntactic and semantic theories of focus and in both traditional and modern theories about Hungarian sentence structure, this dichotomy is most often discussed as the “topic–focus articulation” of the sentence.

The main purpose of this study is to address some of the problems faced by traditional theories in relation to the concept of “contrastive topic”. The notion of contrastive topic, here considered as representing an intersection between topic and focus, is a phenomenon for which the traditional view cannot apparently provide a satisfactory and convincing explanation. An analysis of its syntactic, phonological, semantic and pragmatic properties demands a better understanding of topicalization and focussing mechanisms. It also requires an internal differentiation of the two concepts (a new topic and focus-typology) and a new way of modelling the relationship between them which, according to the hypothesis of this paper, can also include the interaction between topic and focus, provided that certain restrictions are observed. Although topic and focus are defined here as inherently pragmatic, discourse-relevant notions (cf. Molnár 1991), their structural correlates and semantic (logical) properties are relevant for their identification, interpretation and differentiation. The analysis of “contrastive topics” takes into consideration both the pragmatic and grammatical properties of this notion, comparing its realization in two languages, German and Hungarian, these being languages with different topic–focus articulation options.

1. Introduction

There has been general agreement in linguistic theory for more than 150 years about the matter that linguistic analyses of sentences cannot be reduced to their formal aspects but that even “psychological” or “communicative” factors have to be taken into consideration concerning the structuring of sentences or utterances. It was H. Weil (1845) who in his influential work first drew this relevant distinction between the formal and the discourse-motivated aspects of sentences by completing the level of “the syntactic movement” by adding a level of structuring called

“the march of ideas”, closely related to the syntactic structure but not necessarily corresponding to it.

The march of ideas—the structuring of sentences according to different notional, discourse and semantic factors—is in modern linguistics often referred to as **information structure** (cf. Lambrecht 1994). There is nevertheless still some confusion about the exact nature of this component of language and the question is far from being settled as to whether it should be regarded as part of the human communicative competence or subsumed under the grammatical system of the language. Despite important theoretical differences between various approaches to information structure, they all agree upon the necessity of resorting to notions in linguistic analysis clearly distinguished from syntactic categories and suggest the division of the sentence into two complementary parts. This is illustrated by the following sentence (1A)—as an answer given to the question (1Q):

(1) Q: What did Peter do?

A: [*Peter*]_{subject = topic} [went to Lund.]_{predicate = focus}

Sentence (1-A) allows an unproblematic separation of the constituent *Peter* from the second part of the sentence *went to Lund* on all relevant linguistic levels. On the syntactic level, the constituent *Peter* is the subject of the clause (with the semantic role AGENT) on which the second part of the sentence is predicated. At the same time *Peter* can even be analyzed in a different, discourse-related sense: it serves as the basis for the pragmatic predication, being a referential entity, activated in the discourse by being mentioned in the question, standing in the sentence initial position and thus a convenient constituent for functioning as a topic, a starting point of the message. The predicate, on the other hand, completes the sentence not only on the grammatical level but even the utterance on the discourse level in that it conveys the relevant information in the given situation.

Different terms have been suggested to describe these two distinct discourse functions in linguistic tradition: in functional linguistics the labels *theme* vs. *rheme* are used, in generative framework *focus* is contrasted with its counterpart called *pre-supposition*, *background* or *topic*, just to mention a few of them. The “terminological minefield” (cf. Humphreys 1993) in this issue undeniably creates extremely difficult conditions for the solution of the theoretical problems concerning the structuring of information in sentences. It would, however, be impossible to try to cope with the confusing terminology in this paper; for the purposes of the present discussion it is sufficient to point out the relevance of the assumption of an independent level (i.e. one independent of syntax) for information structuring—with (at least) two basically different concepts. At this point the question of whether information

structure should be integrated into the grammatical component (cf. Lambrecht 1994) or considered as part of an autonomous module, pragmatics (as assumed in generative grammar) will also be left open. Nevertheless, I will return to this relevant theoretical issue in a later theoretical part of this study (cf. section 4).

It is often stated in linguistic literature that Hungarian belongs to the languages in which immense support is given for the above discussed partition of the clause based on the communicative status of its constituents. Since the early eighties, this has been called the “topic–focus articulation” of the Hungarian sentence (É. Kiss 1981; Szabolcsi 1980; 1981) alluding to the fact that some ingredients of meaning (i.e. information structure) are directly reflected in the syntactic component of Hungarian. It is generally assumed in Hungarian linguistics that a direct correlation should be established in Hungarian sentences between syntactic positions in the preverbal field of the clause and their interpretations. Consequently the notions “topic” and “focus” refer to syntactic positions as well as covering a kind of “semantic” or “notional” interpretation. Thus the left-peripheral “topic position” (or topic positions), on the one hand, always contains an element which has to be identified as the “notional subject” of the sentence, i.e. it picks out a (specific or generic) individual which the predication is about (É. Kiss 1994, 3). The immediately preverbal position—the “focus position”—on the other hand, is associated with a constituent which bears the focus role, a particular “semantic” role for conveying the new information in the utterance. It is further generally agreed within the Hungarian linguistic tradition concerning the matter at hand that topic and focus are concepts which have to be strictly separated both positionally and notionally, standing in complementary distribution to each other. The main argument for this view is offered primarily by examples like (2A) as opposed to (2A') which differ in grammaticality. In Hungarian a question like (2Q) can be adequately answered only if the constituent specifying the open element of the question (i.e. *Lundba*)—called the focus of the answer (2A)—occupies the required immediately preverbal “focus position”. Thus (2A') with a converse ordering of the topic and focus constituents is ruled out:

- (2) Q: *Hova utazott Péter?*
 where went Peter
 ‘Where did Peter go?’

A: [_T *Péter*] [_F *Lundba*] *utazott.*
 Peter Lund-to went
 ‘Peter went to Lund.’

*A': [_F *LUNDba*] [_T *Péter*] *utazott.*

However, many problems arise in connection with the information structural—and in Hungarian even with the corresponding syntactic—description of sentences. As a matter of fact, not only the different types of “dichotomy hypotheses” with their “single-level” divisions of the sentence (in two complementary categories such as e.g. *topic* vs. *focus*, *topic* vs. *comment*, *theme* vs. *rheme* etc.) fail to account for the diversity of the empirical data but even more elaborate proposals arguing for more than just one articulation (Halliday 1967; Dahl 1974; Kiefer 1977; Jacobs 1984; Lambrecht 1994 etc.) or theories replacing the bipartite division by a tripartite articulation (É. Kiss 1981; 1987; Vallduví–Engdahl 1996) cannot capture the complexity of factors and levels which are relevant for information structuring (i.e. the structuring of sentences in discourse). Actually, the above-mentioned correlation of different grammatical and pragmatic (also termed “communicative”, “notional” or “semantic”) properties appears in this uncontroversial way in only a few, prototypical cases. The theory must, however, also account for the more complicated cases including the especially intricate case of the so-called “contrastive topic”, or for the partially corresponding phenomenon of “I-topicalization” discussed in the description of German. Sentences with two pitch accents generally, and the above-mentioned type of contrastive topicalization in particular are, as will be shown below, a great challenge to the dichotomy theory.

The phenomenon of accented topics is often debated in different linguistic approaches, in connection with various theoretical problems and claims of either a syntactic or a pragmatic nature. Clauses containing prominent topics are assumed to have a characteristic intonation pattern with at least two prosodic peaks in which the first accent, on the topic, is most often realized with a tonal rise and the second one, the nuclear accent on the focus, is realized with a fall.¹ Accents on topics are often signalled and contrasted with focus accents in different ways. Sometimes the prenuclear accent receives a marking identical to the nuclear accent, indicating the identical strength of the accent types. The two accent types are, however, formally distinguished in several cases, in order to show the difference in their contours.² In the following introductory examples in section 2, a uniform marking of the con-

¹ This special intonation contour has been called *hat pattern* in the literature on English and German intonation (cf. Féry 1993). In the literature on German there exist even other terms for the same pattern. Wunderlich (1991) uses the term *bridge* and Jacobs (1996) suggests the label *Wurzelkontur* in accordance with a proposal made by Uhmann.

² Often used markings are either the signalling of accent type falling vs. rising (‘ vs. ’) or italics vs. other accent marking possibilities on the nuclear accent (capital letters or underlining). In works relying on autosegmental phonology the bitonal accents are characterized by the composition of two different tones: topics are associated with the L*+H-contour and are in most cases opposed to the H*+L of the nucleus. In some works even tone unit boundaries are marked by “[]”.

stituent bearing the prenuclear accent will be used, by placing it in italics and putting it in contrast with the constituent with the nuclear accent marked by capital letters:³

- (3) *As for Matilda*, she CAN'T stand Felix. (Reinhart 1982)
- (4) *With Rosa*, Felix went to the BEACH. (Reinhart 1982)
- (5) *The wine* she LIKED. (Drubig 1991)
- (6) *Ronald* made the HAMBURGERS. (Chafe 1976)
- (7) *Most of these problems* a computer could solve EASILY. (Leech–Svartvik 1975)
- (8) *His face* I'm not FOND of but *his character* I DESPISE. (Leech–Svartvik 1975)

Prominent topics are discussed even in German linguistics and are, in current analyses, considered to be one of the most puzzling theoretical problems (cf. Jacobs 1996). The German examples are in many (though not all) respects similar to the above-mentioned cases in English:⁴

- (9) *Was Peter betrifft*, so wird er dieses Jahr wohl KAUM verreisen. (Jacobs 1984)
- (10) *Die Brigitte*, die kann ich schon GAR nicht leiden. (Altmann 1981)

³ The marking of the accented constituents suggested by the different authors has thus been modified. Cf. the original examples (3), (4), respectively with the original markings of the different accent types in (5), (6), (7), and (8):

- (3) As for Matilda, she can't stand Felix. (Reinhart 1982)
- (4) With Rosa, Felix went to the beach. (Reinhart 1982)
- (5) The WINE she LIKED. (Drubig 1991)
- (6) Rónald made the hámburgers. (Chafe 1976)
- (7) *Most of these problems* a computer could solve eásily. (Leech–Svartvik 1975)
- (8) | His face | I'm not fond of | but his châracter | I despise. | (Leech–Svartvik 1975)

⁴ Cf. the German examples with their original accent marking:

- (9) Was Péter betrifft, so wird er dieses Jahr wohl káum verreisen. (Jacobs 1984)
- (10) Die Brigitte, die kann ich schon gar nicht leiden. (Altmann 1981)
- (11) Der √NEUe Roman von Grass, den würde ich \NICHT empfehlen. (Jacobs 1996)
- (12) Den √NEuen Roman von Grass würde ich \NICHT empfehlen. (Jacobs 1996)
- (13) /ALLE Politiker sind NICHT\ korrupt. (Büring 1995c)

- (11) *Der neue Roman von Grass*, den würde ich NICHT empfehlen. (Jacobs 1996)
- (12) *Den NEuen Roman von Grass* würde ich NICHT empfehlen. (Jacobs 1996)
- (13) *Alle Politiker* sind NICHT korrupt. (Büring 1995c)

Some of the syntactic and semantic problems connected with prominent topics also appear not infrequently in recent theories on Hungarian sentence structure—though the assumptions concerning the discourse status of these constituents are rather controversial. Most often, prominent constituents on the left periphery of the sentence preceding the focal element are considered intonationally marked topics. It has, however, been noticed (see Szabolcsi 1980; 1981) that topics with a rising tone—not seldom creating independent phonological phrases being separated from the rest of the clause by a slight pause—are connected with special semantic properties. According to Szabolcsi the most important semantic effect achieved by this phonological pattern is the implication of a contrast which often remains implicit (14) but can also be expressed explicitly if further specification of contrast is demanded by the context (15), (16):⁵

- (14) *Az ékszerészt* NEM a védencem gyilkolta meg. (Szabolcsi 1980)
 the jeweller-acc not the client-my murdered prev
 'As for the jeweller, he was not murdered by my client.'
- (15) *Máriát* MEglátogattam, de Évát NEM. (Szabolcsi 1980)
 Mary-acc prev-visited-I but Eva-acc not
 'As for Mary, I have visited her (, but as for Eva, I have not visited her).'
- (16) *Mulatni* PÉTER mulatott, de *fizetni* JÁNOS fizetett. (Szabolcsi 1980)
 enjoying himself Peter enjoyed-himself, but paying John payed
 'As for enjoying himself, Peter did it, but as for the payment, John made it.'

It has to be emphasized that prominent topics appear in English, German and Hungarian—as the examples above show—in the most heterogeneous construc-

⁵ Szabolcsi indicates the phonological pattern by use of a hyphen in (14) and (15). Additionally, she uses the F sign in brackets for marking the focussed constituent in (16).

(14) *Az ékszerészt* – nem a védencem gyilkolta meg.

(15) *Máriát* – meglátogattam, de *Évát* – nem.

(16) *Mulatni* – [_F Péter] mulatott, de *fizetni* – [_F János] fizetett.

tions, namely in such constructions as “left dislocation” (3), “PP-preposing” (4), “topicalization” (5), (7), (8), *Linksversetzung* in (9), (10), “hanging topic” in (11), “I-Topikalisierung” in (12), (13), topics realized in a so-called Topic-position (14), (15), (16). Some of these prominent topics can be linked with subjects (6), (13), even in combination with quantifiers and/or negation (13). It should also be pointed out that these constructions differ with regard to their appropriateness of use in different discourse environments, and in the case of their combinations with quantifiers or operators even with regard to their possible scope relations. They also show differences in their possible and preferred prosodic alternatives despite the fact that all of these constructions share one important feature of intonation: they have to be associated with (at least) two pitch accents. While the nuclear accent is, in prototypical cases, realized by a falling tone, the prenuclear (“secondary”) accent on the topicalized or left-dislocated element has a rising intonation contour.

The main theoretical problem to be discussed in this study is thus which information structural status prominent topics have and which role the accent plays in these constructions. More specifically, the question has to be answered whether the different types of prominent topics must be subsumed under topics—or whether, on the contrary, it would be more suitable to relate them in some sense to the notion of focus.

In the clarification of this question I will proceed as follows. After presenting some contradictory proposals for the treatment of prominent topics (section 2), I will concentrate on a particular type of topicality by discussing the most important formal and functional properties of so-called “contrastive topics” (section 3). The analysis of the topic–focus relation will be given in section 5, following some basic assumptions of the theoretical framework concerning the internal differentiation of information structure and its interaction with grammar (section 4). Section 6 contains a discussion of some concepts relevant for the definition of the notion of “contrastive topic” and the main hypothesis concerning the discourse status and semantic properties of this topic type. The options for the syntactic realization of contrastive topics in German and Hungarian will be investigated in section 7. Finally, the study will also provide a topic-typology accounting for the complexity of topicality and the main differences between the various prominent topic types, seen primarily from the perspective of contrastive topics.

2. Past proposals

With regard to prominent topics there seems to be great variation in terminology, although it must be pointed out that the different terms used are often closely relat-

ed to relevant theoretical consequences. So far the term “topic” has been adopted—without further comment—and it is thus even implied that prominent prenuclear constituents should be viewed in relation to the concept of topicality. This view is, however, not uncontroversial, as the more or less incompatible analyses of the phenomenon suggest. There are two completely contradictory views represented in the discussion of prominent topics, whereas in some theories indications of the need for an intermediate position are also found.

(i) Topicality (in some sense) is implied by the term “contrastive topic”, suggested by Szabolcsi (1981), Hunyadi (1981), É. Kiss (1987), Lambrecht (1994). Even Leech–Svartvik (1975) use this label for one type of topicalization constructions with the cover term “fronted topic”, which also includes two further types, “given topics” and “emphatic topics”. Other frequent terms in the linguistic literature, especially on German topicalization constructions, are “I-Topik” (Jacobs 1982; 1984; 1996), and “S-Topik” (Büring 1995a,b,c) which, however, cover a greater set of constructions with contrastive or adversative implicature of a special kind than—according to the definition of topic proposed in this paper—can be connected with topicality (cf. Molnár–Rosengren 1996). Even the term “link”, borrowed by Vallduví–Engdahl (1996) from Trávnicek, refers to the particular discourse function which is very close to the concept of topic. Unfortunately, the terms **topic** and **topicalization** are often used only with reference to syntactic constructions (especially in the literature on English), with no attention being paid to the variety of discourse functions topicalization constructions can have. Gundel (1977), Prince (1981), Reinhart (1982), Whitney (1984), Ward (1985), Drubig (1991), Lambrecht (1994) and Rizzi (1995) (among others), however, point out—referring to topicalization (defined as a syntactic operation) in English—that topicalized constituents can participate in different types of articulations: either in “topic–comment articulation” or in “focus–presupposition articulation” (Rizzi 1995, 4). They can thus either be regarded as a “topic” of some kind or as “focus”—mostly depending on the number of intonational peaks in the sentence. The topic–comment articulation is realized only in those constructions which, beside the prominence on the topicalized constituent, contain an additional pitch accent marking the nuclear focus of the sentence. The role of the accentuation in the two cases is thus differentiated in that two major kinds of accent are assumed. In the case of a single pitch accent in the sentence, a **focus accent** is involved, in the latter case, the first accent of the two is assumed to be a **topic accent** (cf. Lambrecht 1994; Vallduví–Engdahl 1996). One of the most important differences between the two accent types is generally assumed to be the asymmetry between them; the focus accent of the sentence never requires a cooccurring accent while a topic accent necessarily cooccurs with a focus accent (see Lambrecht 1994, 325). The main function of the topic accent is thus to

signal a “psychological prominence” of some kind (cf. Leech–Svartvik 1975)—to give emphasis to the starting point of the sentence. This is possible under different contextual conditions and even with different semantic or communicative effects (see e.g. Leech–Svartvik “given topics” vs. “contrastive topics”).

(ii) Diametrically opposed to the above presented approaches are the arguments in several works for the view that prominent prenuclear constituents with a (fall-)rise contour have nothing to do with topicality. This idea is then expressed by the use of corresponding terms labelling the phenomenon “double focus of contrast” (Chafe 1976), “focus within a given set” (Ladd 1980), “kontrafókus” (Kenesei 1989), “focus” (Gussenhoven 1983; Selkirk 1984) or a special type of “focus” (Krifka 1995). In all these analyses, the occurrence of multiple foci in a single clause is principally allowed for and thus both of the accented constituents are primarily conceived of as a focus. There are, however, relevant differences between these “focus-oriented” approaches since some of them will even maintain the particular character of the constituent associated with the first pitch accent, thus not fully equating the “semantic” role of the two constituents bearing the prosodic peaks. I will return to this question and elaborate on the issue of the formal and functional similarities and differences between the two prominent constituents in later chapters of the study (cf. section 6).

(iii) There is also—although only sporadically represented—a third view to be found in the literature, a kind of compromise between the opposing sides. According to this view, prominent prenuclear constituents must be related to both the concept of topicality and to that of focus. Whitney (1984) considers certain types of constructions on the left periphery of the clause in English an “intersection of topic and focus”, according to the principle: “if α results from an adjunction to an A-bar position, then α is necessarily focussed” (1984, 191). Adopting Whitney’s idea, Drubig (1991) also maintains that the topic interpretation is not incompatible with focussing and that the topicalized prominent constituent in English topic-topicalizations should be analyzed as a focussed topic. As a matter of fact, the observation is often made in different approaches to information structure that topics are not only connected with properties characteristic of topicality but even of focussing. Based on considerations of cognitive psychology, Givón (1992) maintains that topic marking is related to two major cognitive systems, to episodic memory as well as to attention. The mental operations triggered by topicality are thus twofold, they include both “search in memory storage” and “attentional activation”, explaining the two most important features of topics, specified as “referential accessibility” and “thematic importance”.

These observations concerning the dual character of accented topics are, however, accounted for in a coherent linguistic theory only by Jacobs (1984) who in a

theoretical framework based on illocutionary semantics relates them not only to the FRAME operator—the illocutionary operator referring to topicality vs. the operator ASSERTION—but even to the additionally assumed “focus operator” which can be embedded both in ASSERTION and FRAME. Even in his recent work on “I-Topikalisierung” (1996), Jacobs holds the view that the illocutionary dependence of this phenomenon is essential for its explanation. In this recent version, he suggests a special illocutionary operator ASSERT^{IT} in addition to the operator ASSERT which he regards as responsible for the partition of the sentence into TOP and PRÄD. Although the need for a focus operator is not explicitly mentioned in Jacobs’ more recent approach, both parts of the assertion are assumed to have an internal structuring containing an “Informationsschwerpunkt” (a term close to focus), the position, extension and, depending on its position and extension, even the pragmatic effects of which can vary. One of the most interesting considerations in Jacobs’ theory (based on Buring’s explication, cf. Buring 1995a, b) concerns the special status of the “Informationsschwerpunkt” in the TOP part as opposed to the “Informationsschwerpunkt” of the PRÄD in “I-topicalization” constructions. This idea will be of specific theoretical interest in the clarification of the different focussing alternatives discussed below.

As the conflicting nature of the above-mentioned theoretical accounts of prominent topics show, linguistic theory has still to answer which information structural status would be the most plausible for constituents realized with a pre-nuclear accent. Addressing this problem in the present study, it is, however, important to recognize the great variety of the possible syntactic structures and semantic-communicative functions associated with prominent topics. In the concluding chapter of this study, therefore, I will suggest a topic-typology based on the formal, semantic and pragmatic differences between the various phenomena belonging to the category of topicality.

3. The concept of “contrastive topic”

The following discussion will concentrate on the delimitation of one particular type of topicality from the others. It will deal mainly with the analysis of prominent topics with particular, well definable grammatical and pragmatic properties, which will be called—in accordance with the Hungarian linguistic tradition—“contrastive topic”. (The term is, however, also used in literature on English, cf. above Leech–Svartvik 1975; Lambrecht 1994.) By adopting this term, I will refer to a relevant semantic–pragmatic property of this topic type, namely the implication of contrast (Szabolcsi 1980; 1981; Hunyadi 1981; É. Kiss 1987). In the German lin-

As "prototypical" instances of I-topicalization, the following German sentences are cited in the literature. Most often the rise or fall-rise of the topicalized constituent is indicated by iconic markings (/, √) or by means of the convention of autosegmental phonology (L*H), thus differentiating this contour from the fall (\\, H*L) of the nuclear accent:

- An essential syntactic property of the above-mentioned examples with I-topics is that they occupy sentence internal positions, prototypically the left-hand position of the German sentence, called the "Vorfeld". Left-dislocation cases, hanging topics (cf. examples (9)–(11)) containing sentence external topics are thus explicitly excluded from this category (cf. Jacobs 1996) in the linguistic literature on German. As Jacobs (1996) points out convincingly, the structural difference between "I-topicalization" and other sentence external topic types has far reaching consequences for the semantic and pragmatic interpretation, thus motivating their differentiation.

Acta Linguistica Hungarica 45, 1998

icality, which being the counterpart of the focus, is located in a position after the topic constituent and is also distinguished from the topic by the falling tone:

- (22) János 'szereti Marit. (É. Kiss 1987)

John loves Mary-acc

____/____

'As for John, he loves Mary (but there may be others who don't love her).'

- (23) A levelet – élvastam.

T_C F₂

the letter-acc prev-read-I

'As for the letter, I read it.'

(Hunyadi 1981)⁶

Topicality—defined as the “notional subject” of the clause—is assumed by most Hungarian linguists to be bound to referentiality or genericity and thus “only entities and classes of entities that can be presupposed to exist, [...] can be predicated about” (É. Kiss 1992, 68). Hungarian sentences with certain types of quantified phrases are consequently not regarded as being compatible with the topic reading as opposed to the analyses of German, even if they are (or in certain cases even must be) realized with the rising tone characteristic of prominent topics. Universally quantified phrases or indefinites with an unspecific interpretation are thus assumed to be excluded from the Topic position (cf. É. Kiss 1992; 1994 etc.), an analysis which is motivated by constraints on the ordering of elements in the syntactic structure of the Hungarian clause and by scope relations (see below section 7):

- (24) [TP [_{VP} Mindenki_i [_{VP} [_V tudott szerencsére a dologról t_i]]]].
everybody knew fortunately the matter-about

'Fortunately, everybody knew of the matter.'

(É. Kiss 1992)

- (25) Mindenkit_i [TP Mari [_{VP} nem hívott meg e_i]].
everybody-acc Mary not invited prev

'Mary did not invite everybody.'

(É. Kiss 1994)

⁶ Hunyadi (1981) suggests the differentiation of three positions for focus [F] due to syntactic and semantic differences. The number after the [F] label refers to the subtype of the focus position involved. He also regards it as reasonable to differentiate between two types of topic. Contrastive topics (marked T_C in the above cited example) are T₂-elements.

- (26) Valakit_i [TP[VP mindenki [VP meg [[V- hívott c_i]]]]].
 somebody-acc everybody prev invited
 'Everybody invited somebody.'
 (É. Kiss 1987)⁷

Both the rising contour in Hungarian and its German equivalent (in prototypical cases realized as fall-rise and also called the "Wurzelkontur", cf. Jacobs 1996) are associated with special functional and semantic properties. This intonation explicitly expresses, on the one hand, that the topic has to be clearly separated from the rest of the sentence which according to a proposal by É. Kiss (1987) should in a way be paraphrasable by the construction "*as for...*". Based on this possibility of paraphrase, É. Kiss suggests drawing a parallel between them and left-dislocation constructions not only with respect to their discourse function but even to their syntactic properties (É. Kiss 1987; 1991). Her conclusion, according to which prominent topics are not topicalized but are rather placed in Contrastive Left Dislocation, is thus diametrically opposed to Jacobs' view. (The problems connected with her approach will be addressed later in the present analysis in section 7.)

Beside the explicit marking of the topic–focus articulation, topics with a (fall) rising pitch accent [(27a), (28a)] also provide additional information as compared with an unaccented topic in the same position (27b) or even with a sentence without topicalization (28b):

- (27) (a) [T_C A padlón] [F Péter] aludt.
 the floor-on Peter slept
 'As for the floor, PETER slept there'
- (b) [T A padlón] [F Péter] aludt.
 the floor-on Peter slept
 'On the floor, PETER slept'
 (Szabolcsi 1981)
- (28) (a) Az ékszerészt – nem a védencem gyilkolta meg.
 The jeweller-acc not the client-my murdered-prev
 'As for the jeweller, he was not murdered by my client.'
- (b) Nem a védencem gyilkolta meg az ékszerészt.
 not the client-my murdered prev the jeweller-acc
 'The jeweller was not murdered by my client.'
 (Szabolcsi 1980)

⁷ In the marking of the syntactic units in the Hungarian sentence in two of these examples ((24) and (26)), the terms are modified according to the version suggested in É. Kiss (1994).

The interpretational surplus expressed by the prominent topics (cf. Szabolcsi 1980: “nyomatékos topik”, with the notation CT) is described by Szabolcsi as an implication of a special kind of contrast (“topik-kontraszt”) which turns the sentence into an “implicit modal assertion”. Besides asserting (27b), (27a) also implies that some place other than *the floor* exists in the universe of discourse where someone other than *Peter slept* (or did something else). In a similar way, (28a) has, in addition to the assertion made by (28b), the implication that somebody else exists in the universe of discourse whom *the client murdered* even if he did not murder *the jeweller*. The contrast can also be (and often is) expressed explicitly by the addition of a predication about a further element belonging to the same universe of discourse for which the property attributed to the topic of the first part does not hold (see above (15), (16)).

Regarding the semantic impact of the rising contour in the prenuclear position (and thus creating a so-called “hat pattern” or “bridge”) there is also often a second property of prominent topics discussed, namely the influence of this type of topicality on scope relations (cf. Féry 1993; Büring 1995a,b; Jacobs 1996). Thus a rising contour on topicalized constituents, if operators and quantifiers are involved, often conveys a meaning different from that of the non I-topicalized counterpart. If one compares (19) (repeated here for convenience as (29a)), a sentence which contains the rising prenuclear tone L*H, with (29b) which lacks this additional prenuclear accent, one can see that the meaning of the two sentences are quite different. While in (29a) the negation has scope over *beide* and expresses that *not both plays were played*, the scope relations are the converse in (29b). This sentence, with only one (i.e. the nuclear) accent, means that *no play was played*, thus *beide* extends its scope over *nicht*:

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| L*H | H*L |
| (29) (a) [_{IP} [_{ip} BEIDE/ Theaterstücke] [_{ip} sind NICHT\ gespielt worden.]] | |
| ‘Both plays were not performed.’ | |
| H*L | (H*L) |
| (b) [_{IP} [_{ip} BEIDE\ Theaterstücke sind nicht gespielt worden.]] | |
| ‘Neither of the plays were performed.’ | (Féry 1993) |

There is thus general agreement about the functional relevance of the rising contour in German and Hungarian (or the somewhat different so-called “B-accent” (fall-rise) in English, cf. Jackendoff 1972), as opposed to other intonational alternatives (falling accent in German and Hungarian and “A-accent” in English). The choice of a rising tone (or of a fall-rise, respectively) “in a prenuclear position is not arbi-

trary, but is governed by different discourse structures and semantic factors" (Féry 1993, 149).

The relevant properties of the above discussed cases with "contrastive topics" and the corresponding subset of "I-topicalizations" can be summarized as follows:

- (i) They are associated with a distinct **prosodic pattern** which includes both prominence relations—at least two pitch accents—and a special intonational contour containing a combination of a rising (in prototypical cases, a fall-rise or "Wurzelakzent") and a falling tone (hence Jacobs' "I-Topikalisierung").
- (ii) With regard to their **syntax**, the judgements are somewhat controversial. The obligatory character of the clause-initial position is estimated differently and there is no complete agreement on the types and status of possible syntactic positions or even on the compatibility of the potential syntactic categories with topicality. In all approaches, however, prominent topics are assumed to occupy a position preceding the focus.
- (iii) They show a particular **semantic** behaviour, i.e. under certain conditions (with quantifiers and operators in certain combinations) an inversion of scope relations appears to be obligatory. Regulated by different syntactic and semantic factors, scope inversion may be "only" one of the possible options, or may even be ruled out.
- (iv) They are also marked in some other **semantic** and/or **pragmatic** sense since they are connected with implication of contrast (cf. the term "contrastive topic"), expressing a certain type of "modal reservation".
- (v) Concerning their **information structural status**, it is generally claimed that "I-topics" are "given", "thematic" entities and are just on basis of their thematic character opposed to the other prominent constituent of the clause which conveys the new information, the focus. It will, however, be argued in this paper that "givenness" should not be considered a defining property of contrastive topics nor can it motivate their delimitation from different focus types.

4. The theoretical framework—main assumptions

Although there are many formal and functional properties identified in linguistic literature and many relevant empirical data discussed in connection with "contrastive topics" (the category only partly overlapping with "I-topics" as defined by Jacobs), the problem of the discourse status of clause-initial constituents realized with a special kind of prenuclear pitch accent still remains to be solved. The solution to this question presumes a definition of "topic" within a comprehensive lin-

guistic theory which takes into account both principles regulating formal linguistic realizations as well as constraints imposed on the interpretive component. It is claimed that this twofold orientation is necessary for the description of the complicated interplay between topic and other pragmatic concepts on the one hand, and between topic and grammatical structures on the other.

In the theoretical framework adopted in this work (cf. Molnár 1991), a distinction will be made between different modules of linguistic structure based on (and regulated by) their internal, independent principles and constraints, grammar and pragmatics. It is claimed, at the same time, that the full interpretation of linguistic structures requires that both systems are taken into consideration and that relevant connections between them—their interdependencies—are observed (cf. Motsch–Reis–Rosengren 1991). With this theoretical background (i.e. with the assumption of the modular as well as interactive character of the relationship between grammar and pragmatics), the main hypothesis of this study suggests that “topic” and “focus” are to be defined as inherently pragmatic, discourse-relevant notions. The discourse notions **topic** and **focus** must, according to the proposal, however, be adequately integrated—besides into pragmatics—into all main linguistic modules, i.e. into syntax, phonology and semantics. It is thus assumed that formal properties and semantic constraints create relevant conditions for the corresponding discourse interpretations.

Within the discourse component, a further differentiation of the model is suggested which makes it possible to account for different levels of information structure. The information structure model in this study is theoretically based on Bühler’s “Organonmodell” (1934), according to which one has to consider three relevant “pillars” of the communicative situation, motivating three closely related but from each other not derivable functions: the description of things or states of affairs (“Darstellung”), the “hearer”-related function (“Appell”) and the expression of the speaker’s intentions (“Ausdruck”). Elaborating on Bühler’s idea, it seems plausible to distinguish, also for purposes of information structure, between three levels that are closely related (but not derivable from) each other. The topic–focus dichotomy and even other types of two-level approaches or tripartite articulations figuring in the literature have thus been replaced by three dichotomies: the topic–comment structure (TCS), the theme–rheme structure (TRS) and the background–focus structure (BFS). The information structural analysis of utterances requires their evaluation with respect to all three levels referring to different aspects of the situation:

(30)	1. “Darstellung”:	→	TOPIC	—	COMMENT	(TCS)
	2. “Appell”:	→	THEME	—	RHEME	(TRS)
	3. “Ausdruck”:	→	BACKGROUND	—	FOCUS	(BFS)

A further relevant property of the information structural model is that the suggested bipartite division within each level is only optionally present, which, in certain discourse environments, leads to undivided utterances containing only the “comment”, “rheme” and “focus” parts.

The definition of sentence topic adopted in this study is given with recourse to the concept of “aboutness” (cf. also ‘Satzgegenstand’)⁸ in that the topic refers to the constituent of an utterance which the main information is “predicated” on (cf. “Satzaussage”), where both parts of the predication refer not to parts in a syntactic hierarchy but to the organization of the sentence within discourse. The concept of sentence topic is nevertheless related to only one of the three aspects of the discourse situation and the topic–comment articulation forms a relatively independent level of information structure. It is, however, equally important to take into consideration the complex interaction between the topic and other pragmatic categories. The realization of the topic–comment structure can be constrained by the two other information structural levels and the possibility of the realization of different topic types is also influenced by the TRS and the BFS.

The most important characteristics of the proposed theoretical approach can thus be summarized as follows: (i) both the modular and interactive character of the relationship between grammar and pragmatics should be accounted for and, (ii) the structuring of information is not to be considered a simple one-level dichotomy. Of course this theoretical framework determines, to a great extent, the type of questions addressed in the present analysis of contrastive topics and also has far reaching consequences for the scope of possible solutions. The discussion of the most important universal and language specific properties of contrastive topics will rely mainly on the following assumptions:

- (i) Contrastive topic—one of several representatives of topicality—can be accounted for only if its connection both to the notion of topic and to the notion of focus is regarded. This interplay is assumed to take place primarily within the field of pragmatics and therefore, the discussion of contrastive topics requires the clarification of some essential pragmatic relations.
- (ii) Topic and focus have relevant formal (prosodic and syntactic) correlates across languages and in certain cases these are even visible for semantic interpretation. There are, however, some important differences in the realization of these universal pragmatic notions across languages. The comparative study of German and Hungarian (concentrating on syntactic differences) which follows

⁸ Topicality with recourse to the notion of aboutness is defined in the literature in e.g. Kuno (1972), Gundel (1976), Dik (1978), Reinhart (1982) and Lambrecht (1994).

the discussion of the pragmatic status of contrastive topics, brings the language-specific aspect of this phenomenon into the foreground.

- (iii) Concerning the functional aspects of the contrastive topic, it will be claimed (in accordance with the modular view employed in this study) that semantic and logical interpretation is to be considered a grammatical matter and must be strictly distinguished from discourse-related interpretations, even including the information structural component. This does not mean, however, that relevant correlations between information structural notions and semantically relevant features are called into question. On the contrary, topicality and focus are assumed, in certain cases, to be visible in the semantic component.

5. On the pragmatics of topic and focus

Concerning the relation between the different levels of information structure (with special attention paid to the topic–focus relation) following assumptions are made:

- (i) TCS is an independent level of information structure (refers to “aboutness”);
- (ii) Topic and focus are not complementary categories;
- (iii) The “focus-restriction” of topicality (i.e. the incompatibility of focussing with topicality) must be modified.

(i) From the assumption that TCS forms an independent level of information structure, it follows that the topic is part of a dichotomy not derivable from the realization of the two other information structural dichotomies. A topic can thus be present both in structures with a background-focus division (BFS) (cf. (31A)) and also in sentences without such a division serving as answer to a question “What’s the news?” (corresponding to the German question (32Q)). Replies to such questions lacking contextual specifications have, according to current assumptions, an undivided focus structure, i.e. a “maximal focus projection”⁹ (32A):

- (31) Q: Was macht Peter?

A: [*Peter*] _T = B [besucht seinen Bruder.] _C = F

- (32) Q: Gibt’s was Neues?

A: [[*Peter*] _T [besucht seinen Bruder.] _C] _F

⁹ The focus feature is assumed to project optionally from the focus exponent onto higher nodes. To the concept of “focus projection” cf. Höhle (1982), Selkirk (1984), Uhlmann (1991), Rosengren (1991), Hetland (1992), Drubig (1994) etc.

Due to the independence of the TCS from the focus-structure of the sentence, it is thus not surprising that the topic need not necessarily be identical with the background but it can even overlap with the focus.

In this connection it is quite important to point out that the notion of “givenness” (the “theme”–“rheme” distinction) provides no explanatory power for “topicality” either. Nor does the topic–comment structure of a sentence (TCS) need to correlate with the theme–rheme division (TRS). This means on the one hand that the “topic” is not necessarily the “theme” (i.e. a “given” constituent) as illustrated by the following discourse-initial example (33), containing a “rheme” constituent presumed to be unknown to the reader, although compatible with the topic reading:

- (33) Larry White, president of L.V. White and Sons Construction Management, her boss, is one of the first private employers to take advantage of the program.

(Gundel 1985: *Minneapolis Tribune*, 18. September 1983)

On the other hand, a “theme” cannot automatically be bound to topicality either, as is apparent in the case where the sentence contains more “theme” elements. In the following question–answer pair discussed by Reinhart (1982), all constituents in the answer must be considered to identify “old” information, even the specification of the person asked for in the question, because *Felix* and *himself* must refer to the same person. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that only *Felix* is the sentence topic while *himself* must be the focus:

- (34) Q: Who did Felix praise?
A: Felix praised HIMSELF.

Sentence (34) proves at the same time the fact that the “focus” cannot be distinguished from the topic on the basis of the “given”–“new” contrast. The focus of a sentence does not necessarily contain a “rheme” (i.e. a “new” constituent), as contextually present or activated elements can also be associated with the “focus” function. This is quite evident in all cases where prominent pronouns or other anaphoric expressions identify the focus:

- (35) Q: Warum hast du dich bei Eva nicht entschuldigt?
A: [SIE]_{Th = F} hat [MICH]_{Th = F} beloidigt.

This problem has been recognized in many older and more recent analyses which have tried to explicate the focus independently from the referential status of the focussed constituent, either as a “packaging” phenomenon (Chafe 1974), as an

aspect of information “presentation” of (cf. Halliday 1967), an “instruction-type” (Vallduví 1992, Vallduví–Engdahl, 1996) or by defining focus on the basis of a “new” relation to the rest of the sentence (cf. Daneš 1974 “T-R-nexus”; Enkvist 1980; Weigand 1979; Bátori 1981; Höhle 1982). It seems quite uncontroversial that every sentence in order to be considered communicatively adequate must add some type of new information to the Common Ground created by the beliefs and knowledge shared by both participants in the communicative situation. Further, it can be assumed that it is the focus part which is responsible for conveying the new information. “Newness” must, however, be interpreted in a more complex manner, referring not only to the referential status of the constituent(s) but also to different types of relations. Thus to be informative, it can be sufficient to make “new choices” between “old” relations (or even choices between polarity alternatives, see also Höhle 1992 on “Verum Focus”):

(36) Q: Wer spielt Klavier, Peter oder Eva?

A: [PEter]_{Th = F} spielt Klavier. (Wenn ich mich nicht täusche, spielt EVA GEIge.)

We can thus conclude that it is not only the notion of “givenness” that leaves the concept of “topicality” without explanation but also the notion of “newness” that cannot in a straightforward way account for the main property of “focus”. The concepts of **topic** and **focus** are not derivable from a simple “theme”–“rheme” distinction and the distinction of different levels of information structure seems inevitable.

(ii) Topic and focus are assumed not to be necessarily complementary categories as claimed in most approaches to information structuring. The complementarity of the notions topic and focus is, however, not only taken for granted in one-level theories about the topic–focus articulation but is also often defended in proposals with more complex (two-level or tripartite) divisions of information structure. This often involves the assumption of a parallelism between topic and background only. Opposing these analyses, I would like to argue for the hypothesis that the correlation of topic and focus is, indeed, possible in several cases.

In the “ $T < F$ ” case, topic is part of the focus domain, which occurs e.g. when the topic is integrated in a maximal focus field. Such “integrated” structures are, however, only possible when the sentence has a “normal linear order” (NLO) (cf. Uhmman 1991). In a sentence like (37A), in answer to a question like (37Q) and having a subject–verb–object order (i.e. the unmarked word order of the German sentence), the topic–comment structure is embedded in the maximal focus field (see also example (32A) above):

(37) Q: Steht was Neues in der Zeitung?

A: [[Politisch Verfolgte] _T [genießen Asylrecht] _C] _F

((37A) from: Der Spiegel, 30. November 1992, 89)

Not all theories, however, allow for the partition of such discourse initiating, “out of the blue” sentences in topic and its counterpart. The possibility of a topic–comment structure is refused e.g. by Lambrecht (1994) or at least the presence of a “visible” topic is called into question by Gundel (1977) in contexts lacking previous specification of at least one of the constituents on which the predication can be made. In these approaches, topicality is obviously too closely bound to the “given” feature which, according to the above presented model, must be considered to refer to a distinct aspect of the communicative situation.

Another instance of the coincidence of topicality and focus occurs when the sentence topic is coextensive with a focussed constituent, thus “T = F”. This is normally the case when the topicalized constituent belongs to, but cannot be integrated into the focus field for syntactic reasons. In sentences with non-“normal linear order” (NLO) one must assume, rather than an integrated structure, a so-called “isolated structure” (Uhmann 1991). When the clause-initial constituent is focussed in an isolated structure (e.g. in the German “Vorfeld”, in English topicalization constructions, concerning Hungarian see later), it can only be a case of “narrow” focus, potentially one of several separate foci in the sentence. Thus in the following example (38), which introduces an article in the German magazine “Der Spiegel” (consequently containing no background part), it is the topic–comment structure which must be considered to embed the different, syntactically “isolated”, focussed parts of the sentence:

(38) [[In Bayern] _F] _T [[werden jetzt auch studentische Hilfskräfte auf ihre politische Gesinnung hin überprüft.] _F] _C

(Der Spiegel, 30. November 1992, 12)

Finally, there is the third possibility of the cooccurrence of topic and focus discussed below, “T > F”, where the focus forms only a part of the topic constituent and can thus have a greater extension than the constituent identified by the focus (cf. also Büring’s term, 1995c: “partial topic”):

(39) Q: Kennst du alle drei Schwestern von Peter?

A: [Nur seiner [JÜNGsten]_F Schwester]_T [[bin ich auf einer PARTY begegnet.]_F]_C

(Jacobs 1984)

In sentence (39A), only the specification of *Peter's sisters* according to their age belongs to the focus, in contrast with other possibilities (e.g. *älteste, ältere, jüngere* etc.), while the rest of the topic (*seiner ... Schwester*) forms the background, located within the topic part of the sentence.

(iii) It is nevertheless of great theoretical importance that the correlation of topic and focus is not considered unrestricted in this study. There are several important cases where the focus status of a constituent prevents it from serving simultaneously as topic (i.e. as the point of departure for the information in the sentence), motivating a modified version of the “focus-restriction” of topicality. In these cases, it is plausible to assume that the sentence is topicless.

One of the cases where the possibility of a TCS is excluded, arises when the element in topic position is the **single minimal focus** of the statement (i.e. a **narrow focus**) associated with the nuclear accent (NA) of the sentence. It goes without saying that this type of focus reading of the clause-initial constituent conflicts with topicality as defined in this study, since at the same time it is not possible for the single focus of the sentence to take over the function of the pragmatic predication (i.e. add the only relevant new piece of information) and form the element which is predicated about. The topiclessness of the sentence does not mean, however, that the information structural partition of the sentence on other levels must also be absent. In (40A), as used as a reply to a question like (40Q), it forms the background as the counterpart of the focus:

(40) Q: Wen besucht Peter in Bonn?

A: [Seinen BRUder]_F [besucht er]_B.

This type of “focus-restriction” of topicality is in complete agreement with the result of earlier tests (discussed in Molnár 1991) where, however, only the compatibility of single narrow foci with topicality was tested. Their cooccurrence is clearly ruled out:

(41) Q: What about Archie?

A: *Archie rejected the proposal.

A': *It was Archie who rejected the proposal.

(42) (a) *Concerning Archie, he rejected the proposal.

(b) *About Archie, it was he who rejected the proposal.

There exists yet another particular type of focus structure which prevents the topic–comment articulation. It holds also in these cases that the focussed con-

stituent which is associated with the nuclear pitch accent is located on the left periphery of the sentence, as illustrated below:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|---------------|
| (43) | The BRITish are coming. | (Sasse 1987) |
| (44) | The KETtle's boiling. | (Sasse 1987) |
| (45) | Die SONne scheint. | (Uhmann 1991) |
| (46) | Das TELEfon klingelt. | (Uhmann 1991) |

These English and German sentences must, nevertheless, be analyzed in a quite different way compared with the above discussed example with narrow focus on the left-hand periphery of the clause. Here, the accented constituent (with NA) in the clause-initial position is a so-called **focus exponent**, i.e. a constituent having the status of an argument and standing in a syntactic configuration which makes the **projection of the focus feature** possible. It is generally assumed that in such cases the focus covers the entire proposition resulting in pragmatically unstructured utterances which refer simply to a fact or state of affairs. It is pointed out that these sentences are appropriate answers to questions like (47Q) and (48Q), which "avoid imposing any presuppositions to which the answer could refer" (Sasse 1987, 521):

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------------|
| (47) | Q: What's this noise? | |
| | A: The CAT is miaowing. | (Sasse 1987) |
| (48) | Q: What's the matter? | |
| | A: My NECK hurts. | (Lambrecht 1994) |

Referring back to the philosophical discussion of the nature of human judgements, sentences of the information structurally undivided type represented above (i.e. presentational or event-reporting sentences), have often been called "thetic" sentences¹⁰ in linguistic literature (see Sasse 1987; Lambrecht 1994; Rosengren 1995). They are opposed to "categorical" statements which have a bipartite structure, and which are similar to categorical judgements consisting of two acts, the act of naming an entity and the act of predicating some property of that entity (as expressed in the tradition-

¹⁰ Other terms used in the literature: "presentational sentences" (Bolinger and others), "neutral descriptions" (Kuno 1972), "news sentences" (Schmerling 1976), "all-new utterances" etc. Concerning the terminology see Lambrecht (1994).

al Aristotelian subject–predicate sentence structure). The contrast between thetic and categorical sentences is also formally manifested and the prosodic distinction found in English and German—subject accentuation (i.e. pitch accent only on the subject) vs. unaccented subjects (or with a prenuclear accent on the subject)—is just one of the four major structural types attested across languages (see Lambrecht 1994):

(49) The CAT is miaowing. (thetic) (Sasse 1987)

(50) The CAT is MIAOWing. (categorical) (Sasse 1987)

In Hungarian, due to the great structural freedom of word order, not only arguments or adjuncts but also the finite verb can stand in the sentence initial position in all sentence types, thus even in declarative sentences. One of the most important means for expressing theticity in Hungarian declarative sentences is the verb initial structure:

(51) Ugat a kutya.
is barking the dog
'The dog is barking.'

Beside sentences with the finite verb in the clause-initial position, there are also cases in Hungarian where the Topic-position (defined later, cf. section 7) is not filled, thus opening up the possibility of an information structurally undivided sentence (though not automatically leading to a thetic reading). Even sentences with different types of "Verbal Modifiers" or incorporated constituents on the left periphery of the clause, standing in front of the finite verb (and with a cooccurring focus projection), are to be considered instances of thetic sentences, if used as reply to the question "What happened":

(52) Színházba ment az egész család.
theater-to went the whole family
'The whole family went to the theater.'

(53) Vendégek jöttek.
guests arrived
'Some guests have arrived.'

(54) El süllyedt a hajó.
prev sank the boat
'The boat sank.'

The nature of the thetic/categorical distinction is, however, far from being settled. The originally logical analyses of judgements had a great influence on linguistic accounts of the contrast between undivided and bipartite sentences, often relying on logical or semantic notions and relations (Chafe 1974; Dahl 1974). In recent approaches, the distinction is explicated in quite different ways, in pragmatic terms (Sasse 1987), in a syntactic framework (Drubig 1992) or with recourse to the extralinguistic level of conceptual structure (Rosengren 1995). Despite significant differences, all of the approaches share the view that the thetic/categorical distinction has to do with information structure and is closely related to the possibility of topic–comment articulation. It is thus plausible to assume that all types of thetic sentences—even those with the focus exponents in clause-initial position which are relevant to our discussion—are topicless and, in the case of a realized focus projection (which is only assumed to be optional in these cases also), are also undivided on all levels of information structure.

Summarizing the results of the previous discussion, we can conclude that they clearly indicate relevant focus-related constraints on topicality and thus the need for a modified “focus-restriction” concerning topics. By this modified restriction, it can be guaranteed that the topic can correlate with the focus, either being embedded in a greater focus field or being identical with one of the foci of the sentence. (As pointed out above, it is even possible to embed foci within the topic.) On the other hand, relevant constraints on the topic–focus correlation can also be accounted for and topicality can be ruled out when the clause-initial element contains the nuclear pitch accent. This is the case both with focus projection (in thetic statements with a focus exponent on the left-hand periphery of the sentence) or without projection of the focus feature (realized as a narrow “emphatic” focus).

6. Phonology, semantics and pragmatics of the CT

After the presentation of the discourse model and the description of the complicated interplay between topic and focus, the central hypothesis of this study can be formulated as follows: “contrastive topics” represent a particular type of correlation between topic and focus. This idea will be developed in more detail in the following two chapters where I will elaborate on the formal properties of contrastive topics and discuss the functional effects achievable by applying certain configurations of phonological and syntactic means.

6.1. "I-contour" vs. "topicality" and "I-contrast"

As the first step towards a detailed discussion of the formal and functional properties of the contrastive topic, the notions of "I-contour" and "I-contrast" will be introduced and their relation to "topicality" and the concept of "contrastive topic" explicated.

The decisive role of the phonological pattern in the realization of contrastive topics is generally accepted in linguistic literature. The term "I-contour" is suggested in this study (corresponding to Jacobs' term "Wurzelkontur", cf. Jacobs 1996) as designating the special type of intonation contour characteristic of sentences containing a CT. In the bipartite pattern of the "I-contour", a rising intonation (or a fall-rise) on the first accented constituent always appears in combination with a second intonational peak, realized by a falling intonation and identifying the nuclear focus of the sentence. It would, however, be misleading to speak here of a one-to-one relation between form and function and to confine this special prosodic pattern to the expression of contrastive topics. Not only are the constructions to which this contour can be applied quite different, the meanings or functions associated with "I-contour" also show great variation. As for the constructions, beside several types of topic realizations (both in sentence internal and in sentence external positions), a number of syntactically complex constructions are also compatible with the "I-contour" across languages. Despite a not insignificant variation in meanings associated with the "I-contour", it seems quite plausible to assume that it has a general bridge-creating function (or "Brückenfunktion") by indicating iconic connectedness, either between different parts of the clause or between different clauses. This is due, to a great extent, to the general "non-assertive" function of the first pitch accent, the rising prenuclear tone, expressing incompleteness, uncertainty or dependence; all properties which can be characterized by the cover term "OPEN" (cf. Cruttenden 1981; see also Leech-Svartvik 1975; Lambrecht 1994).

Féry (1992; 1993) discusses in detail the variety of constructions and interpretations of the "I-contour" in German, i.e. the **hat pattern** in her terminology (adopted by her from Cohen-'t Hart 1967). She points out that a hat pattern is the preferred realization not only for marking the topicality of a constituent in the "Vorfeld", but is also used in topicalizations in the middle field (55) and in other information structurally marked constructions like cleft-sentences (56):

- L*H H*L
- (55) weil in der WÜSTE/ das ÖL \ brennt (Féry 1992)
 'because the oil burns in the desert.'

- L*H H*L
- (56) Was sich Benjamin WÜNSCHT/ wird gleich ANGESCHAFFT\ (Féry 1992)
 'Whatever Benjamin wishes, is immediately purchased.'

According to Féry's observations (1992, 53f.), this intonational contour is also characteristic of a number of other types of complex syntactic constructions like depictive secondary predications, *wenn-dann* constructions, consecutive clauses and temporal clauses. Without discussing these constructions in detail, their apparent diversity leads to the conclusion that the derivation of the meaning expressed by the I-contour is not a straightforward matter. This prosodic pattern can be associated with different effects depending on the semantic, lexical and structural properties of the sentence and its constituents, and partly even on the (con)textual environment (see section 6.2).

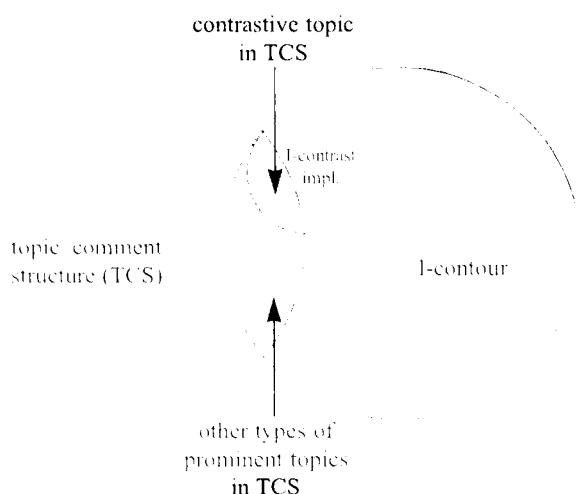
For the designation of the contrastive reading of the "I-contour", the term "I-contrast" is suggested in this study, identifying a relevant subset of cases realized with the "I-contour" with special semantic and pragmatic effects. As will be emphasized below, the implication of a special sort of "double contrast" (cf. a "double duty turn", Turner 1976) is not automatically triggered by the "I-contour" but is only one of its several possible interpretations, which may occur in certain environments but which is absent in others. In a similar way, the semantic effect brought about by the "I-contrast", the inversion of scope, is obligatory only where certain operators or quantifiers in specific combinations are involved.

It is further assumed that the two functionally relevant phenomena, the "topic-comment structure" of the sentence defined with recourse to the aboutness relation and the implication of "I-contrast" manifested by the intonation pattern labelled "I-contour", exist independently of each other. The basic idea is that the term "topic" must be reserved, even in cases involving contrastive topics, for the expression of aboutness in the sense discussed above in connection with the discourse model and suggested in the definition of topicality (cf. section 4). Topic is thus, in this approach, considered to be a universal pragmatic notion, though the realization of topicality depends crucially on the presence of certain grammatical means. Among the syntactic correlates, the status of syntactic position in the linear and hierarchical structure of the sentence and the type of syntactic category is of decisive importance. In this framework, clause-initial position is regarded as the most relevant grammatical condition of topicality, though the location on the left periphery of the sentence cannot guarantee the topic status of the constituent (see section 7 below). When the structuring of information in topic vs. comment is not ruled out for different syntactic, semantic or pragmatic reasons, the TCS can be prosodically coded by the "I-contour". Depending on the structural properties of the clause and on the semantic features of the topicalized and focussed constituents, the prenuclear (fall-) rising tone on the topic can and/or must trigger a contrastive reading giving rise to the set of "contrastive topics" (only a subtype of Jacobs' "I-Topik" and Büring's "S-Topic"). It is thus suggested that "contrastive topics" must show the combined

effect of the pragmatically definable “topicality” (as a pragmatic notion referring to “aboutness”) and the implication of “I-contrast” as one possible reading of the “I-contour”. Only where all three of these notions co-occur is it meaningful to speak of “contrastive topics”. One important consequence of this view is thus that different types of prominent topics in clauses realized with I-contours, where the implication of the double contrast is blocked, must be considered to belong to other topic types (also motivated by the different scope relations and differing possibilities for interaction with focus structures). At the same time, another relevant distinction can also be drawn—often neglected in the literature on German and English (see 6.2)—a distinction between contrast-implication cases connected with topicality as opposed to contrast-implication not correlating with TCS.

The interrelation of the “topic-comment structure” and the “I-contrast” triggered by the “I-contour” intonational pattern, in certain cases resulting in “contrastive topics”, can thus be summarized and illustrated by the following model (see also Molnár–Rosengren 1996):

(57)



6.2. On the notion of “I-contrast”

To start with, in order to avoid confusion concerning the concept of “contrastive topic” in linguistic discussion, it seems necessary to make a clear distinction between sentences containing “contrastive topics” and the closely related structure which, in this study, is called “**I-contrast**”. For both cases, as discussed above, a

special intonation contour (“I-contour”, “Wurzelkontur”, “B-accent”) is characteristic as are the corresponding semantic and pragmatic effects. The first of the two accented constituents in sentences implicating “I-contrast” can, however, appear in quite different syntactic positions, and can also be associated with different syntactic and semantic categories leading to cases where the constituent with the pre-nuclear tone cannot possibly be analyzed in terms of topicality.

In the literature, it is often observed that the rising pitch accent implicating an I-contrast is not bound to the left periphery of the sentence even if this is considered the preferred alternative (cf. Jacobs 1996). Language specific restrictions, however, influence the possible positions of the rising pitch accent. While in German (a verb-second type language), postfinite positions can also contain the first accented element within an I-contour, the first (rising) accent of an I-contour in Hungarian is restricted to the preverbal field.

Among others, Vallduvi–Engdahl (1996) argue for the variability of **position** of so-called “links” (close to the notion of “contrastive topic” as defined in this study). Thus the accented constituent *the knives* is considered to be a “link” not only in (58b), but also in (59b), independently of its placement in a postfinite position, after the “topical” constituent *I* on the left-hand periphery of the sentence.

(58) Where can I find the cutlery?

(a) **The forks** are in the CUPBOARD...

(b) but **the knives** I left in the DRAWER. (Vallduvi–Engdahl, 1996)

(59) Where can I find the cutlery?

(a) **The forks** are in the CUPBOARD...

(b) but I left **the knives** in the DRAWER. (Vallduvi–Engdahl, 1996)

In a similar way, contrastive topic is defined by Lambrecht (1994) on the basis of the prosodic structure of the sentence. Due to their parallel intonational realization, both the accented object (*the DOG*) in the postfinal position and the accented subject (*the CAT*) are held compatible with the contrastive topic interpretation:

(60) Q: What are you going to do with the DOG and the CAT while you’re away?

A: I’ll leave the DOG with my PARENTS and the CAT can stay OUTSIDE.

(Lambrecht 1994)

Contrary to Vallduvi–Engdahl and Lambrecht, I would like to defend the view that the prominent constituents in (59b) and in the first part of the answer in (60A) (*the knives* and *the DOG*) share with contrastive topics only the property of implicating

or expressing a double contrast without being associated with the notion of topicality. Both of the above-mentioned sentences are, though, assumed to contain an intonationally unmarked topic, the first person subject pronoun. The parallelism between the two parts of these complex sentences is thus ruled out, both in syntactic sense as well as at the level of information structure.

In the linguistic literature on contrastive topicalizations, however, not only the variability of the position of the prenuclear accents is allowed for, but different syntactic and semantic categories are also assumed to be compatible with both “I-contrast” inducement and topicality. Thus not only “simple” NPs but even quantified NPs are quoted as instances of topicality which implicate contrast and require (or prefer) scope inversion (“S-Topik” or “I-Topik”):

(61) [ALLE]_T Politiker sind [NICHT]_F korrupt. (Büring 1995c)

(62) √ALLe Grass-Romane kann man \NICHT empfehlen. (Jacobs 1996)

(63) √VIElen Lesern werden die Verrisse \NICHT einleuchten. (Jacobs 1996)

Furthermore, not only NPs but also finite verbs or modals (64), (65) are associated with this phenomenon:

(64) Du [MUSST]_T [NICHT]_F so viel rauchen. (Büring 1995c)

(65) Man √MUSS das Buch \NICHT mögen (, aber man KANN). (Jacobs 1996)

As a matter of fact, the modal verb *müssen* behaves in an undeniably similar manner to the quantifier *all* in its different interpretations with different contours on a prenuclear constituent. This is because “necessity” can be interpreted as universal quantification over circumstances (and correspondingly “possibility” as existential quantification over circumstances, see Chierchia–McConnell-Ginet 1990). As Büring (1995c) points out, both of these operators/quantifiers (i.e. *all* and *müssen*) have wide scope with a falling contour (i.e. scope extending over negation) (66a), (67a), while a rise (or fall-rise) results in a narrow scope reading (66b), (67b):

(66) Alle Politiker sind nicht korrupt.

(a) kein Politiker ist korrupt. ($\forall \neg$)

(b) es ist nicht der Fall, daß alle Politiker korrupt sind. ($\neg \forall$) (“I-contrast”-reading)

(67) Du mußt/darfst nicht so viel rauchen.

(a) es darf nicht sein, daß Du so viel rauchst ($\Diamond \neg$)

(b) es ist nicht erforderlich, daß du so viel rauchst ($\neg \Diamond$) ("I-contrast"-reading)

The most radical view concerning the constructions compatible with contrastive topicalization is taken by Büring. In his analysis, even the negation particle with a rising pitch accent is considered an instance of S-topic (68), obviously due to its influence on scope relations in "negative scope ambiguity" cases like the following (68), (69):

(68) John does [not]_T drink because [he's unHAPPY]_F (Büring 1995c)

(69) Leo ist $\sqrt{\text{NICHT}}$ gekommen, um Ma\RIa zu ärgern (, sondern...) (Féry 1993)

As was pointed out already by Féry, the rising pattern disambiguates the scope of negation by associating the negation with the embedded clause, thus in this case not denying the fact that *Leo has arrived* (or in Büring's example that *John is drinking*), but calling into question only the reason of *Leo's coming* (or *John's drinking*). (The falling accent on the negation particle would have the opposite effect by denying the predicate of the matrix clause.)

The main reason for considering all the above-mentioned types of constituents bearing a rising pitch accent as belonging to the same category, independently of the position of this accent and the type of the prominent constituent, is obviously the semantic and pragmatic effect yielded by this prosodic pattern. As a matter of fact, the special functional properties of the "I-contour" were originally observed in connection with topic-comment structures which influenced the analysis of several other constructions and thus gave rise to a more or less extended interpretation of the notion contrastive topic (or corresponding notions). Sentences with "I-contrast" effect are, however, not necessarily bound to TCS and it is suggested in the present study that those constituents with the prenuclear tone which are more or less incompatible with the concept of topicality (cf. examples above with stressed NPs after realized topics, with stressed modals and with the stressed negation particle) are excluded from the category of "contrastive topic".

It is striking that the special double contrast effect induced by the "I-contour" is in the literature often tested precisely on sentences containing quantifiers and operators and is thus discussed in connection with scope relations (Hunyadi 1981; 1986; Szabolcsi 1980; 1981; Kenesei 1989; Höhle 1991; Krifka 1995; Büring 1995a,b,c; Jacobs 1996 etc.). The rising tone on quantifiers/operators, as is made clear by the

above-mentioned examples, gives rise to scope interpretations differing from cases with the falling tone, either by inverting the scope of the quantifiers (as in (61)–(65)), or by associating it with different domains. According to current assumptions (Büring 1995a; Krifka 1995), there are, however, different readings allowed for by the syntactic component (at least in German and English, concerning Hungarian see below) since α can have β in its scope not only when α c-commands β but also when α c-commands a trace of β (cf. Krifka 1995). The syntactically relevant c-command condition is obviously not restrictive enough as it legitimates e.g. in the case of the combination of universal quantification with negation (i.e. both \forall and \diamond), not only the inverted reading of scope but also an interpretation on the basis of the surface structure. It seems thus quite plausible to impose additional constraints, primarily of a semantic and pragmatic nature on the possible scope relations. These can either guarantee that certain scope relations are ruled out (e.g. the wide scope of the universal quantifier over negation) and thus obligatorily force scope inversion (as in (61) and (62)) or can account for the asymmetries between preferred and marked readings. The most important semantic/pragmatic constraint (cf. Büring 1995) is the compatibility with the contrast implicature which, in the case of the universal quantifier and negation, can only be triggered if the trace of the universal quantifier is taken into consideration (cf. “reconstruction”), incidentally corresponding also to the ubiquitous resistance to the “ $\forall \neg$ ” reading. As observed by Jacobs (1996), there are different syntactic as well as semantic factors which contribute to reconstruction and scope inversion, on the one hand, or to their prevention on the other. Reconstruction (and scope inversion) is promoted if the topicalized constituent (i.e. a constituent in the “Vorfeld”-position) is the object of the clause thus leaving a trace in the middle field which is c-commanded by the other quantifier:

(70) \forall VIEle Bücher hat \neg KEIN Kritiker verrissen.

(Jacobs 1996)

Reconstruction is, on the contrary, not preferred in the German sentence when the subject of the clause is topicalized, in which case it c-commands the other quantifier left behind in the middle field not only in the surface structure configuration but even in the D-structure (or on the corresponding initial structural level):

(71) \forall Die MEISten Kritiker haben nur \neg WENige Bücher gelesen.

(Jacobs 1996)

As Jacobs also points out, recourse only to syntactic factors could, however, not explain certain preferences where quantifiers associated with objects take scope over constituents occupying a higher position in the syntactic hierarchy, i.e. sub-

jects. In these cases, reconstruction must be assumed to be avoided for semantic reasons, mostly connected with the specific character of the topicalized constituent (cf. also Szabolcsi 1995):

- (72) √MANche Kritiker begeistert \KAUM ein Buch. (Jacobs 1996)

In cases where universal quantification and negation are combined, the contrast induced by the “I-contour” determines not only preferences as in the above-mentioned cases but also has a crucial influence on scope relations. The rising pre-nuclear tone on a universal quantifier in front of the negation must lead to scope inversion for the simple reason that a modal reservation (thus a contrast) is only possible if the predication does not hold universally, thus for all members of the universe of discourse. In all other cases, however, the double contrast effect can be achieved independently of the preferred or possible scope relations, as illustrated by (73) with scope inversion (+SI) and (74) with scope relations determined by the S-structure position of the quantified NPs (–SI):

- (73) √VIEle Bücher von Grass haben die Kritiker \NICHT (+SI)
gelesen (, aber Elnige haben sie verSCHLUNgen). (Molnár–Rosengren 1996)

- (74) Die √MEIsten dieser Bücher haben nur \WEnige (–SI)
Kritiker gelesen (, aber Elnes haben ALLE gelesen). (Molnár–Rosengren 1996)

It goes without saying that one cannot speak of scope inversion when the accented constituents of a sentence contain no operator expressions. The relevant fact is, however, that the other typical effect of contrastive topics, the implication of a double cataphoric contrast, can appear independently of the presence of quantifiers or operators. The contrastive reading of sentences realized with the “I-contour”, both with a topic–comment structure or without a TCS, is often signalled by adding the second, contrasting part (labelled “Resttopik” by Büring 1995c):

- (75) [Gerda]_T hat [Paul]_F geküßt. (Resttopik: ...und Fritz hat Iris geküßt). (Büring 1995c)

- (76) Du [MUSST]_T [NICHT]_F so viel rauchen. Vielleicht DARFST du
nicht einmal so viel rauchen. (Büring 1995a)

- (77) Maria ist nach Berlin gefahren (und Martin nach Hannover). (Féry 1993)

quantity-based (an “R-based implicature”, in Horn’s 1984 terms) in that the accented pronoun says more than is needed to designate the given referent” (cf. below the discussion of the implicature).

It is thus not surprising that the contrast effect is not at all evident or can be totally absent in cases where the role of a referent as the topic of the sentence is not yet established at the time of the utterance. This pragmatically motivated restriction on the contrast implication is, however, often disregarded, thus binding topicality more or less to the feature of “givenness”:

- (81) √Egy kis pihenésre \MINdenkinek szüksége van.
 a little rest-on everybody need has
 ‘Everybody needs a little rest.’

- (82) √Egy új “ABBA-musical” ősbemutatója \NAGY sikert aratott Malmöben.
 a new ABBA musical first performance-gen-3sg great success score Malmö-in
 ‘The first performance of a new “ABBA-musical” brought down the house in Malmö.’

The contrast implication can be weakened or even blocked in certain types of contextually embedded topics. In cases where the topic identifies a given (or at least contextually reconstruable) referent, motivating the assumption that the rising pitch accent on the topic has a “topic-shifting” function, there is obviously a need for a further distinction. In most analyses, the greatest attention has been paid to just one direction of the contrast expressed by the “topic-shifting accent”, to the cataphoric direction, i.e. the contrast **implication**. It is, however, important to note that the topic with the rising contour often **realizes** the topic shift, expressing a contrast backwards, illustrated by the following example (83b) uttered after (83a):

- (83) (a) Minden nap szinte látástól vakulásig dolgozunk.
 every day almost dawn-from dusk-to work-we
 ‘We work every day from almost dawn to dusk.’
 (b) √Pihenésre csak \RITkán van időnk.
 rest-to only sometimes is time-our
 ‘We have only sometimes time for a rest.’

In these cases, an additional contrast is not triggered by the “I-contour” although the sentence can optionally be continued with a contrasting part.

Among the structural factors, the isolated character of the syntactic structure which depends on the markedness of word order in (84b) and (85) and even on the

“heaviness” of the constituent (85) seems, to a great extent, to constrain the “I-contrast” implication:

(84) (a) A hétköznapiokon reggeltől estig dolgozunk.

the workdays-on dawn-from dusk-to work-we

‘On workdays, we work from dawn to dusk.’

(b) vA Balatonra csak HÉTVégén tudunk néha lemenni.

the Balaton-to only weekend-on can-we sometimes prev-go

‘We can go to the Balaton only sometimes at weekends.’

(85) vGrass utolsó regényéhez hasonlóan jó könyvet RITkán olvastam.

Grass last novel-gen-1sg-to similarly good book-acc seldom read-I

‘I have seldom read a book so interesting as the latest novel by Grass.’

In these cases, the topicalized constituents must, for formal reasons, create a separate intonational phrase (or “accent domain”, cf. Uhmman 1991). In (84b), the entire sentence can be associated with the focus feature only if both parts of the isolated focus structure receive a pitch accent (since focus projection is blocked by the isolated structure). In (85), the extension of the topicalized constituent can, independently of its association with the focus feature, motivate the accent assignment (cf. Uhmman 1991).¹² It must be emphasised, even when analysing these examples, that the continuation of these sentences with a contrast is not excluded although the contrast is not triggered by the rising accent on the topics.

Similarly, the absence of I-contrast implication in left-dislocation structures can also be explained by the influence of formal features since these always create separate phonological units with obligatory accents. Concerning their pragmatics, it is often noticed that their use is only appropriate if they contain contextually non-activated or at least not fully reconstruable elements. Their function is thus to mark a topic shift (Reinhart 1982; Lambrecht 1994; Jacobs 1996), most often forming a contrast to something already present in the context and also signalling this by lexical means (*concerning*, *was ... betrifft*, etc.). In this sense they are contrastive although a further cataphoric contrast is not necessarily triggered by them. The (optionally) realized rising tone on left-dislocated topics is rather connected with the other important iconic function of this accent type, the bridge function (see Jacobs’ examples (154), (155) quoted below).

¹² Uhmman (1991) argues against the one-to-one-relation between accent assignment and the focus reading as suggested by Selkirk (1984).

Finally, some important semantic factors blocking the implication of “I-contrast” must also be mentioned. As expected, a contrast effect cannot be achieved by the unspecific reading of the indefinite pronoun *valaki* ‘somebody’ when realized with the rising contour because it is not possible to establish a contrast with something unspecifiable. Contrast implication is also blocked when the indefinite pronoun appears in front of a universal quantifier although the scope inversion in this case is obligatory:

- (86) √Valaki \Hányzik a bizottságból (*, de mások/a többiek jelen vannak).
 somebody is missing the committee-from but the others present are
 ‘Somebody is missing from the committee, but the others are present.’

- (87) √Valakit \MINdenki szeret.
 somebody-acc everybody loves
 ‘Everybody loves somebody.’ (É. Kiss 1987)

According to Jacobs, the most relevant semantic restriction on the implication of “I-contrast” by constituents realized with the “I-contour” (in his approach “I-topics”) has to do with the illocutionary potential of sentences. Although the derivation of “I-topicalization” from special illocutionary operators (ASSERT^{IT} and DIR^{IT}), as suggested by Jacobs, is rather controversial (cf. Molnár–Rosengren 1996), his observation that the contrast effect is blocked in questions is of fundamental significance for the explication of “I-contrast” and “contrastive topics” (Jacobs includes both in his “I-topics”):

- (88) * Sind denn √ALle Grass-Romane \NICHT empfehlenswert? (Jacobs 1996)
 (89) * √ALle Grass-Romane sind \NICHT empfehlenswert? (Jacobs 1996)

Most remarkable in this connection is the fact that it is not the structure of German interrogative sentences which excludes the possibility of the “I-contour” and the “I-contrast” implication but the illocutionary type “Question”. As Jacobs points out, “I-topics” are not only ungrammatical in questions without a “Vorfeld” (containing only a middle field, cf. (88)) but also in the “Vorfeld” of a so-called “Assertionsfrage”, a question type realized with a verb second structure, syntactically identical with declarative sentences (a marked question type in German, cf. (89)). Even the Hungarian data support this claim since questions in Hungarian are only with difficulty¹³ or not at all (90), (91) compatible with the “I-contrast” impli-

cation although the topic position is realizable in both Wh-questions and in Yes/No-questions in Hungarian and the topicalized constituent can have a rising tone:

- (90) Az √ UTolsó Grass-regényt \KI nem javasolta (? de az ELőzőket Dicsérte)?
 the last Grass-novel-acc who not recommended but the earlier-acc praised
 'Who did not recommend the latest novel by Grass (but praised the earlier ones)?'
- (91) Az √ UTolsó Grass-regényt /NEM javasolod (? de az ELőzőket Igen)?
 the last Grass-novel-acc not recommend-you but the earlier-acc yes
 'Do you not recommend the latest novel by Grass (but recommend the earlier ones)?'

It seems even only marginally possible to add a second part to questions with double contrast. The decisive point is, however, that this contrast is not implied by the intonational contour itself. The explication of this restriction presumes a deeper understanding of the semantic/pragmatic nature of the "I-contrast" which will be the main concern of the following chapter.

To sum up, in the model presented above, the distinction of two instances of "I-contrast" implication was suggested since the contrastive effect can appear both independently of the TCS of the clause or in cooperation with topicality. Only in the latter case, through cooperation with TCS, can the constituent associated with the prenuclear accent be considered a "contrastive topic". Scope relations in sentences containing quantified topics bearing a rising intonation are crucially dependent on the semantics of the quantifiers and operators involved, scope inversion being obligatory only in certain configurations. Nor is the contrastive reading of topics automatically triggered by the intonational pattern. Contrastivity is primarily implied when no other formal or pragmatic reasons can motivate the use of a pitch accent on the topic, i.e. in cases of normal word order ("integrated" structures) or short and contextually present constituents. The implication of "I-contrast" by the "I-contour" can thus be weakened or even blocked if the creation of a separate phonological phrase is motivated for formal reasons. "I-contrast" implication can also be constrained by different semantic or pragmatic factors, by the illocutionary potential of questions, by topicalization (in the pragmatic sense) of non-contextu-

¹³ In the translation of Jacobs' examples with the universal quantifier in front of the negation there arises a contrast-implicature, mostly due to the obligatory scope inversion and the existence implicature expressed by this configuration:

- (A) √MINden Grass-regény \NEM javasolható?
 all Grass-novel not recommendable
- (B) √MINden Grass-regény \MIért nem javasolható?
 all Grass-novel why not recommendable

ally activated constituents, or by the realization of topic shift in relation to the previous context.

6.3. The relation between “contrastive topic” and the concept of “focus”

The central claim put forward in the discussion of “contrastive topic” is that this notion has to be analyzed as one of the possible instances of cooperation between topicality and focus. It is, however, assumed that in the case of “contrastive topic”, a very special type of focus is involved. The explication of the type of interaction between topic and focus (resulting in “contrastive topics”) requires therefore first of all the definition and the internal differentiation of the concept “focus” and the further development of earlier proposals on focus-typology.

The definition of focus is not a straightforward matter as this is one of the most controversial concepts in modern linguistics. From having been earlier the main concern of discourse-pragmatic analyses (under the label **rheme**), focus-related questions have been paid great attention to even in formal approaches to the study of language. Focus theories developed within the generative framework have led to the formulation of universal principles governing focus marking and the identification of the most important formal means of focussing across languages (Drubig 1994). Through studies of individual languages as well as typological (cross-linguistic) investigations, various language-specific types of focus marking have been identified and the diversity of possible focus structures detected (É. Kiss 1995b). Despite the abundance of empirical data presented in the literature and important insights on focussing mechanisms (such as prosodic means, structural options with recourse to certain positions or the clefting strategy, particles etc.), it is still an open question which component of linguistic structure focus is primarily related to. In radical functional approaches with their perspective on the form–function relation, i.e. the functional motivation of linguistic form, focus is regarded as a functional category influencing form. In the modular approach of generative grammar, semantics (and often aspects of meaning related to information structure) is assumed to be the component which interprets syntactic structure. In this type of interpretive model, syntactic structures must contain all features relevant to the semantic and phonological interpretation of an utterance. The insight that focussing imposes constraints on syntactic and/or prosodic realization has motivated the introduction of an abstract feature for focus [+F]¹⁴ in the syntactic component. The syntactic explication of focussing proposed within generative grammar is, however, not generally adopted by all formal analyses of focussing phenomena. Within semantically ori-

¹⁴ An abstract feature even for prominence [+P] was suggested by Rochemont (1986), Rosengren (1991).

ented approaches, focus is primarily considered to be a semantically relevant “relational” phenomenon, obligatorily bound by operators of different kinds (such as focus particles, illocutionary operators, cf. Rooth 1985; Jacobs 1984).

Another important aspect discussed in connection with focussing is that focus is not a uniform concept. This is an idea which figures in different versions in several recent focus theories (especially within the generative framework). The focus typology proposed by Rochemont (1986) in his “Focus Rules”, the distinction of the “presentational focus” and “contrastive focus”, is pragmatically oriented since it is based on different interpretations of focus, depending on the presence vs. absence or/and type of context-construability of the expression itself, on the one hand, and the rest of the utterance on the other. Several other attempts to categorize focus have been made. Among the interpretationally oriented approaches “informational focus” (Culicover–Rochemont 1983), “emphatic focus” (Uhmman 1991) or “verum focus” (Höhle 1992) have also been suggested. With recourse to the extension factor, “narrow” focus has been distinguished from “wide” focus with the focus feature in the latter case being assumed to be projected from a focus exponent. The type of categorization proposed in Hungarian linguistics is also closely connected to the extension of the focus constituent, though not fully derivable from it. Under different labels, however, the proposals express the same idea that the distinction of operator focus (comparable with narrow focus) from the focus type involved in focus projection (wide focus) is necessary, primarily motivated by the differences in their syntactic properties and semantic interpretation (cf. Kálmán *et al.* 1986: “Focus” vs. “Hocus”; É. Kiss 1995a: “focus operator” vs. “information focus”). Attempts have also been made in more recent syntactic approaches on focussing in English (Selkirk 1993) or typologically oriented studies (Drubig 1994) to reconcile the uniformly freely assigned F-feature with the diversity of focussing. Different licensing mechanisms were introduced for the two focus types, “association” with a focus-binding element for the focus equipped with operator features, as opposed to “integration” into a wider focus domain in case of the projective focus (Drubig 1994). Furthermore, besides narrow and wide focus, the possibility of multiple foci is also allowed for in certain approaches (Selkirk 1984; Uhmman 1991; Krifka 1995; Jacobs 1995). The idea of the diversity of focus is thus no longer alien to focus theories. The main problem, however, involves how many focus types should be assumed and what type of criteria the typology should be based upon.

According to the definition of the notion of “focus” adopted in this study, focus is a syntactically and phonologically marked pragmatic concept. Focus highlights the most relevant part(s) of the utterance (and can also extend over the entire sentence) and this highlighting can be carried out relatively independently of the theme–rheme status of the constituent. Focus is, however, also connected to “new-

ness" in an extended sense of this notion. In order to be informative, every sentence must add new information of some kind to the Common Ground, a requirement which must be met by the focussed part. This is, however, not only possible through the introduction of new referents but by the "mere" expression of different types of "new" (unpredictable or not yet settled) relations. The character of the newness expressed by the focussed constituent must be evaluated in the Discourse component where those aspects of "meaning" which have to do with the situational context, the hearer's knowledge of the world and the speaker's intentions etc. are represented. Depending on the character of this newness, however, focus can also be transparent on the level of LF which is responsible for the interpretation of logical relations. Focus interpretation is thus (in this study) assumed to be basically a matter of a separate linguistic component related to Discourse. However, focus interpretation is at the same time, possible only on the basis of formally established configurations and in certain cases with recourse to logical relations.

In the focus typology proposed in this study, the most basic criterion of the differentiation of focus is considered to be the visibility of "highlighting" in the semantic component (LF) (in Hungarian partly correlating with S-structure). According to this criterion, the logically transparent focus types are distinguished from focussing interpreted only in the Discourse component, in much the same way as suggested by the distinction of "Focus" vs. "Hocus" (Kálmán *et al.* 1986) or "Operator Focus" vs. "Information Focus" (É. Kiss 1995a). The most important difference with regard to the "newness" of these two focus types is that the operator-type must specify, independently of the givenness or newness of the constituent, some relation to a contextually possible or relevant set of alternatives (via exclusion or inclusion) and it is this property which, in these cases, turns focussing into a "quantification-like" operation (cf. É. Kiss 1995a). This type has primarily been considered in the semantically oriented focus theory of Rooth (1985), where focus introduces a set of alternatives, and also by Jacobs (1984), who defines focus with recourse to the notion "Alternativenbezug". Non-operator Focus (i.e. "Hocus", "Information Focus" etc.), on the other hand, is not involved in the expression of new relations in the quantificational sense (they do not specify relations to a set of alternatives), this focus type is relevant only on the pragmatic level by introducing new referents and also placing them in new relations.

The following two examples thus contain operator focus, not only in (92A) where the focus is introduced by a visible operator but also in (93A) where it signals the exclusion of a contextually relevant alternative. In both cases, the accented part, the focussed constituent, has been explicitly mentioned in the previous context:

(92) Q: Would you like to move to Stockholm?

A: No, not to [STOCKHOLM] _F.

(93) Q: Would you like to move to Stockholm or to Göteborg?

A: I would like to move to [STOCKHOLM] _F.

Replying to a question like (94Q), the focus of the answer conveys, on the other hand, new information not only in the relational sense but also with recourse to the status of the accented constituent. As we have seen, this latter function is only optionally present:

(94) Q: Where are you going?

A: I'm going to [STOCKHOLM] _F.

Embedded in a different context, (95A) introduces new referents and also expresses a new relation between the constituents. In this case, focussing "simply" involves conveying new information, not inducing or marking any type of relation to a set of alternatives:

(95) Q: Why are the children so sad?

A: [I'm going to STOCKHOLM] _F.

To conclude, the necessary condition for the logical transparency of focus is its participation in inducing a set of alternatives in the Universe of Discourse and specifying some kind of relation to the members of the set. This specification must be "new", not present in the Common Ground, even though the alternatives might be contextually present and delimited. Such "new relation specification" to other alternatives of the discourse context is at the same time a sufficient condition for a Focus Operator. Thus it can, but does not necessarily have to, identify a new referent. Information focus is, on the other hand, not related to alternatives, but bound to the newness of the referent, thus establishing new "relation(s)" in the sentence.

In the following, I will argue for a further differentiation of the focus concept, concentrating primarily on the subtypes within the operator-type focus. This distinction is motivated by different types of quantification-like operations realizable on contextually possible alternatives, inclusion on the one hand, and two types of exclusion on the other. It seems plausible to assume in all these cases a Focus feature [+F] as they are all realized obligatorily with pitch accents and express some type of "new" relation to alternatives. Nevertheless, there are relevant differences between them in that they are (or dependent on language-specific properties **can**

be) distinguished on all grammatical levels, in syntax, with regard to their intonational contours and also with regard to their semantics.

Among the subtypes of Operator Focus, linguistic literature has paid most attention to the “exclusive” focus type, although in some semantically and syntactically oriented approaches (Rooth 1985; Jacobs 1983; König 1991; Drubig 1994; Brody 1990), “inclusive” focussing has also been discussed, most often in connection with focus particles (*even, sogar, is*, etc.). The semantic difference between these two focussing types also has visible syntactic consequences in Hungarian as “*is*-phrases” (*also*-phrases) can never occupy the so-called Focus-position, the syntactic position of the “exclusive” focus operator. I will not go into these differences in detail here because, for the purposes of our discussion, only the further division of the category of “exclusive” focus is relevant.

The definition of focus as “exclusion by identification” as suggested by Kenesei (1989) is motivated by the properties of the Focus Operator bound to the corresponding position in the syntactic structure of the Hungarian sentence (identified as SpecVP-position by É. Kiss 1994; SpecIP by Horvath 1995; SpecCP by Marác 1990; and SpecFP by Brody 1990; Molnár 1991).¹⁵ Not only the syntactic importance of this focus type was noticed but also its influence on the truth-conditional aspects of meaning (Szabolcsi 1980; 1981). As Szabolcsi pointed out, a constituent associated with this type of focus operator feature in Hungarian leads to an interpretation different from that of its non-focussed counterpart. By identifying one member of a set by an operator focus, a sort of “exhaustive listing” is guaranteed (96) or, according to Kenesei’s proposal, all other members of the set are excluded. Without this operator focus feature, on the other hand, the identification alone is relevant without any consideration of its relation to other members of the set (97):

- (96) PÉTER jár Lundban egyetemre.
 Peter is going Lund-in university-to
 ‘It is Peter who is studying in Lund.’

- (97) Péter Lundban jár egyetemre
 Peter Lund-in is going university-to
 ‘Peter is studying in Lund.’

¹⁵ Similar syntactic movement to S-structure position triggered by the Focus Operator is assumed in certain cases even in other languages as English, not belonging to discourse configurational languages (cf. Drubig 1994).

The semantically relevant difference between the two types becomes clear in cases where more than one person (*Péter*) is studying in Lund. This is provable using the coordination test (cf. Szabolcsi 1981; Kenesei 1989):

- (98) Péter és Éva Lundban járnak egyetemre.
 Peter and Eva Lund-in are going university-to
 'Peter and Eva are studying in Lund.'

In a situation referred to by (98) only (97) can be true, whereas (96) is false, since it has the entailment that *nobody other than Peter* is studying in Lund (thus leading to a contradiction).

Adopting Kenesei's idea (1989), "contrastive topics" are in this work assumed to represent a further, exclusive focus type. By highlighting topics with the prenuclear rising accent of an "I-contour" (though constrained by different formal, semantic and pragmatic factors) a set of alternatives is induced, in a way very similar to alternative inducement by the above discussed type of focus operator. Even in this case, the relation to the set of alternatives can be explicated with recourse to the notion of exclusion. Nevertheless, by the rising accent (as opposed to the falling intonation) the exclusion is "weakened". The identification type associated with the "contrastive topic" (which, contrary to Kenesei's view, is assumed here to be a matter also of topicality, see below), does not correlate with the exclusion of **all** other members of the set but signals that there is **at least one** member for which the predication (or a part of it) does not hold (cf. even Szabolcsi 1981). The difference between the focussing typical of an operator focus and the focus type involved in the case of contrastive topics can be explicated as a difference between a universally vs. an existentially quantified exclusion (*every* vs. *some*). Cf. Kenesei's formulation (1989, 119):

- (99) $F(a)$ and (for every x ($x \neq a$)) not ($F(x)$) [$\equiv (\text{Ix}(F(x)) = a)$] ("focus")

- (100) $F(a)$ and (for some x ($x \neq a$)) not ($F(x)$) ("contrafocus")

Thus, the focus operator in (101) entails that **every** other member of the relevant set of alternatives, other than Peter, is **not** studying in Lund (i.e. **nobody** other than Peter is studying in Lund), while the contrastive topic would entail that at least one member of the set is excluded (i.e. there is **someone** other than John who is **not** studying in Lund):

- (101) [PÉTER]_F jár Lundban egyetemre.
 Peter is going Lund-in university-to
 'It is Peter who is studying in Lund.'

- (102) [PÉTER]_{C-T} [LUNDBAN jár egyetemre]_F.
 Peter Lund-in is going university-to
 'Peter is studying in Lund (but somebody else is not).'

To express the similarity between the operator focus and contrastive topic, I would suggest the association of both notions with the feature [+exclusive]. However, this common feature appears in combination with different values of another feature [+/- exhaustive] in the two cases. While for the focus operator the cooccurrence of the features [+exclusive] and [+exhaustive] is characteristic, the contrastive topic contains the combination of [+exclusive] and [-exhaustive]. The difference between the two focus types can thus be described with recourse to the opposition of "∀-exclusion", i.e. "strong" exclusion vs. "∃-exclusion", i.e. "weak" exclusion (valid even in cases involving modal operators, see above).

The similarity between the focus operator and the contrastive topic is exploited even in Büring's explication of "S-Topics" (1995a), where he assumes that both concepts (in his terminology Focus and Topic marking) have the semantic and pragmatic effect of inducing alternatives and yielding certain implicatures. Based on Rooth's two-level semantics of focus (Rooth 1985), Büring develops a three dimensional analysis to account for the semantics of S-topics. According to Rooth's proposal, focussing is explicable by complementing the traditional semantic analyses of sentences called **Ordinary semantic value** $[[S]]_0$ with a second semantic value, the **Focus value** $[[S]]_F$. The ordinary value is defined as a proposition (i.e. set of worlds) and the Focus value is a set of propositions which contains alternatives for the Focus. Büring (1995b) introduces an additional level to the semantic analysis of sentences, the **Topic value** $[[S]]_T$. This "third semantic object important to the meaning of a sentence", is "basically a 'typed up' Focus value", defined as a set of Focus values, i.e. a set of sets of propositions (1995b, 6). Thus, the "set of sets of propositions" contains not only alternatives for the Focus but also for the S-Topic:

- (103) [ALL]_T the men did [not]_F go.

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| (104)(a) ^all men didn't go | (Ordinary value) |
| (b) { ^all men went, ^all men didn't go } | (Focus value) |
| (c) { { ^all men went, ^all men didn't go }, | (Topic value) |
| { ^most men went, ^most men didn't go } | |
| { ^some men went, ^some men didn't go } | |
| { ^one man went, ^one man didn't go }.... } | |

Nevertheless, this similarity between topic and focus in inducing alternatives does not lead Büring to the conclusion drawn by Kenesei that S-topics should be considered a kind of focus (expressed also by his term “kontrafókuszt”).¹⁶ On the contrary, he considers S-Topic the counterpart of the focus by being “simply an (improper) part of the Background” thereby assuming the complementarity of background and focus (1995b, 4). S-Topic differs from Focus also with regard to the implicatures induced by these two notions, motivated by the differences in the conditions which must be met when answering a question. Whereas it holds for normal question–answer pairs that the normal value of the question must be identical with the focus value of the answer (i.e. $\langle Q, A \rangle : [[Q]]_0 = [[A]]_f$), the topic value of the answer is assumed to contain “more” than the ordinary value of the question (the latter must simply be an element of the topic value of the answer, i.e. $\langle Q, A \rangle$: iff $[[Q]]_0 \in [[A]]_t$). This gives rise to the Topic implicature (called Residual Topic) according to which there “must be at least one disputable element in $[[A]]_t$ after uttering A”, i.e. at least one of the questions in the topic value of the answer must be left open:

(105) Q: Where are the unicorns?

A: $[\text{SOME}]_T$ unicorns are $[\text{in the GARDen}]_F$.

Residual Topic: Where are the other unicorns?

(Büring 1995a)

The contradictory character of Büring’s account of S-topics with recourse to the notion of “topicality” becomes especially clear in the analysis of the topic types which he calls “partial topics”. He considers the focussed part to be embedded in the Vorfeld-constituent Topic (*some* in (105A), *amerikanischen* in (106A)), leaving the question open as to what status should be attributed to the whole of the constituent containing the T-part (*some unicorns* and *die amerikanischen Popstars*):

(106) Q: Welches Lied haben die Popstars gewählt?

A: Die $[\text{amerikanischen}]_T$ Popstars haben $[\text{'Willing and Able'}]_F$ gewählt.

(Büring 1995c)

Contrary to his claim, however, that topic is part of the background and that focus adds the new information to the Common Ground, in his examples above (105A), (106A), those very parts of the “prefield”-constituents are labelled topics which convey new information (as does the focus constituent). The only conclusion one

¹⁶ Cf. Kenesei (1989, 119): “[...] a kontrafókusznak semmi köze sincs a topikhoz, így a kontrasztív topik elnevezés nem alkalmas rá.” [The contrafocus has nothing to do with the topic, thus the use of the label “contrastive topic” is not appropriate.]

can draw is that Büring is in fact not investigating topicality but the semantic and pragmatic properties of a second (optional and “weak”) focus of the sentence.

Despite the differing estimations of the information structural status of contrastive topics (or the corresponding concepts), the main difference between the focus and contrastive topic lies in the operation on the contextually definable set of alternatives both in Kenesei’s and in Büring’s analysis. (The significance of this difference is, however, evaluated quite differently, see above.) The “strong exclusive” character of the focus thus entails exhaustive information about all other members of the set in their relation to the rest of the sentence, thereby definitely filling the gap and not leaving any questions open. The “weak exclusion”, on the other hand, associated with contrastive topics leads to the disputability of the question as to which or how many members of the set should be excluded. This then opens up a new set of propositions. This property of contrastive topics of opening up new questions, i.e. a set of sets of propositions, is probably the main reason for the implicature (Residual topics, contrast) being blocked in questions.

Despite the contradictory views concerning the information structural status of contrastive topics (“S-Topics”, “kontrafókusz”), their being regarded most often as either belonging to topic or to focus, there is general agreement that the semantic effect of contrastive topics is to be defined as “conventional implicature”. The relevance of contrastive topics to semantic interpretation is thus not called into question. However, it is emphasized at the same time that its effect only has to do with aspects of meaning that do not seem to be strictly truth conditional in nature (Szabolcsi 1981; Lambrecht 1994; Büring 1995a,b). There is thus a relevant semantic difference between the focus operator (at least as far as Hungarian is concerned) and contrastive topic. While focus is assumed to have a truth-conditional content (as argued by Szabolcsi 1981, see above), contrastive topic adds a component to the meaning without changing the truth conditions (see above on Büring who assumes implicatures in both cases).

To sum up, contrastive topics are assumed to show the combined effect of topicality and focussing. The special status of the focus type in question was specified with recourse to its relation to other possibilities of focussing discussed in the focus typology. The CT was defined as operator-type focus (vs. information focus) since, due to the highlighting effect (marked by the pitch accent), it indicates a “new” relation to a set of alternatives (which might be contextually delimited) from which it is selected. The semantic/pragmatic effect of the “relation indication” characteristic of CT was defined as “weak exclusion” of other members of the relevant set. The “weak exclusive” character of focussing associated with contrastive topics gives rise to the opening up of a new set of propositions motivating the incompatibility of CT with questions. Through the obligatory combination of CT with an additional focus in the sentence, the modified version of the “focus-restriction of

topicality” can be observed and the cooccurrence of this special focus type with topic allowed for. The correlation of the additional, “weak” focus of the sentence with topicality is assumed to be a preferred alternative although this correlation, as argued for in the analysis of “I-contrast”, is not obligatory.

6.4. The relation of CT to the “given”–“new” distinction

To conclude the analysis of contrastive topics with regard to their phonological realization and their functional properties, I will now briefly discuss the relation of contrastive topics to the “given”–“new” contrast.

The semantic and pragmatic effect yielded by CTs, i.e. their force of implying a special type of contrast to other members of a (contextually relevant/specifiable) set, indicates that the intonational prominence on “contrastive topics” should not be interpreted as a simple intonational highlighting (contrary to the view of Vallduví–Engdahl, 1996) but as having operator-like (quantifier-like) character. In sentences with contrastive topics, there are thus two types of foci involved which, in part, indicate different relations to sets: an \exists -exclusion type relation induced by the contrastive topic and an \forall -exclusion-type induced by the nuclear focus of the sentence. The explication of contrastive topics with recourse to the focus concept and its internal differentiation is thus opposed to the view that the difference between this topic type and the focus of the sentence is principally based on the “given” vs. “new” status of the referents coded by the topic and focus. This latter view is, nevertheless, quite widespread and can be found in stronger or weaker versions in the linguistic literature (cf. É. Kiss 1987; Lambrecht 1994; Büring 1995; Jacobs 1996; Vallduví–Engdahl 1996 etc.). Much evidence has been presented in the theory of topic for the assumption that topics are more easily accessible for cognitive processing and are thus more appropriate to serve as the starting point of the message if they refer to an entity which is part of the shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer or inferable from it. In some approaches, the referential, contextually present (“anchored”) character of the topic is even considered a necessary condition for topicality (Gundel 1985; Davison 1984; Hannay 1991; Givón 1992).

Sentences with “known” elements as topics (belonging to the “background” part of the sentence), including cases of contrastive topics, are indisputably considered the prototypical cases:

(107) Q: Wie_i geht es Deiner Mutter?

A: [_T Meiner MÜtter] geht's [_F GUT],. (aber mein VAtter hat ASTHma.)

$\begin{array}{ccc} & | & | \\ & \text{T*+ H} & \text{H*+ T} \end{array}$

(Uhmann 1991)

(108) Q: Was_i macht Xenja?

A: [_T XENja] [_K (F_i promoVIERT),] (aber MariANne HEIratet.)

(Uhlmann 1991)

(109) Q: Ist Fritz schon früher gegangen? “rein implikationelles Topik”

A: [Fritz]_T ist [nicht]_F früher gegangen.

(Büring 1995c)

Among these prototypical cases even somewhat different examples can be found, cases of topicalization in English and in German in which the prominent topic identifies a subset of an earlier mentioned, more general concept (or set), implying at the same time also the need for specification of other members of the set. It is not implausible to assume that topics, even in these cases, are of a “thematic” character as they are “inferable” being related to a concept presented in the context (such as *song* from *album*, family members like *daughter* and *I* from the *family*):

(110) Q: You know this album?

A: *This song I know.*

(Overheard in conversation, University of Pennsylvania)

(Prince–Ward 1991)

(111) Q: Hätte vielleicht jemand von Ihnen Lust, mit uns ins Konzert zu kommen?

A: Danke für die Einladung, aber wahrscheinlich kann niemand kommen.

|
|
|
|

Auf mich wartet noch ein Berg Bügelwäsche und meine Tochter ist krank.

(Lötscher 1983)

The implication of contrast is especially strong in this type of sentences in particular because a contrastive relation is already founded on the semantic relations between the constituents (the whole/part relation). By restricting the predication to a subset of an entity introduced in the question, further predication(s) are left open and are related to other subparts of the set involved. This can explain the fact that contrastive topics very often appear in listing structures (“Aufzählungsstrukturen”) as illustrated by Lötscher’s example.

There are also cases where the “contrastive topic” quite clearly does not refer to some textually mentioned or contextually present entity. These cases are, however, somewhat marked (cf. Uhlmann 1991) although they are of theoretical significance since they indicate that the association of the topicalized constituent with the “given” status is only a preferred alternative and not obligatory. Sentences with contrastive topics can thus serve as appropriate answers to questions of the type *What’s the news?*, in which case as “all-new” utterances they contain only rhemat-

ic (or “new”) elements. Consequently, we must also allow for the topic to be linked to “rhematicity”. The “new” status of information is in several theories equated with its focus character and is signalled by the F feature, as in Uhmman’s analysis of the following sentence (112A):

(112) Q: Gibt’s was_i Neues?

A: Ja. [_Fi (T XEN)ja] (k promoVIERT),] (und Marianne heiratet.) (Uhmman 1991)

Besides “all-new” utterances, contextually non-present topics are possible in other cases also, such as the following reply to (113Q):

(113) Q: Was willst Du deiner Mutter schenken?

A: BLUmen will sie NICHT haben. Ein BUCH dagegen würde sie vielleicht mit FREUde akzeptieren.

Not just the whole topic constituent but even a part of it can refer to contextually non-present entities, as the “partial topic” cases (114A) (see also (106A)) quoted from Büring indicate:

(114) Q: Where are the unicorns?

A: [SOME]_T unicorns are [in the GARden]_F. (Büring 1995a)

To the theoretically most significant cases belong, however, sentences containing contrastive topics which serve as replies to multiple questions. In these cases, contrastive topics can actually identify constituents asked for in the question in a similar way as the focus of the sentence. Thus there seems to be no difference whatsoever between the first prominent (topical) constituent in the following sentences and the second constituent with the nuclear pitch accent (the focus) concerning the status of these two constituents on the theme–rheme level:¹⁷

¹⁷ É. Kiss (1993; 1994) argues against the unambiguous analysis of questions corresponding to (115Q) and (116Q) as “double questions”. She defends the view that such questions in English are ambiguous since “either the WH-phrase in [Spec, CP] or the WH-phrase in situ can be understood either as the universal quantifier or as the WH-operator proper” (É. Kiss 1993, 38). The point of her theory crucial to our discussion is that the interpretation of a WH-phrase as a universal quantifier in the above questions presupposes the presence of a set of persons in the domain of discourse. The sentences (115Q) and (116Q) would then be equivalent to universally quantified singular questions *Whom did each person kiss?* and *How did each person react to the book?* This would mean that the discourse status of the constituents corresponding to the WH-phrases of the questions should be regarded as different: the interpretation of a WH-phrase as a universal quantifier would presuppose the identification of a contextually present entity (or contextually specified entities) in the answer (cf.

(115) Q: Wer hat wen geküßt?

A: [Gerda]_T hat [Paul]_F geküßt. (Residual Topic:...und Fritz hat Iris geküßt)
(Büring 1995c)

(116) Q: Wer hat denn wie auf das Buch reagiert?

A: √LÖFfler hat es em\PFOHlen, √KArasek hat es ver\RISsen. (Jacobs 1996)

Furthermore, in these two sentences, both CT and focus identify “new” relations to other members of the relevant set regardless of whether *Gerda* and *Paul* in (115), or *Löffler* and *Karasek* in (116) have been mentioned previously.

According to the proposal of this study, the prominent constituents in the German “prefield” (when realized with the prenuclear accent, a necessary condition for implicating the double contrast) represent a special type of the cooccurrence of topicality and focus. The main difference between the CT-element of the sentence and the nuclear focus thus cannot be explicated with recourse to the given–new distinction since “new” relations are indicated (and optionally even “new” referents introduced) in a similar way in both cases. CT and the focus of the sentence are thus assumed to differ primarily with respect to the type of exclusion they indicate (weak vs. strong). The two remaining significant differences between the contrastive topic and focus cannot be defined on the basis of the “given” vs. “new” status of the CT and focus either, but are related to the fact that the focussing of a topic is a “second instance” of focussing in the clause. (i) A topic (even a CT) always presumes a nuclear focus (cf. the “focus-restriction” of topicality above), (ii) the realization of a topic is optional, whereas the realization of the focus is obligatory in order to meet the requirement of “informativeness” (by adding some type of new information to the Common Ground) imposed on every utterance.

the so-called “Specificity Filter”) while the interpretation of a WH-phrase as an interrogative operator opens the possibility of mentioning entities not present in the domain of discourse.

Undoubtedly, the Hungarian data É. Kiss cites in this connection indicate relevant constraints on the interpretation of WH-elements concerning the semantic (quantificational) properties of WH-phrases in different syntactic positions and also the semantic and pragmatic properties of the corresponding phrases in the answers. However, in my opinion these differences cannot motivate the abandonment of their multiple question status, neither in Hungarian nor, in the above-mentioned questions, in German.

Without going into details, it is important at this juncture to point out that it is possible in the German examples to interpret the questions as “real multiple questions” without any special pragmatic constraints being imposed on the phrases in the answers corresponding to the WH-elements.

7. The syntax of contrastive topics in German and Hungarian

According to the definition used in the present study, topicality is a notion explicable primarily with recourse to the pragmatic component of the language. Nevertheless, this notion is claimed to be closely related to grammar, being crucially dependent on the presence of certain formal features. In many theories about information structure, it has been maintained that topics tend to occur as far to the left of the clause as possible, either within the clause or marked in different ways in external positions to the left (left dislocations, hanging topics, clefts etc.). In “strong” versions, the topic is more or less bound to the clause-initial position (Halliday 1967; Kiefer 1977; É. Kiss 1987; 1992; 1994; Molnár 1991; 1993). However, also different, weaker versions point out the preference of topical constituents for occupying positions to the left in the sentence, preceding the focus (Givón 1992; Jacobs 1996; Vallduví-Engdahl 1996 etc.). Cross-linguistically, the most important formal property of topicality thus seems to be its syntactic position, preferably the left-peripheral position of the sentence, indicated both by empirical evidence (in languages where topicality is signalled by morphological means, the topic marker cooccurs with clause-initial constituents) and also motivated by regularities in cognitive mechanisms (cf. Givón 1992). There is, however, no one-to-one correlation between the clause-initial position and this discourse function (cf. section 4). Clause-initiality is defined only as a necessary but by no means sufficient formal condition of topicality (cf. Molnár 1991, where some exceptions to the necessity of the sentence initial position are also admitted). Compatibility with topic interpretation is assumed to have further formal prerequisites, such as the syntactic category of the left-peripheral constituent and certain semantic properties. The expression of the aboutness relation is prevented if finite verbs or different types of non-referential entities are located on the left-hand periphery of the sentence (*wh*-elements, certain types of sentence adverbials, expletive elements, certain types of reduced complements in Hungarian, cf. Molnár 1991, 195f.).¹⁸

Since syntactic position is assumed to be of decisive significance in indicating topicality, the most important question concerning topic syntax is the definition of

¹⁸ Verbal Modifiers in Hungarian (containing different types of incorporated elements) must, in the Topic position, be pronounced with a separate pitch accent. Normally, the verb and the incorporated constituent form a single semantic unit and correspondingly also a single phonological word. By placing the VM elements in Topic position and assigning them a fall-rise accent, these non-referring expressions become in some sense “individuated” and receive increased “referentiality” (cf. Kiefer 1992; Molnár 1991) and consequently they can, to a different degree, be compatible with topicality. Their interpretation as contrastive topic is, however, crucially dependent on the type of VM constituent and on their clause-initial position (cf. the discussion of the topicality of VM elements in Hungarian in Molnár 1991, 199f.). In cases where there is some other constituent in the initial position, they can only be regarded as instances of “I-contrast”:

the status of the clause-initial position in the syntactic hierarchy and its relation to the logical and pragmatic aspects of interpretation. The left-periphery of sentences in German and Hungarian differ in several relevant respects due to different values these two languages take with respect to the verb-second parameter and the discourse-configurationality parameter (cf. É. Kiss 1995b). The following discussion will concentrate on some differences between German and Hungarian syntax, mainly from the point of view of their influence on the realization of contrastive topics.

According to general assumptions, German belongs to the verb-second languages, in which the finite verb in declarative clauses is moved to the C^0 -position (alternatively to I^0 -position, Brandt-Reis-Rosengren-Zimmermann (= BRRZ) 1992, see also BRRZ for a detailed discussion of the so-called “Uniformity” and “Difference” Hypotheses) and the SpecCP (or IP), i.e. a non-argument-position, is the target position of the movement of a single phrase which can also include certain types of operators and quantified phrases. The movement in German into the Spec-position of a functional projection (C or I), called the “Vorfeld”, is claimed to be obligatory in declaratives, giving rise to the verb-second effect. (There are exceptions though, (i) so-called narrative sentences can be realized without a Vorfeld, (ii) the Vorfeld can be occupied by more than one constituent in marked cases (cf. Molnár 1991, 225f.). Besides the requirement of the obligatory presence of the Vorfeld in front of the finite verb, the choice of the moved constituent is not restricted by its syntactic function (or case assignment, contrary to the situation in English) (117), (118), (119):

(117) Der Roman hat nicht allen gefallen.

(118) Den Roman haben alle gelesen.

(119) Von diesem Roman habe ich nie gehört.

(C) Éva orvos soha nem lesz, de egy jó ápolónő lehet belőle.
 Eva doctor never no become but a good nurse possible-become her-from
 ‘Eva can never become a doctor, but she might make a good nurse.’

The reason for the assignment of an obligatory pitch accent to the VM elements in the Topic position (or in one of the Topic positions) of the Hungarian sentence has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is, however, not plausible to assume that their obligatory association with a separate accent domain in Topic position is derivable from their clause-external status (cf. the left dislocation analysis of contrastive topics suggested by É. Kiss) because this would not explain the possibility of their realization after the topic of the sentence (i.e. as an instance of “I-contrast” without expressing an “aboutness” relation), as is the case in example (C) above.

There are no constraints of a semantic or pragmatic nature imposed on the Vorfeld-constituents either. The clause-initial position can contain universally quantified phrases (120), or unspecific (121) or indefinite (122) constituents. Since German is a non-discourse-configurational language, the constituents occupying the left-peripheral position of the German clause are also compatible with different pragmatic interpretations, thus both with the interpretation as topic (unmarked topic (123) or contrastive topic (124), (125)) or as focus (focus exponent (126), narrow nuclear focus (127) or narrow focus in multiple foci sentences (128)) (capitals indicate the first syllable of focussed constituents):

- (120) Alle Gäste waren mit dem Abend SEHR zufrieden.
- (121) Jemand hat dich gestern ANgerufen.
- (122) Eine schwedische Hütte möchten VIEle reiche Deutsche kaufen.
- (123) Er hat einen neuen WAgen gekauft.
- (124) *Peter* hat einen neuen WAgen gekauft, (...*Petra* hat nur ein FAHRrad gemietet.)
- (125) *Alle* sind NICHT gekommen.
- (126) (Was ist los?) Das TELEphon klingelt.
- (127) (Wer hat einen neuen Wagen gekauft?) PEter hat einen neuen Wagen gekauft.
- (128) (Wer hat was gekauft?) PEter hat einen neuen WAgen gekauft.

The syntax of contrastive topics in German thus seems a rather uncontroversial matter, at least as far as the type of the involved movements and the syntactic status of the surface position occupied by CTs (non-argument position) are concerned. Due to the relatively free assignment of pragmatic interpretations to different positions in the German sentence, the contrastive topic can be considered one of several possible information structural functions associated with the left-periphery (i.e. Vorfeld).

A few questions arise, nevertheless, in connection with the syntactic analysis of CTs even in German. One of them has to do with the functional complexity of contrastive topics, which are assumed to combine topicality with a special type of focussing. In a theoretical framework where focus is represented in syntax by an abstract feature [+F], one could expect the syntactic marking of the focus character

in some way also in the case of contrastive topics. It is therefore suggested here that a focus feature also be assigned in the syntactic component to the constituent linked with the contrastive topic interpretation. The assignment of this feature is, though, not completely free as is the assignment of the “traditional” focus feature because it presumes the presence of another [+F] in order to be consistent with the claim that contrastive topics can be realized only in front of the nuclear focus. There are also other relevant differences between the focussing associated with contrastive topics and the traditional operator focus. As pointed out above, the two types of focussing trigger different prosodic patterns and yield different semantic/pragmatic effects. To indicate the difference in the phonological and logical/pragmatic interpretations between these two focussing alternatives the $[F_i]$ feature was introduced for the focussing type cooccurring with contrastive topics in Molnár–Rosengren (1996). (It must, however, be emphasized that this special type of focussing is not restricted to contrastive topics but also appears in other cases implicating “I-contrast”, e.g. on constituents not compatible with topicality or in embedded contexts, cf. section 6.2.)

The syntactic derivation of German declarative sentences containing contrastive topics in the Vorfeld is thus assumed to be completely identical with other types of declaratives, with the exception of the assignment of the abstract F_i -feature to the clause-initial constituent (or to a part of it). Verb-raising and the filling of the prefield position of the German clause are performed independently of the topic–comment articulation of the sentence without the involvement of any special semantic or syntactic operators responsible for the partition of CT (TOP) vs. PRÄD as proposed by Jacobs (1996). Jacobs’ syntactic account of “I-topicalization” is based on the illocutionary operator, ASSERT^{IT} (see also section 2), due to which an invisible functional head, $\emptyset_{\text{decl}}^{\text{it}}$, is introduced in the syntactic structure giving rise to V-movement and TOP realization. Jacobs’ theory cannot, however, account for the special focussing properties of “I-topics” and his proposal fails to explain the absence of the verb-movement in certain sentence types despite an assumed ASSERT^{IT} operator even in these cases. As Jacobs observes, as a matter of fact, the finite verb can remain in the clause-final position in certain types of unembedded sentences where “I-topics” (i.e. constituents realized with “Wurzelakzent”, inducing scope inversion and contrast as in (129)) are considered fully grammatical:

- (129) Obwohl ja $\sqrt{\text{ALlen}}$ Kritikern das Buch keines\WEGS gefallen hat,
(Elnige haben es regelrecht verRISsen.)

“I-topicalization” in German seems, however, both in embedded contexts and in interrogative sentences, to be more restricted than in main clauses. Undeniably, the

apparent asymmetry between unembedded vs. embedded clauses and between declaratives (and imperatives) vs. interrogatives concerning the grammaticality or adequacy of the use of “I-contour”, on the one hand, and relevant differences with regard to the possibility of scope inversion and contrast implication, on the other, belong to the more problematic aspects of the German CT-syntax.

Jacobs (1996) maintains the incompatibility of “I-topicalization” with clauses in embedded contexts (130), (131) and accounts for this with recourse to the absence of an illocutionary operator:

(130) *Auch “Die Blechtrommel” ist ein Roman, den $\sqrt{\text{ALle}}$ Kritiker $\backslash\text{NICHT}$ mochten.

(131) ??Den Verleger bekümmert es nicht, daß $\sqrt{\text{ALle}}$ Kritiker den Roman $\backslash\text{NICHT}$ mochten.

The realization of the “I-contour” in embedded clauses and the interpretation of the constituent bearing the fall-rise tone as the contrastive topic is, however, not excluded in German, as argued in Molnár–Rosengren (1996). Even if the occurrence of contrastive topics in relative clauses and in other types of subordinate clause is not unconstrained (in that some properties of the matrix clause as well as the left-hand position of the middle field are of decisive importance), the possible cases, without realizing illocutions, call into question Jacobs’ claim that “I-topicalization” is dependent on the illocutionary potential of the sentence.

However, in certain cases the illocutionary force, e.g. of interrogative sentences, can actually prevent the prototypical realization of contrastive topics. As discussed above (section 6.3), the semantic and pragmatic effects yielded by the realization of the “I-contour” in declaratives seem to be blocked in questions, presumably for semantic reasons. The incompatibility between interrogatives and “I-topics” supports Jacobs’ claim that illocutionary restrictions must be considered. It does, however, not motivate the strong version of the “illocutionary approach” suggested by Jacobs—the **derivation** of “I-topicalization” from the illocutionary potential of the sentence—a view which would, in fact, also be inconsistent with the data in embedded clauses (see the detailed discussion of this question in Molnár–Rosengren 1996).

A further relevant syntactic aspect of the CT-issue is the relation between the surface structure position of CTs and their interpretation in LF. The relation between S-structure and LF is of specific theoretical interest in the comparison of German and Hungarian since, as will be discussed below, there are relevant differences between the two languages in this respect. As far as German is concerned, semantic interpretation is not claimed to be fully determinable on the basis of S-structure. Although in German too, scope relations are typically interpreted on

the basis of surface structure, the reversal of scope relations in certain cases, e.g. in sentences associated with “Wurzelkontur” (Jacobs 1996) or with “I-Topic intonation” (cf. Höhle 1991), is allowed for (see the discussion in section 6.2). Scope inversion in German is generally accounted for in terms of reconstruction (cf. Büring 1995a,c and also Höhle 1991, who explicitly argues against the claim that it could be accounted for as a result of LF raising) or with recourse to similar mechanisms (such as a PRÄD(TOP) structure as proposed by Jacobs 1996) which ensure that the prefield-quantifier (and/or its trace) is, in LF, in the syntactic scope of (i.e. c-commanded by) the middle field quantifier.

The syntactic analysis of contrastive topics in Hungarian is a much more controversial matter than in German. The main question which arises concerning the account of CTs is how to accommodate the functional complexity of contrastive topics (combining topicality with focussing) and the data concerning scope relations in a theory maintaining a one-to-one relationship between the surface structure of the Hungarian sentence and its semantic–communicative interpretation. Under current assumptions, Hungarian is a language that “wears its LF on its sleeve” (Szabolcsi 1995). Contrary to German, Hungarian is thus considered to be a “discourse-configurational” language. The claim of parallelism between syntax and the interpretive component is motivated by two different, though interrelated, properties of the Hungarian sentence. The “notional” or communicative functions of topic and focus are bound to certain positions and the semantic interpretation (i.e. the interpretation of scope relations) is dependent on surface structure configurations. These assumptions give, nevertheless, rise to serious theoretical problems in connection with the analysis of contrastive topics in Hungarian in two respects: (i) due to the fact that the interpretive component is not differentiated, information structural notions are not kept apart from semantic categories and conflicting cases are not accounted for, (ii) the claim that scope relations are directly reflected in the S-structure of the Hungarian sentence is not consistent with the empirical data as far as contrastive topics are concerned.

The first problem can be formulated as follows: although topicality and focussing defined in the information structural sense are, in Hungarian, subject to relevant restrictions in their syntactic realization, the correlation between syntactic positions and pragmatic interpretations in the preverbal field is far from being as absolute as generally maintained in Hungarian linguistics. Hungarian sentence structure reflects only in a rather incomplete way the pragmatic structuring. In many cases neither the topic–comment articulation nor the background–focus structure can be determined solely on the basis of syntactic configurations. The pragmatic functions are syntactically manifested primarily in those cases where they are also semantically transparent. As a matter of fact, the semantic correlates of the pragmatic notions,

specificity and definiteness in the case of topics and the focus operator with its quantification-like function (exclusion of all other members of the contextually relevant set), have, due to their influence on syntactic structure, been the most important criteria on the basis of which the topic or focus status of a constituent in the Hungarian sentence has been decided. This has resulted in, among other things, the exclusion of universally quantified phrases and other types of positively quantified elements (DPs, PPs modified by *is*, different types of adverbials etc.) from topicality, and to the neglect of focus types lacking an operator feature. The concentration on the semantic and syntactic aspects of information structural notions typical of most approaches can possibly account for some widespread assumptions concerning the structure of the Hungarian sentence, i.e. (i) the description of the postverbal part of the clause as a “neutral” field (É. Kiss 1987), (ii) the assumption that “neutral” sentences are devoid of focus, i.e. in these sentence types, none of the constituents can receive a syntactic focus feature etc. (Brody 1990). Being semantically irrelevant and not syntactically bound to certain positions in the same way as the focus operator, the other focussing type, termed by É. Kiss (1995a) “information focus”, has hardly played any role in linguistic discussions on Hungarian.

The main concern of analyses has thus been the account of the complicated, semantically motivated, restrictions on the order of quantifiers and other types of constituents in the preverbal field, showing that the focus must be immediately preverbal, that a uq-phrase (or other phrases with the quantifier [+q] feature, cf. É. Kiss 1994) must precede the focus and that the latter can be preceded by any number of topicalized constituents (cf. Brody 1990):¹⁹

- (132) [_T Péter] [_Q minden könyvet] [_F Évától] kért kölcsön.
 Peter all books-acc Eva-from borrowed
 ‘Peter borrowed all the books from Eva.’

- (133) * [_Q Minden könyvet] [_T Péter] [_F Évától] kért kölcsön.
 all books-acc Peter Eva-from borrowed

- (134) * [_T Péter] [_F Évától] [_Q minden könyvet] kért kölcsön.
 Peter Éva-from all books-acc borrowed

¹⁹ Cf. Brody (1990, 95):

“*S if the word order does not conform to the following schema:
is-phrase/neg-phrase, uq-phrase, c-focus/*csak*-phrase, VM, V etc.”

The labelling of some of the positions in the preverbal field with recourse to pragmatic notions such as topic and focus, or by calling movements to these positions topicalization and focus movement, can be regarded as partly correct since the immediately preverbal position most often fulfills the function of focus even in an information structural sense and, similarly, an optionally realized constituent in front of universally quantified phrases often functions as the topic. Information structural interpretation does not, however, run completely parallel to positions in the preverbal field:

(i) Topicalization as a syntactic movement is recursive in Hungarian, Hungarian not being a verb-second language like German. There can be more than one topic position (T) realized in a Hungarian clause. Thus, topic (and topicalization) cannot in a syntactic sense be restricted to the coding of the pragmatic aboutness relation (given the assumption of the uniqueness of the pragmatic topic made by Molnár 1991, 223f.).

(ii) On the other hand, the syntactic focus position (F) hosts only one type of focus and the analysis of focus with recourse only to this position would be too restrictive. Multiple foci cases, other semantically relevant focussing types and information focus cannot be accounted for with recourse to a single focus position.

(iii) Constituents in positions other than T and F, Q-raised, universally quantified phrases (and other phrases with a +q feature, cf. É. Kiss 1994) posited between T and F, constituents in the postverbal field (and, depending on the theoretical model, even the finite verb) should consequently be excluded from information structural interpretations if the interpretations of topic and focus were restricted to certain syntactic positions in the left periphery of the sentence.

(iv) Divergences between the syntactically-semantically determined positions and discourse interpretations cannot be accounted for if these different levels are considered to correspond to each other. Conflicts between the grammatical and interpretational component can, however, arise in several cases even if constituents in the strictly regulated preverbal field are involved. It is e.g. possible to realize a constituent other than that occupying the focus position as the information structural focus of the clause (135A). A universally quantified element can also be interpreted as the topic of the sentence, in which case topicality is not associated with topicalization but with Q-raising (136A):

(135) Q: Van még valaki, aki nem adta le a kabátját a ruhátárban?
is still somebody who not gave prev the coat-gen-3sg-acc the cloakroom-in
'Is there anybody who did not leave his coat in the cloakroom?'

A: [Q MINdenki] [F le] adta a kabátját a ruhátárban.
everybody prev gave the coat-gen-3sg-acc the cloakroom-in
'Everybody left his coat in the cloakroom.'

- (136) Q: Mit vettél a gyerekidnek nászajándékba?
 what-acc bought-you the children-gen-2pl-dat wedding present-in
 'What did you buy for your children as a wedding present?'
 A: [Q Mindegyikük] [F egy Autót] kapott.
 all-of-them a car-acc got
 'Each of them got a car.'

The case of universally quantified phrases (or phrases with an identical syntactic distribution) shows especially clearly that information structural interpretations cannot be directly derived from syntactic-distributional and phonological properties. Their exclusion from topicality (as suggested by É. Kiss) seems only to be motivated by formal features of Hungarian sentence structure and cannot be accounted for by their incompatibility with the pragmatic function of topic (i.e. the expression of the aboutness relation) nor by their incompatibility with the most important constraint on the formal realization of topicality (clause-initiality).

The constraints on the order of the constituents in the preverbal field of the Hungarian sentence are thus apparently not primarily pragmatic but rather semantic and syntactic in nature. These constraints account for the distribution of topic and focus, however, only in certain prototypical cases, prescribing the obligatory prefocus position of a topical element and predicting the complementarity of the focus operators and the topic. In syntactic models where the focus is bound to a certain position (or the focus feature is bound to positions within the "focus field" as claimed by Brody 1990) and topic and focus are considered to be complementary notions, functionally complex categories such as contrastive topics cannot easily be accommodated. In order to account for the cooccurrence of topicality and focussing represented by contrastive topics, it is necessary to allow for the free assignment of a focus feature even outside the VP-domain (in É. Kiss' model including even the Focus position and Q-positions) or "focus field" (in Brody's theory). The interpretation of the focus feature on topicalized constituents must, however, considering the "modified focus-restriction" of topicality (see above, section 5), be restricted to certain cases: (i) to marking a "weak" operator focus characteristic of contrastive topics by the free assignment of a "secondary" focus feature [+F_i], (ii) to indication of information focus in the case of the integration of the topicalized constituent into a wider focus domain (by focus projection).

It is claimed in this study that the distinction of two different levels of the interpretive component (beside the semantic level, the consideration of the discourse level) is necessary in order to account for focus assignment to and focus interpretation of constituents which also appear outside the F-position (or "focus field") of

the Hungarian sentence, provided that certain restrictions are observed. It must be emphasized that this proposal will not call into question the discourse-configurational character of Hungarian and the fact that the realization of topicality and focus is significantly more constrained in Hungarian than in German. The explanation of the functional complexity of contrastive topics seems, however, only possible by the "relaxation" of a one-to-one relationship between the grammatical component of Hungarian and the information structural level.

Not only the information structural complexity of contrastive topics but also their semantic properties seem to challenge standard assumptions regarding the relation between syntactic structure and the interpretive component in Hungarian. It has been claimed in several works on Hungarian syntax (É. Kiss 1987; 1992; 1994; Hunyadi 1986; Szabolcsi 1995) that the surface configurations of the Hungarian sentence serve the expression of logical relations, and scope relations are thus determinable simply on the basis of S-structure. The scope principle of universal grammar (i.e. "An operator c-commands its scope", cf. É. Kiss 1994, 30) is thus assumed to be observed in the S-structure of Hungarian, contrary to other languages (e.g. German and English) where the scope interpretation of the sentence can often be given only on the basis of LF-configurations. Sentences containing contrastive topics apparently contradict the claim of S-structure/LF-identity in Hungarian because the first pitch accent of the "I-contour" realized with a (fall-)rising tone leads to obligatory (137) or preferred (138) scope inversion in the same way as in German.

(137) √MINden előadást \NEM tudtam meghallgatni.
all lectures-acc not could-I prev-listen-to
'I could not listen to all the lectures.'

(138) √SOK előadást \NEM tudtam meghallgatni.
many lectures-acc not could-I prev-listen-to
'I could not listen to many lectures.'

Logical scope cannot, in these cases, be established on the basis of the S-structurally manifested c-command domain of the quantifiers since, in the above-mentioned sentences, the quantifier must (137) or can (138) be interpreted as being included in the scope of the negation, despite the fact that in the surface structure, it has scope over the negative particle.

The problem of inverted scope by certain quantified topic types has been accounted for in different ways in the literature, most often by the assumption of a particular position for topicalized operators with narrow scope. Topicalization with

wide scope and narrow scope is thus considered to be the result of different operations. Hunyadi (1981) proposed two sentence internal topic positions in order to account for scope differences between the two topic types by suggesting movements to different positions. É. Kiss (1987), on the other hand, distinguished narrow scope topics from topicalization by base-generating them in a clause-external, left-peripheral position and thus analysing them in parallel to left dislocations. According to É. Kiss, the main advantage of this analysis is that the narrow scope reading of “contrastive topics” can be obtained by following the scope principle at S-structure. She explains this effect by maintaining that left dislocated elements, being outside the domain for sentential operations, cannot participate in the process of scope interpretation. They are represented in this process by a coindexed, clause-internal, empty category in argument position (creating an A'-chain with the left-dislocated head) and, being c-commanded and preceded by the other operator, they can only have narrow scope. As additional support for the left-dislocation analysis of CTs, É. Kiss also mentions the phonological and functional properties of contrastive topics: (i) unlike topics, CTs create a separate phonological phrase and have a rising intonation contour, (ii) they are excluded from the function of notional subject of the proposition and have rather a discourse function on the textual level (cf. É. Kiss 1994, 80).

The treatment of contrastive topics in É. Kiss' approach seems problematic because their particular semantic, phonological and functional properties cannot be accounted for more appropriately by excluding them from the sentence. On the contrary, the assumption of their base-generated status outside the sentence would give rise to more problems than it could solve. First of all, the interpretational surplus of contrastive topics, the implication of contrast, does not motivate their exclusion from the function of notional subject of the proposition. According to the proposal made in section 6 of this study, their functional complexity can be explained **not by excluding** them from the function of topicality but **by additionally linking** them to a particular type of focussing. Secondly, the fact that they create a separate phonological phrase cannot be regarded as a decisive argument for their clause-externality either, since the creation of separate accent domains within the sentence, depending on different structural factors, must be allowed for even in the Hungarian sentence (as claimed for German, cf. Uhmman 1991), both in the pre-verbal and in the postverbal field. The claim that topics should be unstressed or realised with a falling intonation contour seems to be only a stipulation. Thirdly, the account for their deviant behaviour in semantic respects (i.e. the fact that they fail to take scope over the domain they c-command in certain cases) with recourse to their clause-externality is not consistent with fact that in “real” left-dislocations scope inversion is prevented (cf. Jacobs 1996).

By equating the syntactic status of contrastive topics with that of left dislocations, other relevant grammatical and pragmatic differences between these two topic types are also left without explanation. These include the differences in their compatibility with certain quantifiers (cf. Reinhart 1982), various restrictions concerning their intonation contours and even differences in their information structural status (cf. Jacobs 1996, see the discussion in section 8). Last but not least, it would not be easy to explain, using the left-dislocation approach, those cases where the constituent bearing the rising intonation contour is not located on the left periphery but is preceded by a topicalized constituent (see the earlier discussion of "I-contrast" implication):

- (139) Péter a \BARátaiért a \TÜZbe menne, de a rokonaival nem
 Peter the friends-gen-pl-3sg-for the fire-in would go but the relatives-gen-pl-3sg-with not
 törődik.
 cares
 'Peter would go through fire for his friends, but he does not care about his relatives.'

- (140) Péter \MINden érdekes előadáson \NEM tudott részt venni Lundban.
 Peter all interesting lectures-on not could part take Lund-in
 'Peter could not participate in all interesting lectures in Lund.'

A quite different attempt to save the validity of the scope principle in the S-structure of Hungarian is made by Hunyadi in his modified analysis of the expression of scope relations in Hungarian (cf. Hunyadi 1986). In this later version, he gave up his earlier proposal of establishing special topic positions for topics with narrow scope (cf. footnote 6) because the admission of narrow scope quantifiers would have violated "the principle of linear order" which, according to him, is "the only principle that determines scope relations in the sentence" (Hunyadi 1986, 101). Hunyadi claims that contrastive topics are "carrier-taking" operators (i.e. operators without lexicalized form) much like the focus. While he assumes that the function of the focus-operator is to express contrast with respect to the focussed element, the function of the topic-operator is thought to be to express the possibility of contrast with respect to the topicalized element. Hunyadi tries to guarantee the correspondence to the principle of linear scope-assignment by distinguishing between communicative and semantic scope associated with topicality. He maintains that the topic operator has wide scope in a communicative sense even if the topicalized carrier has narrow scope with respect to some operator following it.

The claim that the scope order of quantifiers matches their left-to-right order in the surface structure of Hungarian is not uncontroversial since there are several

exceptions to it both in the preverbal and in the postverbal field (see the detailed discussion in É. Kiss 1987; 1991). Szabolcsi (1995) suggests the relaxation of this principle for the postverbal field of the Hungarian sentence on the basis of the analysis of some data by accounting for inverse scope orders with recourse to LF movement. Concerning the preverbal field, she maintains, however, the “visibility” of scope orders for logical interpretation, distinguishing thus two “scopal fields” in syntactic structure, the visible preverbal and the invisible postverbal one. It is also suggested that the preverbal structure of the Hungarian sentence corresponds to the hierarchy of functional projections represented in English in LF, introduced by Stowell–Beghelli (1994) for purposes of logical interpretation instead of the traditional movement rule called Quantifier Raising. According to a proposal by Stowell and Beghelli, the functional projections representing different types of quantifiers are hierarchically ordered in Logical Form in English and each quantifier acquires its scope by moving into the specifier of the required functional category:

(141) [RefP [DistP [ShareP [AgrP/VP]]]]

Inverse scope is accounted for with recourse to reconstruction which is claimed, however, to only undo semantically insignificant movements.

According to the close relation between LF-structure in English and S-structure in Hungarian, Szabolcsi proposes the following hierarchical ordering of the distinguished positions of the Hungarian sentence:

(142) [Topic =RefP [Quantifier=DistP [Focus=ShareP [Pred.Operator =AgrP/VP]]]]

Contrastive topics and the problems arising in connection with the possibility of scope inversion in these cases are, however, not discussed in Szabolcsi’s study, probably motivated by the implicit acceptance of their left-dislocational status.

Considering the drawbacks of the left-dislocation account of CTs, it seems more appropriate to allow for deviations from the visibility condition of scope relations also in the preverbal field of Hungarian and to admit that the hierarchy of quantified phrases in the surface structure of Hungarian does not completely mirror logical relations. The distinction of three quantificationally based, functional projections, as proposed by Szabolcsi, seems to render the syntactic distribution in the preverbal field of the Hungarian sentence correctly. These projections cannot, however, be claimed to correspond totally either to semantic or pragmatic interpretations. The realization and interpretation of contrastive topics cannot be directly related to the syntactic hierarchy represented in (142) because (i) contrastive topics can be associated with different preverbal projections (TopicP or QP) provided that

the conditions of additional focus feature assignment and clause-initial realization are met, (ii) their semantic interpretation cannot be given exhaustively on the basis of this surface structure. In the case of certain configurations of quantified elements, additional LF movements seem necessary.

To sum up, despite relevant differences between German and Hungarian concerning their syntax and the relation of S-structure to the interpretive component, both languages are assumed to be forced to undergo LF movements in order to account for the possibility of inverted scope relations in the case of contrastive topics. The functional complexity of contrastive topics can also be represented syntactically with recourse to similar mechanisms by the assignment of the secondary $[F_i]$ feature and by relaxing the hypothesis of topic–focus complementarity in both a pragmatic and syntactic sense.

8. Topic typology

The central question of this study is the information structural status of prominent topics. To answer this question, it is necessary to go beyond the category of contrastive topics and consider the formal diversity and functional complexity of the topic concept. It was assumed in the pragmatic and syntactic analysis of topicality presented above that topic and focus can cooccur if certain restrictions are considered. The hypothesis that contrastive topics represent a special type of correlation between topic and focus has also been argued for. There are, however, several prominent topic types to be distinguished on the basis of different phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties, and the question arises whether in all these cases prominence can be considered a signal for the focus status of the topicalized constituent. On the other hand, one might wonder whether the focus character of a topic must be obligatorily coded by a pitch accent. In the final section of the discussion of the topicality issue, the differences between the most important topic types will be examined primarily with regard to their prosodic properties and to their relation to different focussing types and focus structures.

The most significant criterion for differentiating the concept of “topic” is possibly its phonological marking and, within this criterion, primarily the presence vs. the absence of a pitch accent (although the intonation contour can also be decisive). In the latter case, the compatibility of the left-peripheral constituent of the clause (in the German “Vorfeld” or in the T-position) with topicality is generally accepted and seldom called into question (cf. Uhmman 1991) whereas prominent topicalized constituents are in quite a few analyses excluded from topicality (or according to É. Kiss’s proposal, from the clause-internal T-position(s), see section 7). This criterion is also the most basic one in the following categorization where a further internal dis-

inction between the two basic categories will, however, be of significance for the explication of the relation between prominence and focus structure. The topic-typology presented below will include seven topic types of which only two are intonationally unmarked while the rest belong to the prosodically marked topic category.

(i) “Unmarked topics” are realized with low or middle pitch intonation contours and are usually considered to be the prototypical representatives of topicality. The most uncontroversial variant appears in sentences where the topic–comment division correlates with the division on the two other pragmatic levels (and, in optimal cases, even with the subject–predicate structure, cf. Chafe 1976: “Topics, English style”; Vallduví–Engdahl 1996: “topic fronting” vs. “link fronting”):

(143) Q: Was_i macht Maria?

A: Maria [_{F_i} schält die ZWIEbeln].

(Uhmman 1991)

(144) Q: Hogy döntött a bizottság a tervezetek ügyében?

how decided the committee the plans concerning

‘How did the committee decide concerning the plans?’

A: A bizottság 'elfogadta a javaslatot.

the committee accepted the proposal-acc

‘The committee accepted the proposal.’

(É. Kiss 1987-88)

(ii) According to the assumptions made here, prosodically unmarked topics can also be embedded in integrated focus structures and can be part of the focus domain (the syntactic focus feature on topics is licensed by “integration”, cf. Drubig 1994). In these cases, the “sentence stress” is, in German, assigned on the basis of the right-hand branching of the Nuclear Stress Rule to the left-peripheral argument (145A) (cf. Rosengren 1991 for a more detailed analysis of stress assignment):

(145) Q: Was_i gibt's zu Lachen?

A: [_{F_i} Maria schält die ZWIEbeln].

(Uhmman 1991)

In the above-mentioned example, the clause-initial constituent *Maria* creates no separate phonological phrase (in Uhmman's terminology “Akzentdomäne”) and this “weakens” somewhat the clarity of the topic–comment division. German sentences with integrated focus structures behave in phonological respects, however, in complete parallel with sentences with background–focus structures (cf. (143A) and (145A)). Thus it does not seem plausible to assume a separate phonological phrase to be a necessary condition for topicality. (Uhmman does not consider *Maria* to be

the topic in either (143A) nor (145A), because she restricts topicality to cases where the topicalized constituent signals a “double-duty turn”, thus corresponding to the “contrastive topic” of this study.)

The prosodic realization of Hungarian “neutral” sentences (i.e. sentences where the focus extends over the whole sentence, cf. Kálmán *et al.* 1986; Brody 1990) is a rather controversial issue in Hungarian linguistics. According to Kálmán *et al.*, neutral sentences are associated with a so-called “level-prosody” pattern which contains no single prominent stress:

- (146) 'Péter 'megvárta 'Marit a 'klubban.
 Peter prev-waited Mari-acc the club-in
 'Peter waited for Mary in the club.'

(Kálmán *et al.* 1986)

Varga (1983; 1987–88) on the other hand, suggests the obligatory assignment of a pitch accent (“primary accent”) to topics in sentences serving as replies to the question *What's the news?*, motivated by the fact that they convey new information although they do not create a separate intonational phrase (called “külön dal-lamhid”).²⁰ É. Kiss (1987–88) argues against this view by maintaining that accent assignment to topics is dependent on the creation of separate intonational units.

The possibility of projecting the focus feature from a focus exponent and integrating the whole sentence into the focus domain indicates that the relation between stress and focus is rather complex (Rochemont 1986). Since focussing is not necessarily marked by prominence on every constituent linked with the F-feature in an integrated focus structure, the topic can also be assumed to cooccur with focus without being associated with a separate pitch accent (generally assumed, as far as German and English are concerned, while Hungarian is more problematic). To conclude, (i) the topic-focus correlation is thus possible even in integrated structures and (ii) the assignment of a “primary” or pitch accent is not obligatory for the coding of the focus character of a topic.

The correlation of topic and focus must in certain cases, however, be indicated by an additional pitch accent on the topicalized constituent (beside the nuclear stress on the “sentence focus”) as maintained in the analysis of contrastive topics.

²⁰ Varga (1983) suggests a distinction between primary and secondary accents. The primary accents are further differentiated according to their CH-tones (“character-tones”) and, for those types of primary accent which are relevant to the examples cited in this work, the following markings are used: 'x (primary accent without specification of the tone contour), 'x (rising), 'x (falling).

Secondary accents are used by Varga for contextually specified topics and these are marked in the following way: ,x.

The implication of a cataphoric double contrast is especially clear in cases where the topic constituent refers to a contextually activated or present entity (cf. Jacobs' "I-Topikalisierung"):

- (150) Q: Kann man denn alle Romane von Grass empfehlen?
 A: Na ja, $\sqrt{\text{ALLE}}$ kann man sicher $\backslash\text{NICHT}$ empfehlen
 (, aber sein ER ster ist zweifellos ein MEI sterwerk). (Jacobs 1996)

- (151) 'Teveled 'elmegyek, 'ővele 'nem.
 you-with prev-go-I him-with not
 'I'll go with you but not with him.' (Varga 1983)

In some approaches, prominent topics referring to "new" entities are also held to be compatible with contrast implicature. In these cases, a distinct articulation of the bipartite tone contour is presumably of decisive importance (cf. Uhmann 1991). A pitch accent could otherwise be interpreted as a simple "new" topic marking (cf. Lambrecht 1994) where the contrast is vague and not automatically triggered (although still realizable) (152A), (153A):

- (152) Q: Gibt's was_i Neues?
 A: Ja. (F_i [T XENja] (K promo**VIERT**),] (und Marianne heiratet.) (Uhmann 1991)

- (153) Q: Mi újság?
 what news
 'What's the news?'
 A: A 'barátom 'megnősült, én 'nem.
 the friend-my married I not
 'My friend has married but I have not.' (Varga 1983)

(v) Sentence external topics are similar to the category of CT concerning the obligatory character of the pitch accents on the topicalized constituent, on the one hand, and the contrastive effect on the other. Left-dislocated elements or "hanging topics" (cf. Jacobs' "H-Topikalisierung") can thus also be associated with the fall-rise of an "I-contour" which is, however, considered to be only an optional alternative to the fall (see Jacobs 1996):

- (154) Der $\sqrt{\text{NEUe}}$ Roman von Grass, den würde ich $\backslash\text{NICHT}$ empfehlen. (Jacobs 1996)
 (155) Der $\backslash\text{NEUe}$ Roman von Grass, den würde ich nicht em $\backslash\text{PFEI}$ hlen. (Jacobs 1996)

They are also connected by a contrastive effect, especially in cases when they are additionally marked by lexical means (*concerning, as for, was....betrifft* etc., see (3), (9)) expressing the restriction of the validity of the predication contained in the main clause to the dislocated constituent as opposed to other contextually possible alternatives.

There are, however, several significant differences between sentence external topics and CTs (cf. also Jacobs 1996). Besides the variability of the tone contour, the former refer most often (contrary to CTs) to contextually non-activated or at least not fully specified entities whose main pragmatic function is not to **implicate** but rather to **realize** a contrast in retrospect (contrast implicature is, however, possible if their “counterparts” are not mentioned in the previous discourse). A further relevant difference as compared with CTs is the behaviour of sentence external topics concerning scope relations. Due to the clause-external position of the dislocated constituent, scope inversion is prevented in these constructions.

(vi) Of special theoretical interest are those prominent “prefield” constituents which are contained in so-called “multiple foci”-sentences. They are in several respects similar to contrastive topics which has led to great difficulties in the distinction of these two categories. As Jacobs (1996) pointed out, the differences in the intonational pattern between these two structures in German (i.e. “mehrteilige Fokussierung” vs. “I-Topikalisierung”) are subtle, since the “prefield” constituent can, in both cases, be realized with a rising contour even if the prototypical realization of the CT is a bitonal contour. Furthermore, both sentence types can serve as answers to multiple questions:

(156) Q: Wer hat denn wie auf das Buch reagiert?

A: /LÖFfler hat es em\PFOHlen, /KArasek hat es ver\RISsen.

(157) Q: Wer hat denn wie auf das Buch reagiert?

A: √LÖFfler hat es em\PFOHlen, √KArasek hat es ver\RISsen.

The fact that sentences with multiple foci and sentences with contrastive topics can be used in the same context does not motivate their being equated with respect to their semantics and pragmatics. The difference between them seems, however, rather difficult to explicate and has puzzled several linguists, primarily those investigating German and English (Büning 1995; Krifka 1995; Jacobs 1996, etc.). In Krifka’s syntactically oriented approach, the “Vorfeld” constituent is derived, in both cases, in an identical way, and their syntactic derivation includes F-assignment to a constituent adjacent to and c-commanded by the verb, on the one hand, and

movement into the prefield position on the other. Krifka adds, however, the following provision concerning the pragmatic effect of “I-topic” cases: “This movement has a specific communicative function, a type of topicalization, which I will not characterize further here” (Krifka 1995, 139). According to Büring (1995a,c) and Jacobs (1996) also, multiple foci and TCS with S-topics (or I-topics) cannot be assumed to differ exclusively with respect to their syntax or semantics. The crucial difference between them is, in fact, of a pragmatic nature (according to Büring the focus must be “new” while S-topics are part of the background and, according to Jacobs, I-topics refer to prototypically old entities).

As discussed above (7.4), the difference between the focus and the contrastive topic cannot be accounted for with recourse to the given–new status of the topical and focussed constituents. If we apply this conclusion to the analysis of the relation between multiple foci cases (MF) and sentences with contrastive topics, we might expect to find that it is not this criterion which is responsible for the distinction of the accented prefield constituent in MF-sentences from those in sentences with CT. As a matter of fact, according to the discourse theory presented in this paper, both these types of clause-initially placed prominent constituents are compatible with topicality. As the above examples show, contrastive topics can have the same contextual anchoring as the first focus constituent in multiple foci-cases. There are, however, differences between them although they differ only in the way they exclude other members of the set, i.e. in the weak or strong character of the exclusion. This difference is totally independent of the presumed contextual knowledge of the addressee, or to put it in another way, quite independent of their theme or rheme status.

(vii) In all the prominent topic-types analyzed hitherto, the pitch accent on the topic was assumed to indicate some type of focussing. This does not mean that I will subscribe to the claim of an obligatory correlation between pitch accent and focussing (cf. Selkirk 1984). Contrary to Selkirk, Uhmman (1991) argues for the possibility of pitch accent assignment independent of focussing with the sole function of segmenting a sentence and creating so-called “accent domains”. Adopting Uhmman’s proposal, it is also assumed, concerning topics, that in certain cases the prominence associated with them can be interpreted as a simple phonological highlighting without any focussing properties, contributing to the signalling of the topic-comment division of the sentence. A monotonal accent (H* or T*) can thus be assumed to correlate with background-constituents in the following examples (158A) and (159B) which, uttered after the corresponding question (158Q) and sentence (159A), can lay claim neither to the “informational” nor the “relational” newness of focussing:

(158) Q: Was_i macht Xenja?

A: [_{II} XENja] [_{Fi} promo**VIERT**].

|
T*

|
H*+ T

(Uhmman 1991)

(159) A: Übrigens. Xenja HEIratet_i.

B: Nein. [_{II} XENja] [_{Fi} promo**VIERT**].

|
H*

|
H*+ T

(Uhmman 1991)

According to Varga (1983), stress assignment is also possible in Hungarian on contextually given topic constituents (in T-positions), not only as a secondary stress (160A) but, for rhythmical reasons, even as a primary stress (160A'):

(160) Q: Mit csinálnak a gyerekek?

what do the children

'What are the children doing?'

A: A ,gyerekek 'játszanak a 'kertben.

the children play the garden-in

'The children are playing in the garden.'

A': A 'gyerekek 'játszanak a 'kertben.

(Varga 1983)

In these cases, I would suggest an analysis of the function of the primary or secondary stress assigned to the constituent in the T-position parallel to that for the above-mentioned German examples. Here, stress (presumably also a monotonal accent) might only be considered a pure signal for a separate tone group, in this case for the separation of the topic from the other parts of the sentence, not inducing any contrast (by weak or strong exclusion) or participating in focus marking.

To conclude, pitch accent can yield quite different semantic and pragmatic effects on topics and requires the distinction of different prominent topic types. Its effects depend on several factors, on the intonation contour (bitonal vs. monotonal accent), on the integration of the topic into the syntactic structure of the sentence, and also on the context. A pitch accent realized on the topic can thus be assumed to identify different focus types cooccurring with the topicality although the pitch accent (monotonal accent) may also be claimed to be used for simple intonational segmentation and highlighting strategies. On the other hand, topics without a pitch accent (realized with low or middle pitch intonation) are not homogeneous either concerning their infor-

mation structural role on the background-focus level. Not only can they be totally or partly identical with the background segment of the clause (containing known elements), but can even create a part of the focus domain in integrated focus structures.

The combination of different intonational options and the background-focus structure resulting in different topic types can be summarized by the following model:

Table 1
A typology of topics

alternatives for the correlation of topicality with focus	– focus	+ focus (different focus types involved)
alternatives for the correlation of topicality with pitch accent assignment		
pitch accent	topic type (i)	topic type (ii)
+ pitch accent (with different tone contours)	topic type (vii)	topic type (iii) topic type (iv) = contrastive topic topic type (v) topic type (vi)

9. Conclusion

The main aim of the present study has been to examine the most important formal and semantic/functional properties of a topic type for which the label “contrastive topic” has been adopted. It is claimed that the pitch accent assigned to contrastive topics is not only to be considered an intonational highlighting but also a special type of focussing. Contrastive topics are thus suggested as representing one of several possible instances of an intersection of topic and focus. This proposal was explicated with recourse to a discourse theory where the complex interaction of different information structural concepts was allowed for and where topic and focus were not assumed to be complementary notions in the traditional sense as suggested by most theories on the topic–focus articulation. The comparative investigation of contrastive topics in German and Hungarian was intended to describe some universal and language specific, formal features of topicality relevant to both the expression of the pragmatic notion of topic and to the identification of different topic types, and thus to the identification of contrastive topics among other possible types of topic realization.

The explication of contrastive topics within the suggested theoretical framework has thus led to the insight that neither focus nor topic is a uniform concept. There are relevant differences between the subtypes within both categories due to their grammatical variability (differences in prosodic pattern and syntactic integration) depending on their semantic transparency and pragmatic effects. Consequently, the topic–focus articulation of sentences is the result of a complicated interplay between different pragmatic notions and is reflected in the syntactic structure in different ways across languages. It is thus claimed that an adequate analysis of the topic–focus articulation can be achieved only in a theoretical approach where both the functional and formal diversities of topicality and focussing are accounted for.

References

- Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds) 1986. Topic, focus, and configurationality. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Altmann, H. 1981. Formen der “Herausstellung” im Deutschen. Niemeyer, Tübingen (= Linguistische Arbeiten 106).
- Bátori, I.S. 1981. Die Grammatik aus der Sicht kognitiver Prozesse. Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen.
- Brandt, M.–Reis, M.–Rosengren, I.–Zimmermann, I. 1992. Satz, Satztyp und Illokution (= BRZZ). In: Rosengren, I. (ed.): Satz und Illokution, Band 1, 3–89. Niemeyer, Tübingen (= Linguistische Arbeiten 278).
- Brody, M. 1990. Some remarks on the focus field in Hungarian. In: UCL Working Papers in Linguistics 2, 201–25. Department of Phonetics and Linguistics. University College London.
- Bühler, K. 1934. Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache. Gustav Fischer, Jena.
- Büring, D. 1995a. The great scope inversion conspiracy. To appear in: Proceedings of SALT 5. Austin TX.
- Büring, D. 1995b. Topic. In: Bosch, P.–van der Sandt, R. (eds): Focus and natural language processing, Vol. 2: Semantics, 271–80. Heidelberg (Working Papers of the IBM Institute for Logic and Linguistics 6).
- Büring, D. 1995c. Die große Skopusverschwörung. Handout, Rendsburg.
- Chafe, W.L. 1974. Language and consciousness. In: Language 50: 111–33.
- Chafe, W.L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In: Li, Ch. (ed.): Subject and topic, 25–55. Academic Press, New York.
- Chierchia, G.–McConnell-Ginet, S. 1990. Meaning and grammar: An introduction to semantics. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge MA.
- Cohen, A.–’t Hart, J. 1967. On the anatomy of intonation. In: Lingua 19: 177–92.
- Cruttenden, A. 1981. Falls and rises: Meanings and universals. In: Journal of Linguistics 17: 77–91.
- Culicover, P.–Rochmont, W.N. 1983. Stress and focus in English. In: Language 59: 123–65.
- Dahl, Ö. 1974. Topic-comment-structure revisited. In: Dahl, Ö. (ed.): Topic and comment, contextual boundness and focus, 1–24. Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg.

- Daneš, F. 1974. Functional sentence perspective and the organization of text. In: Daneš, F. (ed.): Papers on functional sentence perspective, 106–28. Academia, Prague.
- Davison, A. 1984. Syntactic markedness and the definition of sentence topic. In: *Language* 60: 704–846.
- Drubig, H.B. 1991. Fokusstruktur und Fokuskonstruktion im Englischen. Unpubl. Ms., SFB 340, University of Tübingen.
- Drubig, H.B. 1992. Zur Frage der grammatischen Repräsentation thetischer und kategorischer Sätze. In: Jacobs, J. (ed.): Informationsstruktur und Grammatik, 142–95. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen. (= Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 4.)
- Drubig, H.B. 1994. Island constraints and the syntactic nature of focus and association with focus. In: Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340. Bericht Nr. 51. Tübingen.
- É. Kiss, K. 1981. Structural relations in Hungarian, a “free” word order language. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 12: 185–213.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987. Configurationality in Hungarian. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987–88. Még egyszer a magyar mondat intonációjáról és hangsúlyozásáról [Once more on the intonation and prosody of the Hungarian sentence]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 89: 1–52.
- É. Kiss, K. 1991. Logical structure in syntactic structure: The case of Hungarian. In: Huang, J.C.T.–May, R. (eds): Logical structure and linguistic studies, 111–48. Foris, Dordrecht.
- É. Kiss, K. 1992. Move-alpha and scrambling in Hungarian. In: Kenesei, I.–Pléh, Cs. (eds): Approaches to Hungarian, Vol. 4: The structure of Hungarian, 67–98. JATE, Szeged.
- É. Kiss, K. 1994. Sentence structure and word order. In: Kiefer, F.–É. Kiss, K. (eds): The syntactic structure of Hungarian, 1–90. Academic Press, San Diego. (= Syntax and semantics, Vol. 27).
- É. Kiss, K. 1993. WH-movement and specificity. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11: 85–120.
- É. Kiss, K. 1995a. Focus is a non-uniform phenomenon. In: Kohlhof, I.–Winkler, S.–Drubig, H.B. (eds): Proceedings of the Göttingen Workshop, 17. DGfS, March 1–3, 1995. Niemeyer, Tübingen/Stuttgart (= Arbeitsberichte des Sfb 340, 69).
- É. Kiss, K. (ed.) 1995b. Discourse configurational languages. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.
- Enkvist, N.E. 1980. Marked focus: Functions and constraints. In: Greenbaum, S.–Leech, G.–Svartvik, J. (eds): Studies in English linguistics for Randolph Quirk, 134–52. Longman, London/New York.
- Féry, C. 1992. Focus, topic and intonation in German. In: Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen für die Computerlinguistik. In: Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340. Bericht Nr. 20. Tübingen.
- Féry, C. 1993. German intonational patterns. Niemeyer, Tübingen. (= Linguistische Arbeiten 285).
- Givón, T. 1992. The grammar of referential coherence as mental processing instructions. In: *Linguistics* 30: 5–56.
- Gundel, J.K. 1977. The role of topic and comment in linguistic theory. Reproduced by the Indiana University Linguistic Club, Bloomington IN.
- Gundel, J.K. 1985. ‘Shared knowledge’ and topicality. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 9: 83–107.
- Gussenhoven, C. 1983. Focus, mode and the nucleus. In: *Journal of Linguistics* 19: 377–417.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English 2. In: *Journal of Linguistics* 3: 199–244.
- Hannay, M. 1991. Pragmatic function assignment and word order variation in a functional grammar of English. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 16: 131–55.
- Hetland, J. 1992. Satzadverbien im Fokus. Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen (= Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 43).

- Horn, L.R. 1984. Exhaustiveness and the semantics of clefts. In: *Proceedings of the Northeastern Linguistic Society*, Vol. 11: 125–42.
- Horvath, J. 1995. Structural focus, structural case, and the notion of feature-assignment. In: É. Kiss, K. (ed.): *Discourse configurational languages*, 28–64. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.
- Höhle, T.N. 1982. Explikationen für “normale Betonung” und “normale Wortstellung”. In: Abraham, W. (ed): *Satzglieder im Deutschen*, 75–153. Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen (= *Studien zur deutschen Grammatik* 15).
- Höhle, T.N. 1991. On reconstruction and coordination. In: Haider, H.–Netter, K. (eds): *Representation and derivation in the theory of grammar*, 139–97. Kluwer, Dordrecht. (= *Studies in natural language and linguistic theory* 22.)
- Höhle, T.N. 1992. Über Verum-Fokus im Deutschen. In: Jacobs, J. (ed.): *Informationsstruktur und Grammatik*. 112–41. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen.
- Humphreys, K. 1993. Given and new information: A terminological minefield. Unpubl. Ms. University of Edinburg.
- Hunyadi, L. 1981. Remarks on the syntax and semantics of topic and focus in Hungarian. In: *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31: 107–36.
- Hunyadi, L. 1986. The expression of logical scope in Hungarian. In: Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds): *Topic, focus, and configurationality*, 89–102. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Jackendoff, R. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Jacobs, J. 1982. *Syntax und Semantik der Negation im Deutschen*. Fink, München.
- Jacobs, J. 1983. *Fokus und Skalen. Zur Syntax und Semantik der Gradpartikeln im Deutschen*. Niemeyer, Tübingen. (= *Linguistische Arbeiten* 138).
- Jacobs, J. 1984. Funktionale Satzperspektive und Illokutionssemantik. In: *Linguistische Berichte* 91: 25–58.
- Jacobs, J. 1992. (ed.): *Informationsstruktur und Grammatik*. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen.
- Jacobs, J. 1996. Bemerkungen zur I-Topikalisierung. In: *Sprache und Pragmatik* 41: 1–48. Lund.
- Kálmán, L.–Nádasdy, Á.–Prószéky, G.–Kálmán, C.Gy. 1986. Focus, focus, and the verb types in Hungarian infinitive constructions. In: Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds): *Topic, focus, and configurationality*, 129–42. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Kenesei, I. 1989. Logikus-e a magyar szórend? [Is Hungarian word order logical?]. In: *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* 17: 105–52.
- Kiefer, F. 1977. Functional sentence perspective and presuppositions. In: *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27: 83–109.
- Kiefer, F. 1992. Aspect and conceptual structure: The progressive and the perfective in Hungarian. In: Zimmermann, I.–Strigin, A. (eds): *Fügungspotenzen*, 89–110. Akademia-Verlag, Berlin. (= *Studia Grammatica* 34).
- König, E. 1991. *The meaning of focus particles: A comparative perspective*. Routledge, London/New York.
- Krifka, M. 1995. Focus and operator scope. In: Bosch, R.–van der Sandt, R. (eds): *Focus and natural language processing*. Vol. 1: Intonation and syntax, 133–52. Heidelberg. (= *Working Papers of the IBM Institute for Logic and Linguistics* 6).
- Ladd, D.R. 1980. *The structure of intonational meaning: Evidence from English*. Distributed by the Indiana University Linguistic Club. Bloomington IN.
- Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Leech, G.–Svartvik, J. 1975. *A communicative grammar of English*. Longman, London.
- Lötscher, A. 1983. *Satzakzent und funktionale Satzperspektive im Deutschen*. Niemeyer, Tübingen (= *Linguistische Arbeiten* 127).

- Marácz, L. 1990. V-movement in Hungarian: A case of minimality. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian*. Vol. 3, 1–27. JATE, Szeged.
- Molnár, V. 1991. Das TOPIK im Deutschen und im Ungarischen. Almquist & Wiksell International, Stockholm. (= *Lunder germanistische Forschungen* 58).
- Molnár, V. 1993. Zur Pragmatik und Grammatik des TOPIK-Begriffes. In: Reis, M. (ed.): *Wortstellung und Informationsstruktur*, 155–202. Niemeyer, Tübingen (= *Linguistische Arbeiten* 306).
- Molnár, V. Rosengren, I. 1996. Zu Jacobs' Explikation der I-Topikalisierung. In: *Sprache und Pragmatik* 41: 49–88. Lund.
- Motsch, W. Reis, M.–Rosengren, I. 1990. Zum Verhältnis vom Satz und Text. In: *Deutsche Sprache* 2/1990: 97–125.
- Prince, E. 1981. Toward a taxonomy of given–new information. In: Cole, P. (ed.): *Radical pragmatics*, 223–55. Academic Press, New York.
- Prince, E. 1985. Fancy syntax and 'shared knowledge'. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 9: 65–81.
- Prince, E.–Ward, G.L. 1991. On the topicalization of indefinite NPs. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 16: 167–77.
- Reinhart, T. 1982. *Pragmatics and linguistics: An analysis of sentence topics*. Reproduced by the Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington IN.
- Rizzi, L. Forthcoming. The fine structure of the left periphery. Unpubl. Ms. Université de Genève.
- Rooth, M. 1985. Association with focus. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Massachusetts.
- Rochemont, M.S. 1986. *Focus in generative grammar*. Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Rosengren, I. 1991. Zur Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung im Deklarativsatz und im w-Interrogativsatz. In: Reis, M.–Rosengren, I. (eds): *Fragesätze und Fragen*, 175–200. Niemeyer, Tübingen (= *Linguistische Arbeiten* 257).
- Rosengren, I. 1995. The thematic/categorical distinction revisited once more. In: Kohlhof, I.–Winkler, S.–Drubig, H.B. (eds): *Proceedings of the Göttingen Workshop*, 17. DGfS, March 1–3, 1995, 89–111. Tübingen/Stuttgart (= *Arbeitsberichte des Sfb* 340, 69).
- Sasse, H.-J. 1987. The thematic/categorical distinction revisited. In: *Linguistics* 25: 511–80.
- Selkirk, E. 1984. *Phonology and syntax: The relation between sound and structure*. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Selkirk, E. 1993. Sentence prosody: intonation, stress and phrasing. In: Goldsmith, J. (ed.): *Handbook of phonological theory*, 550–69. Blackwell, London.
- Stowell, T.–Beghelli, F. 1994. The direction of quantifier movement. In: *GLOW Newsletter*. Dordrecht, Foris.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1980. Az aktuális mondattagolás szemantikájához [Towards the semantics of topic–focus articulation]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 82: 59–83.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1981. Compositionality in focus. In: *Folia Linguistica* 15: 141–61.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1995. Strategies for scope taking. In: *Working Papers in the Theory of Grammar*, Vol. 2, No. 1. ELTE, Budapest.
- Turner, R. 1976. Utterance positioning as an interactional resource. In: *Semiotica* 17: 233–54.
- Uhlmann, S. 1991. Fokusphonologie. Niemeyer, Tübingen (= *Linguistische Arbeiten* 252).
- Vallduví, E. 1992. *The informational component*. Garland, New York/London.
- Vallduví, E.–Engdahl, E. 1996. The linguistic realisation of information packaging. In: *Linguistics* 34: 459–519.
- Varga, L. 1983. Hungarian sentence prosody: An outline. In: *Folia Linguistica* 17: 117–51.
- Varga, L. 1987–88. Hozzászólás egy hangsúlytanulmányhoz [Remarks on a prosody-study]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 89: 53–66.

- Ward, G.L. 1985. The semantics and pragmatics of preposing. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania.
- Weigand, E. 1979. Zum Zusammenhang von Thema/Rhema und Subjekt/Prädikat. In: Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik 7: 151–66.
- Weil, H. 1845. De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes. Joubert, Paris.
- Whitney, R. 1984. The syntax and interpretation of A-bar adjunctions. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Washington.
- Wunderlich, D. 1991. Intonation and contrast. In: Journal of Semantics 8: 239–51.

Address of the author: Valéria Molnár
German Institute
University of Lund
Helgonabacken 14
S-223 62 Lund
Sweden
e-mail: valeria.molnar@tyska.lu.se

ON THE NEG-CRITERION IN HUNGARIAN*

GENOVÉVA PUSKÁS

Abstract

The paper argues that Hungarian negative sentences contain a NegP, a functional projection inside IP. The spec-head configuration requirement of the Neg-Criterion is satisfied by a null operator at S-structure. Negative phrases surfacing in different sentence positions enter into a representational chain (attested as Negative Concord), or a derivational chain. Negative chains have a member of them adjoined to Spec NegP, as a result of which they acquire sentential scope. *Sem* is not an equivalent of *nem* but the negative counterpart of *is* 'also'; *sem*-phrases occupy the specifier of a functional projection above FP.

Introduction

Since Pollock (1989), much attention has been paid in the literature to the position and behaviour of negative elements (see Zanuttini 1989; Laka 1990; Progovac 1993; Acquaviva 1993; Haegeman 1995 among others). A fairly general consensus arose about the fact that negation involves a functional projection and is subject to structural constraints, although there is some controversy as to its position, as discussed in e.g. Ouhalla (1990), Acquaviva (1995), Zanuttini (1997). In this paper, I examine the properties of Hungarian negation in the framework proposed in Haegeman (1995). Haegeman (1995) argues that negative elements are constrained by the NEG-criterion, a well-formedness condition on the occurrence of negative elements, which is an instantiation of the more general Affect criterion. On the premises that the NEG-criterion applies at S-structure in Hungarian, I will discuss several aspects of Hungarian sentential negation which seem to challenge this assertion. I will show that although the behaviour of negative elements does not, at

* This research was partly supported by the Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique, grant n° 11-33542.92. I am most indebted to Katalin É. Kiss and Liliane Haegeman for discussions and comments on the issues raised here. Thanks are also due to Anna Fenyvesi, Nedžad Leko, Szilvia Papp, Manuela Schoenenberger, Ildikó Tóth and Ildikó Vaskó. I am also grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their very insightful and helpful comments. Needless to say that I am solely responsible for all remaining errors.

first sight, support the above given premise, the **NEG**-criterion does represent a coherent and adequate explanatory tool to understand Hungarian negation.

In the first section, I give a proposal for the structure of Hungarian non-neutral sentences. I discuss the motivation for a functional projection FP outside the predication part of the sentence, as a component of CP, in fact. I show that instances of the Affect criterion, like the Focus criterion and the **WH**-criterion also apply at S-structure in Hungarian and account very adequately for the behaviour of non-negative quantificational elements.

The second section examines recent proposals as to the position and behaviour of negative elements in Hungarian, namely in the works of Piñón (1992) and Tóth (1995). I propose a structure which integrates the functional projection NegP and I show that the structure I adopt has the advantage of taking into account, in addition to Hungarian adult data, acquisition data. I also show that the **NEG**-criterion applies at S-structure in Hungarian.

Section 3 discusses the case of negative phrases. I argue that they are not negative polarity items, but intrinsically negative elements, and that although their behaviour seems to challenge the point made in section 2, the **NEG**-criterion applies fully at S-structure in these cases as well.

Section 4 discusses the various occurrences of *sem*. I will argue that what Brody presented as being equivalent sets of data, in which *nem* and *sem* alternate, belongs in fact to two different phenomena, both being accounted for within the framework I adopt.

Finally, section 5 gives a summary of the discussion.

1. The structure of the Hungarian sentence

Most authors agree on the fact that Hungarian sentences can be divided into two types, the neutral order sentences and the sentences involving some focus/operator position. Neutral order sentences have been assigned various forms by linguists, but the basic assumption is that they are encompassed in IP, where the constituents ordered in an SVO pattern will be accounted for.¹ Therefore, a sentence like

- (1) Balázs fel fedezte az olasz filmeket.
 Balázs-nom part discover-past-3sg the Italian films-acc
 'Balázs discovered the Italian films.'

¹ É. Kiss (1992) proposes in fact that SVO patterns involve a subject in Topic position, and that there are no neutral order sentences.

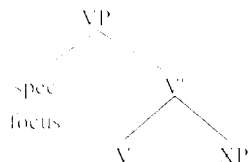
is assigned a structure where the subject moves to an IP-initial position, and the order particle-verb is accounted for by the adjacency of the particle and the verb in a V' node, where they are base-generated (see e.g. Brody 1990; É. Kiss 1992), or by the presence of the particle in spec TP, the verb moving into T⁰ (see Puskás 1996b).²

A rather general assumption is that when the sentence does not display the word order corresponding to this SVO pattern, it is a non-neutral sentence, which contains a focus-type operator (Kenesei 1986). Again, the proposals vary as to what this entails in terms of structure:

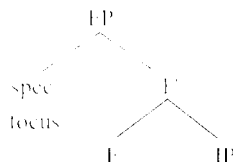
- (2) AZ OLASZ FILMEKET fedezte fel Balázs.
 the Italian films-acc discover-past-3sg part Balázs-nom
 'It is the Italian films that Balázs discovered.'

Whereas É. Kiss (1992) proposes that focused phrases occupy spec VP, where they are assigned/checked against the [+f] feature present on the verb (3a), Brody (1990; 1995a) and Puskás (1992), based on Choe (1989), argue that focused phrases occur in the specifier of a functional projection FP, whose head F⁰ hosts the verb. In this case, the verb moves to F⁰ where it exhibits the feature [+f] (3b):

(3a)



(b)



Crucially, the difference between these two approaches lies in the fact that the projection FP entails that non-neutral sentences have a (set of) functional projection(s) above IP, and that as soon as a sentence does not exhibit a neutral word-order, the IP-external projections are activated, and the verb occurs outside IP, in a non-predicative position. The movement of the verb to an IP-external position results in particle-verb inversion, as in (2) above.

In this paper, I will continue assuming that non-neutral sentences, including negative sentences, involve a functional projection FP, which is a component of CP in the sense of Rizzi (1995) and belongs to the set of non-predicative functional

² Verbal particles usually give a perfective meaning to the verb they occur with. Marác (1992) gives an elaborate sentence structure which includes an Asp(ect)P headed by the particle. The S-part-V-O order results from the lowering of the agreement and tense morphemes to Asp⁰ hosting the particle, a position to which the verb also adjoins.

projections.³ The fact that FP is a component of CP, in the same sense as AgrP is a component of IP, has consequences on the extraction of elements from this position as well as on selection particularities.⁴

It is a well-known fact that focus-in-situ is ungrammatical in Hungarian:

- (4) *Imádja Balázs AZ OLASZ FILMEKET.
adore-pres-3sg Balázs-nom the Italian films-acc

Sentence (4) above can be adequately accounted for by the Focus criterion, originally formulated in Brody (1990). I give here a revised version of the criterion (5), based on Rizzi's (1991) WH-criterion (6):

³ Rizzi (1990b) proposes that functional heads belong to different types and can be characterized by features, where [+I] designates predication and [+C] propositional content. Typically, components of IP are [+I], whereas components of C are [+C] (and [+I +C] in case of V2 languages). On a full discussion of split CP and its components, see Rizzi (1995).

⁴ The reader is referred to Puskás (1996a) for a discussion of the extraction of focused phrases from embedded clauses, as well as for an account of the selection of a [+wh] embedded clause "at a distance" by a verb. Among others, the paper discusses the contrast in grammaticality between (i) and (ii) below:

- (i) Ez az a film amiről PÉTERREL gondolom hogy beszéltünk.
this that the film which-delat Peter-instr think-pres-1sg that talk-past-1pl
'This is the film about which I think that we talked WITH PETER.'
- (ii) *Hogy gondolt hogy EZT A FELADATOT oldotta meg?
how think-pres-2sg that this problem-acc resolve-past-3sg part
'How do you think that he solved THIS PROBLEM?'

Indeed, (i) involves a relative extraction across a focused phrase, whereas (ii) is a *wh*-extraction, again across a focus. Summarising, the paper argues that whereas focus and *wh* use the same CP (-type) slot, relativization involves another CP-type projection. Horváth (1986) also discusses the difference between focusing and relativization in the sense that *wh*-phrases land in the focus position, which is distinct from spec CP, the landing-site of relative phrases. In her account, however, long focussing uses (the only) spec CP as an escape hatch, a claim that does not seem to be supported by the following:

- (iii)...a lány akivel BALÁZST gondolom hogy látták
the girl with-whom Balázs-acc think-pres-1sg that see-past-3pl
'the girl with whom I think they saw BALÁZS.'
- (iv)...a lány akivel TEGNAP gondolom hogy látták.
the girl with-whom yesterday think-pres-1sg that see-past-3pl
'the girl with whom I think that they saw (him) YESTERDAY.'

As shown by the examples above, a focused phrase and a relative phrase can be extracted simultaneously from an embedded clause, both when the focused phrase is an argument (iii) and when it is an adjunct (iv). On a different approach to long focusing, see also Lipták (1996).

(5) Focus criterion

- (a) A +f head must be in a spec-head configuration with a +f XP
- (b) A +f XP must be in a spec-head configuration with a +f head.

(6) WH-criterion

- (a) A +wh X⁰ must be in a spec-head configuration with a +wh operator
- (b) A +wh operator must be in a spec-head configuration with a +wh X⁰

Let us now examine how the Focus criterion can account for the ungrammaticality of (4) above. The verb *imádja* 'adores' occurs in F⁰. I assume that F⁰ contains a feature [+f] which needs to be lexically realised, and hence forces the verb to move.⁵ Therefore, the focused phrase *az olasz filmeket* 'the Italian films' violates the Focus criterion: although it carries a feature [+f], it is not in the required spec-head configuration with the relevant head, namely F⁰. Example (2) above, on the other hand, exhibits a focused phrase which has moved to the preverbal position, that is to spec FP, satisfying the Focus criterion overtly. Therefore, clause (b) of the Focus criterion applies at S-structure. As for clause (a), I argue that it also applies at S-structure:

- (7) *AZ OLASZ FILMEKET Balázs imádja.
 the Italian films-acc Balázs-nom adore-pres-3sg

In (7), the focused phrase *az olasz filmeket* occurs sentence-initially, in spec FP. However, the sentence is ruled out: as the verb *imádja* has not moved to F⁰ (it follows the subject *Balázs*), it does not occur in the required spec-head configuration with the focused phrase. The sentence is thus ruled out by clause (a) of the Focus criterion. The criterion applies fully at S-structure in Hungarian.

It is also well known that *wh*-phrases occur in a verb-adjacent position. Consider the following:

⁵ In fact, it is not the verb which moves, but what occupies T⁰. Indeed, the carrier of the feature [+f] can also be a predicative adjective:

- (i) AZ OLASZ FILMEK érdekesek.
 the Italian films-pl interesting-pl
 'It is the Italian films which are interesting.'

In this case, the focused phrase is adjacent to the predicative adjective. I will assume that the adjective moves to T⁰, from where it reaches F⁰. See Brody (1995a) for a similar proposal, on different grounds.

- (8) (a) Melyik filmet látta Balázs Rékával?
 which film-acc see-past-3sg Balázs-nom Réka-instr
 'Which film did Balázs see with Réka?'
 (b) RÉKÁVAL látta Balázs az olasz filmet.
 Réka-instr see-past-3sg Balázs-nom the Italian film-acc
 'Balázs saw the Italian film with RÉKA.'
 (c) *Melyik filmet RÉKÁVAL látta Balázs?
 which film-acc Réka-instr see-past-3sg Balázs-nom

In (8a), the *wh*-phrase *melyik filmet* 'which film' occurs sentence-initially, immediately to the left of the verb. The subject *Balázs* follows the verb: therefore, the verb has moved to an IP-external position. This looks very much like focusing. Indeed, in (8b), the focused phrase *Rékával* 'with Réka' occurs in the preverbal position and the subject *Balázs* follows the verb. (8c), which combines *wh*-phrase and focused phrase, is ungrammatical. Therefore, it is argued in the literature (see e.g. Horváth 1981; 1986; É. Kiss 1987) that *wh*-phrases occur in the same position as focused phrases. In the framework adopted here, this position is spec FP. *Wh*-phrases are strongly constrained in Hungarian:

- (9) (a) *Balázs látta melyik filmet?
 Balázs-nom see-past-3sg which film-acc
 (b) *Melyik filmet Balázs látta?

In (9a), the verb occurs in its IP-internal position, and the *wh*-phrase *melyik filmet* 'which film' occupies its canonical object position. The ungrammaticality of the sentence can be accounted for by the WH-criterion (see (6) above). Indeed, the verb (or rather the inflectional head under which the verb sits) carries a feature [+wh]. In (9a), the *wh*-phrase does not sit in the spec position of the head which hosts the verb. Therefore, clause (b) of the WH-criterion is violated. In (9b), the *wh*-phrase has moved to the sentence-initial position, namely to spec FP. However, the verb does not occupy the head in which it can satisfy the spec-head requirement of the WH-criterion. (9b) violates clause (a) of the criterion. The conclusion is again that the WH-criterion applies fully at S-structure in Hungarian.⁶

⁶ On the relevance of keeping the WH-criterion and the Focus-criterion separate, see Puskás (1996b).

In this section, I have adopted the view that Hungarian non-neutral sentences contain a functional projection F^0 , which belongs to the CP-type projections. Its head F^0 contains a feature [$+f$] which signals focus and which attracts the verb. I have argued that focused phrases move to spec FP to satisfy the spec-head requirement of the Focus criterion. It was shown that the latter applies at S-structure in Hungarian. Similarly, *wh*-phrases move to spec FP. I have argued that they are constrained by the WH-criterion. The behaviour of *wh*-phrases in Hungarian shows again that the WH-criterion applies at S-structure.

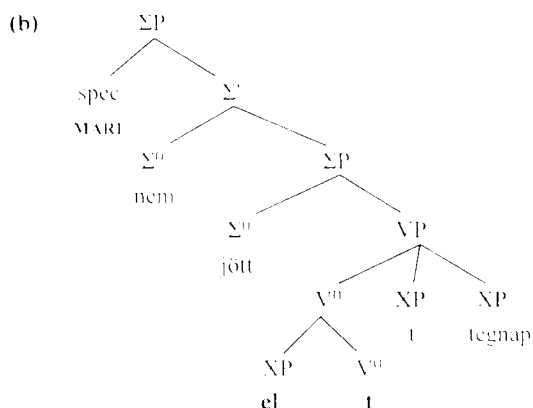
2. Sentential negation

Recent proposals assign Hungarian negative sentences a structure which includes a functional projection. This projection is claimed by Piñón (1992) to be identical to the one involved in focusing. On the other hand, Tóth (1995) adopts Pollock's (1989) proposal of an IP-internal NegP.

2.1. Piñón (1992)

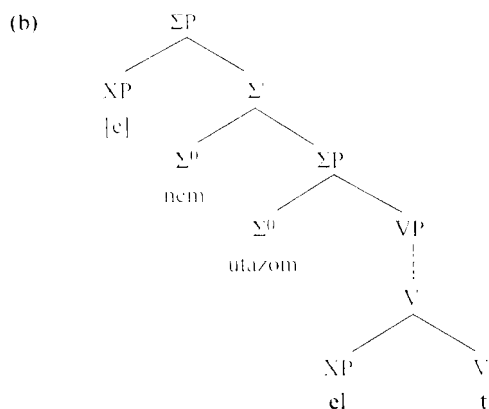
Piñón argues that the negative marker *nem* is of the category Σ^0 . Σ is the head of ΣP , "a functional projection whose head may contain (at least) tense and negation and whose specifier is an A'-position. This will contrast with Brody's (1990) F(ocus)P, which I believe is simply too narrow a construct." (Piñón 1992, 106, fn5). Piñón also hypothesises that ΣP is a projection for tense. He argues that it is equivalent to TP, but that it is optional. Therefore, it is the projection whose head can host the verb and whose specifier can be involved in focusing. In short, Piñón argues that when a constituent is focused, it occurs in spec ΣP , and the verb moves to Σ^0 , to have its tense features checked in that position (the reader is referred to Piñón (1992) for a detailed discussion). When the sentence contains a negative marker, it occurs as one of the heads of a bi-cephalic functional projection on top of VP. Piñón argues that ΣP is in fact an extended projection, which might have several heads with one specifier position. Therefore, the negative sentence in (10a) will have the representation in (10b):

- (10) (a) MARI nem jött el tegnap.
 Mary neg came PV yesterday
 'It is Mary who didn't come yesterday.'



The specifier of ΣP can host a focused phrase, but as ΣP is not inherently a focus projection, the structure accommodates also sentences containing a negative marker without focused phrase, as in (11a,b) below:

- (11) (a) Holnap nem utazom el
 tomorrow neg depart-1sg PV
 'Tomorrow I'm not leaving.'



Although Piñón's structure seems to account quite easily for the above given facts, I will argue that the analysis does not reflect the exact nature of sentence negation. As discussed in Puskás (1994), *wh*-movement type extraction is blocked by the presence of an intervening negation:

- (12) (a) *Miért gondolod hogy sírt Réka?*
 why think-pres-2sg that cry-past-3sg Réka-nom
 'Why do you think that Réka cried?'
- (b) *Miért nem gondolod hogy sírt Réka?*
 why neg think-pres-2sg that cry-past-3sg Réka-nom
 'Why don't you think that Réka cried?'

In (12a), *miért* 'why' can be construed with the matrix or with the embedded clause. In (12b), on the other hand, only the matrix clause reading is available. Following Rizzi (1990a), this is due to the fact that an intervening position blocks the long construal. This intervening position is an A'-position, which blocks the antecedent-government relation between the *wh*-adjunct and its trace. Anticipating the discussion in section 2.4, I assume that this A'-position is the specifier of NegP.⁷

In the structure given in Piñón (1992), the negative marker *nem* is one of the heads of ΣP , and *wh*-phrases are moved to the specifier of ΣP . If we adopt this structure, the *wh*-phrase *miért* 'why' in (12) above occupies spec ΣP , and *nem* occurs in Σ^0 . However, the contrast between (12a) and (12b) cannot be accounted for: indeed, there is no blocking A'-position which intervenes in either of the cases.

⁷ As the extracted elements are adjuncts, their trace must be properly antecedent governed under the conditions given in Rizzi (1990a):

- (i) X antecedent-governs Y iff
 (i) X and Y are non-distinct
 (ii) X c-commands Y
 (iii) no barrier intervenes
 (iv) Relativized Minimality is respected

where Relativized Minimality is defined as:

- (ii) Relativized Minimality: X α -governs Y only if there is no such Z that
 (i) Z is a base-generated position
 (ii) Z is α -G(overment) T(heory) compatible with Y
 (iii) Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X

(12b) should be just as good as (12a).⁸ Therefore, I will conclude that NegP is an independent functional projection, lower than spec FP, and whose head carries the feature [+neg], realised in Hungarian as *nem*.

2.2. Tóth (1995)

Tóth (1995) discusses the licensing of negative polarity items in Hungarian. She argues that negative polarity items can be divided into two classes: the *se*-NPIs which start with the prefix *se*, as *senki* 'nobody', *semmi* 'nothing', etc., and the *vala*-NPIs which start with *vala*, as in *valaki* 'somebody', *valami* 'something'. She observes that *se*-NPIs occur only with clausemate negation. I will come back to these in section 2.4 below. As for the structure of negative sentences, Tóth argues that the clause contains a NegP. Indeed, she observes that negation blocks long *wh*-movement and long focusing:⁹

- (13) (a) Mikor gondolod hogy meg érkezik?
 when think-pres-2sg that part arrive-pres-3sg
 'When do you think he comes?'

- (b) *Mikor nem gondolod hogy meg érkezik?
 when neg think-pres-3sg that part arrive-pres-3sg
 'When don't you think he comes?'

⁸ Note that the contrast could not be accounted for by a ban on the cooccurrence of a negative Σ^0 and a *wh*-phrase, as the following are fine in Hungarian:

- (i) Kit láttál?
 who-acc see-past-2sg
 'Who did you see?'
 (ii) Kit nem láttál?
 who-acc neg see-past-2sg
 'Who didn't you see?'

⁹ A reviewer notes that negation does not always block long extraction:

- (i) Mikor nem szeretnéd hogy érkezzem
 when neg like-cond-2sg that arrive-subj-1sg
 'When would you not like it if I arrived?'
 (ii) MA ESTE nem szeretném, ha jönnél.
 tonight neg like-cond-1sg if arrive-cond-2sg
 'IT IS TONIGHT that I would not like it if you arrived.'

Case (i) illustrates extraction from a subjunctive clause. Case (ii) is extraction of a specific phrase across negation. It seems that subjunctive has properties which differ from indicative clauses with respect to extraction (Polish, for example, allows for *wh*-extraction only from a subjunctive clause.) As for (ii), I have no straightforward answer to the problem. It might be that specific phrases parallel with arguments in the sense that they carry some kind of referential index. Their extraction could then be assimilated to that of arguments.

- (14) (a) KÉTHETENTE szeretném, ha jönnél.
 by two weeks like-cond-1sg if come-subj-2sg
 'It is every two weeks that I would like you to come.'
- (b) *KÉTHETENTE nem szeretném, ha jönnél.
 by two weeks neg like-cond-1sg if come-subj-2sg
 'It is every two weeks that I would not like you to come'
 (Tóth 1995)

In (13a) and (14a), the *wh*-phrase *mikor* 'when' and the focused phrase *kéthetente* 'every two weeks' have been extracted from the lower clause. (13b) and (14b) differ from their counterparts in that the main clause contains a negative marker *nem*. Tóth concludes that given Relativized Minimality, the antecedent government relation between the moved *wh*-/focused phrase and its trace is blocked as negative clauses contain a NegP whose specifier is filled at LF at the latest.

Therefore, Tóth assigns the negative sentence in (15a) the structure given in (15b):

- (15) (a) János nem látott senkit.
 János neg see-past-3sg nobody-acc
 'John didn't see anyone.'
- (b) [_{AgrP} János [_{Agr'} nem látott_i [_{NegP} Op t_i [_{TP} [_{VP} t_i senkit]]]

Tóth proposes a functional projection NegP inside IP, and she assumes that the verb (with the negative head *nem*) moves to Agr⁰. The negative phrase *senkit* sits in its base position, i.e. inside VP. The Op in spec NegP is a null negative operator which is licensed by the overt negative element *nem*. The operator binds the negative phrase *senkit* 'nobody', and assigns it sentential scope.

It is difficult to discuss Tóth's proposal in detail as the set of data is not complete. However, I will argue against the representation given in (15b) in which the sentence containing a negative element corresponds to the structure of neutral order sentences. Consider the following pair:

- (16) (a) Réka nem jött el.
 Réka-nom neg come-past-3sg part
 'Réka did not come.'

(b) *Réka nem eljött.

In (16a), the subject occurs sentence-initially. However, the sentence does not have a neutral word-order, as the particle follows the verb. Recall (see section 1) that particle-verb inversion occurs when the verb is raised to an IP-external position, that is in non-neutral sentences. Therefore, I will conclude that negative sentences are non-neutral, and involve the IP-external functional projections.

2.3. V-movement from NegP to FP

In Puskás (1994), I argued that the structure of Hungarian negative sentences contains a projection NegP, located inside IP, between AgrP and TP. I would like to maintain the basic claim put forth in that paper, namely that negative sentences contain a NegP inside IP. I will continue assuming that NegP occurs above TP, inside IP. Indeed, I will argue, against Piñón (1992), that the functional projection responsible for negation is inside IP and that further movement to a higher position is motivated by other factors, like the [+f] feature on F⁰ and the Focus criterion. Like in other non-neutral sentences, the CP level is triggered and FP is projected. As F⁰ contains a feature [+f] which needs to be lexicalized (see section 1), the verb moves to F⁰. On its way, it passes through Neg⁰ and takes the negative marker *nem* along. The latter being a clitic, it attaches to the verb and moves along with it.¹⁰

The representation of (16a), repeated here, will then be (17):¹¹

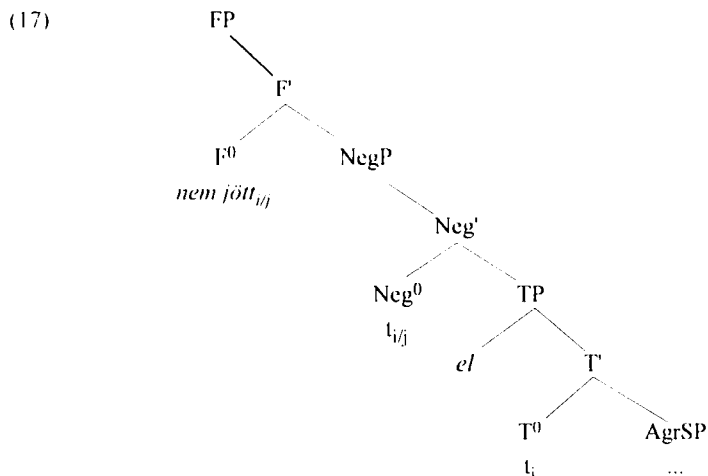
- (16) (a) Réka nem jött el.
 Réka-nom neg come-past-3sg part
 'Réka did not come.'

¹⁰ The clitic status of *nem* seems to be challenged by the following (due to a reviewer):

- (i) János alszik, Péter viszont nem.
 John-nom sleep-pres-3sg Peter-nom on the other hand neg
 'John is sleeping, but Peter is not.'

where in the second, elliptical clause, the negative marker can appear on its own. In fact, the structure of elliptical sentences should be examined in detail, among others with respect to focusing and other A'-left peripheral phenomena. The nature of the inflectional projections, for example, should also be taken into account, as well as the exact properties of this negative element in elliptical contexts. I have, of course, no answer to these problems, but it is clear that the matter is worth pursuing.

¹¹ On the motivations for a TP occurring above AgrSP, see Puskás (1996b), in which it is argued that SVO order sentences have the subject in a non-canonical position (spec DefP) which licenses only definite subjects, the canonical subject position being postverbal.



The subject Réka occupies the Topic position, above FP. The verb moves through the heads of IP up to F^0 . On its way, it takes *nem* along. Thus the complex *nem*+verb appears under F^0 . I assume that in the cases where spec FP is lexically empty, the Focus criterion is satisfied by a null operator in spec FP.

The movement of *nem*+verb to F^0 is also attested by the following examples:

- (18) (a) Melyik filmet nem látta Balázs?
 which film-acc neg see-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 ‘Which film did Balázs not see?’

- (b) *Melyik filmet Balázs nem látta?

It was shown in section 1 that *wh*-phrases occur in the same position as focused phrases, that is in spec FP. In (18a) above, the *wh*-phrase *melyik filmet* ‘which film’ occurs sentence initially, left adjacent to the negative marker. (18b) in which no verb movement takes place, violates the WH-criterion: as the WH-criterion requires that the head carrying [+wh] be in a spec-head configuration with the *wh*-phrase, the verbal complex *nem*+V which carries this feature, should occur in the head whose specifier hosts the *wh*-phrase. Therefore, in (18a), it is the unit formed by the negative marker *nem* and the verb which sits in F^0 .

In this section, I have shown that an analysis in which NegP (or any negative projection) appears outside IP cannot account for some of the observed facts, namely the asymmetries in extraction across a negative sentence. On the other hand, negative sentences were shown not to be neutral order sentences. Therefore, I have

proposed that the functional projection where negation is generated, that is NegP, does occur inside IP, but that the negative marker *nem* occurs in an IP-external position because it is a clitic which attaches onto the verb. The movement of the verb to F^0 , due to the constraints related to FP, forces the negative marker to appear in F^0 as well, yielding the non-neutral surface order.

2.4. The NEG-criterion

Haegeman (1995) notes that negative elements trigger subject-auxiliary inversion and inner-island effects, among others. This means that in many respects, they behave like *wh*-operators or other affective operators (in Klima's 1964 sense). On the basis of Rizzi's WH-criterion, Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991) formulate the licensing condition on negative elements in the NEG-criterion:

- (19) (a) a NEG-operator must be in a spec-head configuration with an X^0 [+neg]
 (b) an X^0 [+neg] must be in a spec-head configuration with a NEG-operator.

where the following definitions apply:

- (19) (c) a. NEG-operator: a negative phrase in a scope position.
 b. scope position: left peripheral A'-position (an XP-adjoined position or a specifier position).

Haegeman (1995) gives the following West Flemish examples:

- (20) (a) *da Valère dies boeken nie an zen voader getoogd (en)-oat.*
 that Valère those books not to his father shown *en*-had
 'that Valère had not shown these books to his father.'
 b) *Valère en-eet nie s'oavends.*
 Valère *en*-eats not evening's
 'Valère does not eat in the evenings.'

For clarity's sake, I give in (21a,b) below a simplified bracketed representation of (20a,b):

- (21) (a) [_{CP}da [_{AgP}Valère dies boeken [_{NegP} *nie* t_i an zen voader getoogd [_{AgP} (*en*)_i-oat.]]]
 (b) [_{CP}Valère [_C *en*_i-eet [_{IP} [_{NegP} *nie* t_i s'oavends.]]]

Haegeman (1995) argues that the negative marker *en* cliticizes onto the verb and moves along with it to AgP^0 in (21a), and to C^0 in (21b). She assumes that the neg-

ative operator *níe* is base-generated in spec NegP. Therefore, it will enter the required spec-head relation with the trace of the negative head *en*, which cliticizes onto the moved verb. So the NEG-criterion can be satisfied on the trace of the negative head: although the lexical element has moved, the feature [+neg] is still available on Neg⁰.

Let us now examine how the NEG-criterion applies in Hungarian. Consider the data below:

- (22) Nem látta Balázs ezt a filmet.
 neg see-past-3sg Balázs-nom this film-acc
 'Balázs didn't see this film.'

As discussed above, the functional projection which hosts sentence negation, NegP, appears inside IP. On the other hand, it was shown that *nem* does not occur inside IP, but in F⁰, cliticized onto the verb. As opposed to the West Flemish examples given above, Hungarian does not have a bi-partite bare negation: there is no overt negative operator.

I will propose that the NEG-criterion is satisfied by a null negative operator. Following Rizzi (1990a) and Haegeman (1995), I will adopt the idea that negative operators occur in contexts where negation induces inner island effects (examples from Haegeman 1995):

- (23) (a) Perchè hai detto che Gianni è partito?
 why have you said that Gianni is left
 'Why did you say that Gianni has left?'
 = 1. 'What is the reason which made you say that Gianni left?'
 = 2. 'You said that Gianni left for which reason'
- (b) Perchè non hai detto che Gianni è partito?
 why non have you said that Gianni is left
 'Why did you not say that Gianni has left?'
 = 'What is the reason which made you not say that Gianni has left'

In (23a), the adjunct *perchè* can be construed either with the higher clause or with the lower one. In (23b), on the other hand, the construal with the lower clause is lost. Haegeman argues that "in terms of a Relativized Minimality account, the intervening null operator in [spec,NegP] blocks the antecedent-government relation between *perchè* and its trace in the lower clause" (Haegeman 1995, 201). Note that it is not the negative marker *non* as such which blocks the relation, as *non* is a head

which cliticizes onto the verb. The blocking element is indeed the null operator present in spec NegP. Hungarian negative sentences present the same contrasts:

- (24) (a) *Miért mondtad hogy sírt Réka?*
 why say-past-2sg that cry-past-3sg Réka-nom
 'Why did you say that Réka cried?'
 – 1. 'Which reason made you say that Réka cried'
 = 2. 'You said that Réka cried for which reason'
- (b) *Miért nem mondtad hogy sírt Réka?*
 why neg say-past-2sg that cry-past-3sg Réka-nom
 'Why didn't you say that Réka cried?'
 'Which reason made you not say that Réka cried'

In (24a) the *wh*-phrase *miért* 'why' can be construed either with the higher or with the lower clause. However, in (24b) only the main clause reading is available.¹² I will conclude that the presence of a negative operator in spec NegP blocks the antecedent-government relation. In Hungarian bare sentence negation, NegP contains a null operator. I will propose that the NEG-criterion is satisfied at the level of NegP. Indeed, the example below confirms that the surface position of *nem* is not involved in the NEG-criterion:

- (25) (a) *AZ ANGOL FILMEKET nem látta Balázs.*
 the English films-acc neg sec-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'It is the English films that Balázs didn't see.'

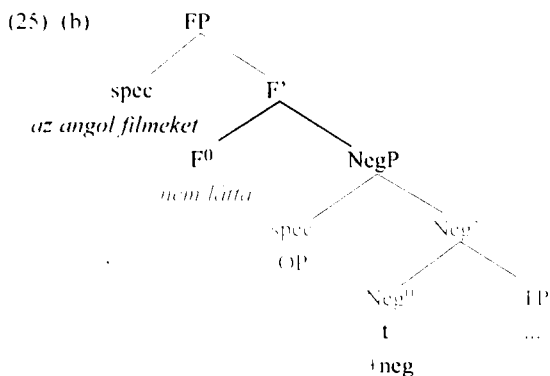
In (25a) above, the specifier position of FP whose head hosts *nem* + *látta* 'neg+saw' is occupied by the focused phrase *az angol filmeket* 'the English films',

¹² A reviewer argues that in some cases, the lower construal is never available anyway. He/she suggests that the examples be compared with the following:

- (i) *Hogyan szeretnéd, hogy megfogalmazzam?*
 how like-2sg-cond that part-express-1sg-subj
 'How would you want that I express (it)?'
- (ii) *Hogyan nem szeretnéd, hogy megfogalmazzam?*
 how neg like-2sg-cond that part-express-1sg-subj
 'How would you not want that I express (it)?'

The reviewer suggests that in this case, the two sentences are ambiguous. However, if this really is the case, it might have to do again with properties of subjunctive clauses. I will leave this aside. Note that the judgements concerning the unambiguous reading of (24a) in the text is not shared by all speakers.

a non-negative element. If the NEG-criterion applied at this level, (25a) would typically violate it. Therefore, the representation for (25a) is the following:



As the null operator in spec NegP is present at S-structure, the conclusion is that the NEG-criterion applies at S-structure in Hungarian. Evidence for this claim will be provided by the behaviour of negative phrases, examined in section 3 below.

2.5. Negation and acquisition

The IP-internal position of NegP is, in my view, reinforced by acquisition data. Papp (1996) examines a corpus of data of Hungarian children between 1;8 and 2;9. She observes that after a first period when the children move optionally the verb (26), (27), (28), they acquire an independent functional projection FP (29):

- (26) (a) Zoli 1;8 itt be tudu
 here pref can-we
 'Here we can...in'

- (b) Zoli 1;8 ide mászom be
 here-to climb-I pref
 'I'm climbing in here'

- (c) Zoli 1;8 nem el-vitte
 not perf-took-3sg
 'He didn't take it away'

- (27) (a) Zoli 2;0 csak senki jött... Barna bácsi
 only nobody came Barna uncle
 'Nobody came, uncle Barna'
- (b) Gyuri 2;3 miér(t) be-mennek?
 why pref-go-they
 'Why are they going in?'
- (c) Gyuri 2;3 mié(rt) mért ki-esett a kereke? miért ki-esett?
 why why perf-fell the wheel why perf-fell
 'Why did its wheel fall out? Why did it fall out?'
- (28) (a) Zoli 2;2 Mikor ad oda Barna bácsinak?
 when give perf Barna uncle-dat
 'When (are you) giving it to Uncle Barna?'
- (b) Gyuri 2;3 Hol dugjam be?
 where put-subj-I pref
 'Where shall I put it in?'
- (c) Móni 2;4 Hova csücsülünk le?
 where-to sit-we pref
 'Where are we going to sit?'
- (29) (a) Zoli 2;2 föl kell azt <venni>
 pref must this <put-inf>
 'This must be put on.'
- (b) Gyuri 2;3 oda be szoktunk menni
 there pref habitual-go-inf
 'We usually go in there.'

The examples in (26) show that the first stage has optional verb movement: the prefix precedes the verb in (26a), it follows the verb in (26b) and in the negative sentence (26c), the negative marker occurs sentence initially, but the prefix precedes the verb. Papp (1996) argues that functional projections might not be present at all at this stage. The examples in (27) show that typically the various instances of the Affect-criterion are violated: (27a) is a violation of the NEG-criterion: the negative marker is not present. Note that in this case, the presence of verb movement cannot

be determined, as the negative element *senki* 'nobody' is a subject. (27b,c) are violations of the **WH**-criterion: although the *wh*-phrase occurs sentence-initially, the verb does not move, as attested by the order particle-verb. (28) shows verb movement with *wh*-phrases. Papp argues that this shows that the children have implemented the functional projection which hosts the verb and satisfies the spec-head requirement of the **WH**-criterion. She argues that as *wh*-phrases and focused phrases are in complementary distribution, this functional projection is FP. Indeed, (29) shows that with raising verbs like *kell* 'must', *szokik* 'habitually (do)', the particle occurs in the pre-verbal focus position. Her prediction is then that the acquisition of the feature [+f] (present on F⁰) should result in the simultaneous acquisition of verb raising in *wh*, focus and negation contexts (note that Papp assumes Piñón's structure for negative sentences). However, the data seems to contradict this. Consider examples of negative sentences of the same period:

- (30) (a) Gyuri 2;3 *nem el-veszi*
 not pref take-3sg
 'He won't take it away.'
- (b) Móni 2;5 *én nem be-takartam*
 I not pref covered-it
 'I didn't cover it.'
- (c) Éva 2;7 *ne nem le-ülsz ide*
 don't not pref sit-you here
 'No, you won't sit here.'
- (d) Éva 2;9 *nem meg-harapta a kutya a cicát.*
 not pref bit-3sg the dog-nom the kitten-acc
 'The dog didn't bite the kitten.'
- (e) Éva 2;9 *nem el-veszem*
 not pref-take-I
 'I won't take it away.'

At the same age, and even later, the children who produce adult *wh*-questions with verb-particle inversion still produce negative sentences without inversion: in the examples above, the particle systematically precedes the verb. Papp (1996) argues that in negative sentences, children project IP, to which they adjoin the negative marker. She adds that the IP-adjunction analysis is reinforced

by utterances in which the child assigns scope over the whole sentence, rather than the VP:

- (31) (a) Zoli 2;2 *nem* *meg-eszi* *csak*
 not pref-eat-3sg just
 'it won't eat it just...'
- (b) *én* *nem* *össze-rontom* *csak* *a*
 I not pref-ruin-I just the
 'I won't ruin it just...'

Papp argues that the structures in (31) suggest that children might overgeneralize from contrastive negation to sentential negation. However, she notes that "analysis of the children's sentential negation in this way would of course need phonological information from the original files" (Papp 1996, 12).

On the other hand, the assumption that NegP is lower in the structure makes interesting predictions with respect to the acquisition data above as well. As the head of NegP is realised as *nem*, verb movement as such is not necessary: indeed, I showed in section 2.4 above that the constraint on negation formulated as the NEG-criterion is satisfied independently of the presence of the verb itself. So by the time children have acquired the Focus- and the WH-criterion, they have also acquired the NEG-criterion. The movement of the verb to F⁰ in the case of negative sentences is driven by other constraints: I argued that the feature [+f] present on F⁰ needs to be lexically realised. In adult language, the verb (or rather the content of the functional projection T⁰) qualifies as the lexical element. On the other hand, example (30d) seems to indicate that for children negative sentences are not neutral sentences either: the subject occurs post-verbally. I will propose that in child sentence negation, it is the head of NegP, *nem*, which moves to F⁰. This amounts to saying that children have not acquired the fact that *nem* is a clitic. They move it as a full lexical element, generating the sentences in (30).

2.6. Summary

I have argued that the structure of a negative sentence contains a NegP, whose head, Neg⁰, is realised as *nem*. This functional projection was argued to be inside IP: indeed, it was shown that argument-adjunct asymmetries observed in extractions across negation could only be accounted for under the above assumption. Besides, child language data, in which the acquisition of the various instances of the Affect-criterion were shown to appear simultaneously also speaks in favour of a functional projection specialised in negation which is located inside IP.

On the other hand, I have discussed that negative sentences are not neutral-order sentences. I have argued that the negative marker *nem* surfaces outside IP, as a consequence of its being a clitic which attaches onto the verb, the latter moving to F⁰, an IP-external position. However, the NEG-criterion was shown to apply at S-structure, at the level of NegP. The trace of the negative marker enters into a spec-head relation with a null negative operator. The presence of the operator seems to be confirmed precisely by the asymmetries in *wh*- and focus extraction across a negation: under the assumption that there is an A'-position which blocks the antecedent-government relation between a moved adjunct and its trace, it is proposed that this A'-position is precisely spec NegP, and that it is occupied by a null operator which prevents a trace from appearing in this position. Therefore, the NEG-criterion is satisfied at this level. Evidence for this was given by examples in which the specifier of FP, whose head hosts the negative marker, contains a non-negative phrase. As no violation arises, I concluded that the NEG-criterion does not look at this position at all.

3. The negative phrases

Sentential negation in Hungarian is always expressed by the negative marker *nem*. In addition, negative sentences can contain various negative phrases. These elements have the property of always occurring with the negative marker:

- (32) (a) Balázs nem látott semmit.
 Balázs-nom neg see-past-3sg nothing-acc
 ‘Balázs didn’t see anything.’

(b) *Balázs látott semmit.

- (33) (a) Semmit nem látott Balázs.
 nothing-acc neg see-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 ‘Balázs didn’t see anything.’

(b) *Semmit látott Balázs

Although these negative phrases are referred to in Tóth (1995) as *se*-Negative Polarity Items, their properties differ from that of polarity items: they occur only in

negative contexts and they are intrinsically negative.¹³ Indeed, Tóth (1995) gives the following contrasts:

- (34) (a) *Pál látott senkit
Paul saw nobody-acc
- (b) *Mária nem mondta, hogy Pál látott senkit.
Mary not said that Paul saw nobody-acc
'Mary didn't say that Paul saw anybody.'
- (c) *Olvasott Mária semmit?
read-past Mary nothing-acc
'Did Mary read anything?'
- (35) (a) *Pál nem mondott *valamit is*
Paul not said anything-acc
'Paul didn't say anything.'
- (b) Pál nem mondta, hogy Mária látott valakit.
Paul not said that Mary saw anybody-acc
'Paul did not say that Mary saw anybody.'
- (c) Tanultál valaha is oroszul?
studied-2sg ever Russian
'Have you ever studied Russian?'

Whereas the *se*-type negative elements can occur only in negative contexts, as attested by the examples in (34), the *vala* polarity items can occur in non-negative contexts as well (35b,c). Besides, they cannot cooccur with the negative marker *nem* (35a).¹⁴ I will conclude that the *se*-phrases (or negative phrases) are intrinsically negative and carry a feature [+neg], in the same way as *wh*-phrases are endowed with a feature [+wh].

The examples above show that the negative phrases can occur either post-verbally, as in (32a) or in a preverbal position, as in (33a). West Flemish negative operators also occur in different positions in the sentence:

¹³ Tóth (1995) notes that negative phrases of the type *se*-NPI's are intrinsically negative. Indeed, morphologically, they are composed of the negative part *se* and the *wh*-word *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what', *mikor* 'when', etc.

¹⁴ In fact, Ildikó Tóth (p.c) confirms that the *se*-phrases might not be polarity items as such.

- (36) (a) [_{CP} Z' *en_i*-was [_{IP} [_{NegP} *me niets* *t_i* [_{VP} *ketent*]]]].
 she *en* was with nothing pleased
 'She was not pleased with anything.'

- (b) [_{CP} *Me niets_k* *en_i*-was [_{IP} *ze* [_{NegP} *t_k* *t_i* [_{VP} *ketent*]]]].
 with nothing *en* was she pleased
 'She was not pleased with anything.'
 (examples from Haegeman 1995; brackets mine.)

In the examples above, the negative phrase *me niets* 'with nothing' occurs either in a position inside IP, to the left of the adjective *ketent* 'happy' (36a), or sentence-initially, as in (36b). Haegeman (1995) argues that in (36a), the negative operator has scrambled out of its base position to spec NegP, where it satisfies the NEG-criterion with the trace of the negative marker *en*. Indeed, the latter has cliticized onto the verb which occupies C⁰.¹⁵ In (36b), the negative phrase occurs in sentence-initial position: Haegeman (1995) argues that this position is spec CP. The negative phrase enters into a spec-head relation with C, where it satisfies the NEG-criterion with the negative marker *en*. Therefore, Haegeman argues that in West Flemish, the NEG-criterion has the property of being able to apply at different points in the structure. We saw above that Hungarian negative phrases can also appear in two positions: either inside IP or in a sentence-initial preverbal position. The question is whether the two levels indeed rely on the NEG-criterion. In the following sections, I argue that it is not the case. Section 3.1 deals with postverbal negative phrases and section 3.2 examines preverbal negatives.

3.1. NegP and the NEG-criterion

Consider the following data:

- (37) (a) Rékával nem beszélt meg Balázs semmit.
 Réka-instr neg speak-past-3sg part Balázs-nom nothing-acc
 'Balázs didn't talk over (=arrange) anything with Réka.'
- (b) Rékával nem beszélt meg semmit Balázs.
 'id.'

¹⁵ West Flemish is a V2 language: in main clauses, the verb moves to C⁰.

(38) (a) Nem beszélt meg semmit a barátaival.
 neg speak-past-3sg part nothing-acc the friends-poss-instr
 'He didn't talk over (=arrange) anything with his friends.'

(b) Nem beszélt semmit meg a barátaival.
 neg speak-past-3sg nothing-acc part the friends-poss-instr
 'He didn't arrange anything with his friends.'

In (37a), the subject *Balázs* occurs post-verbally, lower than the particle, and it is followed by the negative phrase *semmit*. In (37b), the negative phrase precedes the subject. I assume that the subject appears in spec AgrS, in the canonical subject position. Negative phrases of the type *semmit* are intrinsically negative and carry a feature [+neg] (see section 3 above). Given the NEG-criterion, one expects *semmit* in (37) to occupy spec NegP in order to enter a spec-head relation with a negative head. However, if *semmit* occupies spec NegP, we have to postulate two distinct spec NegP positions. I would like to rule this option out. I will propose that in (37a), both arguments appear in their canonical positions, respectively in spec AgrSP and spec AgrOP. In (37b), on the other hand, the subject is either in VP, or maybe extra-posed, yielding a slightly less natural, almost afterthought flavour to the subject.¹⁶ What comes out, under this assumption, is that the negative phrase *semmit* does not sit in spec NegP.

The surface position of negative phrases might at a first sight challenge the conclusions given in section 2, in which I argue that the NEG-criterion applies at S-structure. One direction to pursue is to look at the nature of negative phrases. Recall that the NEG-criterion is expressed in terms of negative operators, where the notion of operator crucially relies on the scope position (that is a "left-peripheral A'-position") of the negative elements. In this view, Hungarian negative phrases may rely on the functional definition of operator, and when they are not in a left-peripheral A'-position, they do not count as operators. Therefore, the NEG-criterion has nothing to say about them. Then the NEG-criterion applies at LF.

Consider now the pair in (38). The contrast between (38a) and (38b) dwells in the position of the negative phrase *semmit*. Whereas in (38a), it occupies a position lower than the particle, that is TP, in (38b), it occurs between the verb and the particle. This position can only be spec NegP, as it occurs between the verb in F⁰ and the particle in spec TP. In this position, the negative phrase clearly enters into a

¹⁶ Although É. Kiss (1987; 1992) claims that VP is flat and that constituents occur in any order, the order subject-object seems much more natural. I do not want to discuss this here. However, as pointed out to me by Nedžad Leko (p.c.), the VP-internal position of the subject might pose a problem for case checking.

spec-head relation with the trace of *nem*. Therefore, it does satisfy the NEG-criterion. It seems then that negative phrases are allowed to move out of an argument position at S-structure. However, if they do, they can only move to a position where they do not violate the NEG-criterion. However, the conclusion that the NEG-criterion applies optionally at S-structure is not the best solution, and I would like to explore another possibility.

Haegeman (1995) proposes that the NEG-criterion can dispense with the functional definition of operators as discussed above. The distinction can be captured by the notion of (overt) chain, created by movement and which accounts for negative phrases in a scope position, and that of (representational) CHAIN, created by indexation. The notion of representational CHAIN, headed by a (non-overt) scope marker, is adopted from Brody (1995b). Brody proposes that overt movement and covert movement can be accounted for representationally in terms of chains. Chains which represent overt movement have a contentive at the head of the chain, the foot of the chain being the trace. Covert—or LF—movement involves chains whose head is an expletive, a scope marker which occurs in a relevant position, coindexed with the contentive at the foot of the chain.

I will adopt Brody's (1995b) idea of expletive chain, in the spirit of the discussion of Italian negation in Haegeman (1995).¹⁷ The reader should bear in mind that in a derivational framework, expletive CHAINS do not obtain through LF-movement. Rather, they are formed at S-structure, similarly to overt expletive chains.

Using this distinction, I will propose that the NEG-criterion must in fact be satisfied by an (overt) chain, that is with an element which has moved to a scope position. Similarly to the Focus- and the WH-criterion, the NEG-criterion is satisfied at S-structure. However, as opposed to *wh*-questions and to focused sentences, negative sentences have an overt negative marker which realises the head of the relevant functional projection; but the element which appears in the scope position is in fact non-overt. One could argue that whereas *wh*-phrases are obligatory in *wh*-questions, negative phrases are never required as such in a negative sentence: they do not function like the negative element *pas* in French or *nie* in West Flemish. I will propose that the NEG-criterion is always satisfied by a null negative operator. In terms of chains, we could call it a "trivial" chain, whose only element occupies an A' scope position.

In this approach, negative phrases do not function as elements which satisfy the NEG-criterion *per se*. Indeed, in the sense that negative phrases are not oblig-

¹⁷ Although Brody's (1995b) LLF theory excludes movement in general and adopts a purely representational approach, in this paper I will only adopt the notion of CHAIN headed by an expletive and not go into the main point of his argument, namely the suppression of any syntactic level involved in a derivation. For an analysis using LLF theory, see Puskás (1996b).

atory (contrary to *wh*-phrases in a *wh*-question), they do not participate in the mechanism which checks the **NEG**-criterion as such. In sentences with a negative phrase, as in the case of bare sentential negation (see section 2.4), the **NEG**-criterion itself is satisfied by a null operator in spec NegP. On the other hand, as shown by the glosses, negative phrases do contribute to the negative meaning of the whole sentence (note that following Haegeman (1995), I consider the relation between the negative head and a negative phrase not as an instance of Negative Concord, but as an expression of sentential negation). A negative phrase which participates in sentential negation is assumed to have sentential scope. I will propose that negative phrases which have sentential scope belong to a negative **CHAIN** whose foot is the overt negative phrase. The latter is an A-position.¹⁸ The head of the **CHAIN** is an empty expletive element, which occupies a scope-position at S-structure. I will assume that this position is spec NegP, an A'-position. Therefore, although the negative element as such does not occupy a scope position, the **CHAIN** it forms with the (coindexed) expletive enables it to get sentential scope: it is the **CHAIN** as such which counts as occupying the relevant scope position, even if the contentive does not. By the mechanism of **CHAIN**-formation, negative phrases which exhibit no overt A'-movement will be able to acquire sentential scope. In other words, negative phrases in Hungarian get sentential scope because they belong to a negative **CHAIN**, and because the head—or a member—of this **CHAIN** appears in NegP, the locus of sentential negation. I will propose that the difference between (38a) and (38b) above is not a matter of level of application of the **NEG**-criterion. The latter always applies at S-structure, and is satisfied by the null operator in spec NegP. Rather, in (38a), *semmit* appears in a **CHAIN** whose head, a non-overt scope marker adjoins to spec NegP. In (38b), it is the negative phrase itself which occurs in this position. Thus the (simplified) representation for (38a,b) will be the following:

(39) (a) [_{TP} nem_i beszélt [_{NegP} SM_k OP t_i [_{TP} meg semmit_k a barátaival]]]

(b) [_{TP} nem_i beszélt [_{NegP} semmit_k OP t_i [_{TP} meg t_k a barátaival]]]

where OP is the null negative operator and SM corresponds to the expletive scope marker. Negative phrases are [+neg]. Therefore, the **CHAIN** is [+neg]. The expletive which adjoins to spec NegP is thus able to undergo *neg*-absorption. Although it is

¹⁸ I will assume that the foot of the *neg*-**CHAIN** can be an element in an A-position, or an A-chain, that is a chain formed by an element in a (functional) A-position and its trace. This amounts to saying that in case *semmit* occurs in spec AgrOP, it counts, with its trace in base-position, as one element of the *neg*-**CHAIN**.

not the expletive as such which satisfies the NEG-criterion, it does not violate it. Besides, the fact that it undergoes neg-absorption enables the negative phrase (via the CHAIN) to get sentential scope, as it forms a negative operator with the null operator in spec NegP.

The optionality of such an alternation remains to be explained. In fact, (38b) is fine only if the negative phrase is heavily stressed.¹⁹ The relation between stress and the position of negative phrases is examined in more details in the section discussing Negative Concord. It will be shown that the notion of CHAIN can account for interesting contrasts in these cases.

3.2. Pre-verbal negative phrases

The negative phrases can also occur in a preverbal position, adjacent to *nem*+verb. Consider the following examples:

- (40) (a) Semmit nem látott Balázs.
 nothing-acc neg see-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs didn't see ANYTHING.'

- (b) *Semmit BALÁZS nem látott.
 nothing-acc Balázs-nom neg see-past-3sg
 'BALÁZS didn't see anything.'

- (c) *BALÁZS semmit nem látott.
 Balázs-nom nothing-acc neg see-past-3sg
 'BALÁZS didn't see anything.'

- (d) *Semmit Balázs nem látott.

- (41) (a) *Ki semmit nem látott?
 who-nom nothing-acc neg see-past-3sg
 'Who saw nothing?'

- (b) *semmit ki nem látott?

- (c) Ki nem látott semmit?

¹⁹ Thanks to Szilvia Papp for pointing this out to me.

As shown by (40a), *semmit* 'nothing' can occur in a preverbal position. In Puskás (1994), it is claimed that this position is spec FP and that negative phrases satisfy the NEG-criterion with the head of FP which carries the cliticized *nem*, and hence negative features.

Observe that (40b), where the negative phrase is not adjacent to the verb (the focused constituent *Balázs* intervenes), is ungrammatical. The reverse order (40c) is also ungrammatical. Finally, in (40d), the insertion of a non-focused constituent between the negative phrase *semmit* and the complex *nem*+verb is also impossible. Given the ungrammaticality of (40b,c), the conclusion is that preposed negative phrases land indeed in spec FP.

This seems also to be attested by the ungrammaticality of the examples (41a,b): it was shown (see section 1) that *wh*-phrases land in spec FP, where they satisfy the WH-criterion. Therefore, the cooccurrence of a negative phrase and of a *wh*-phrase is ungrammatical, in any order: whereas (41b) is excluded by the WH-criterion (the negative phrase intervenes between the *wh*-phrase and the verb carrying [+wh]), (41b), where the negative phrase precedes the *wh*-phrase is also ruled out.²⁰

The only possible combination of a negative- and a *wh*-phrase is (41c), where the *wh*-phrase sits in spec FP and the negative phrase in its IP-internal position. Indeed, the WH-criterion can only be satisfied in FP, where the verb carrying the feature [+wh] occurs. On the other hand, the NEG-criterion was shown (section 3.1 above) to apply in NegP, between the head Neg⁰ which hosts the trace of *nem* and the null negative operator. I will argue that in fact, it is satisfied solely at the level of the NegP. Haegeman (1995) argues that the NEG-criterion cannot be satisfied by the trace of a negative phrase. Therefore, she concludes that in West Flemish, the NEG-criterion is satisfied in two different positions, where the actual negative phrases occur (see section 3 above). But, as discussed above, the NEG-criterion is in fact satisfied by the null operator in spec NegP. There is no need for it to be satisfied elsewhere. In fact, such a requirement would even be redundant. The position of negative phrases is independent from the satisfaction of the NEG-criterion itself.

Therefore, I would like to argue that in the case of (41c), the movement of *semmit* to an IP-external position is motivated not by the NEG-criterion, but by the Focus criterion, independently of its negative component. I will assume that in this case, as it is a focused negative phrase, it carries [+f] which must satisfy the Focus criterion: when the negative phrase occurs in spec FP, it carries a strong emphatic

²⁰ A reviewer notes that in (41b), the negation has scope over the *wh*-phrase, which is semantically uninterpretable. Therefore this cannot be a strong proof that negative phrases occupy spec FP. However, the position of negative phrases follows "by elimination", as there is no semantic reason to exclude neg-focus sequences.

stress. That a non-negative focused phrase and a negative focused phrase cannot cooccur in spec FP (40b,c) can be accounted for as they both have a focus feature: as there can be only one (type of) focus operator, one of them will be excluded in the preverbal position. Indeed, there can be no absorption between a negative and a non-negative operator, hence no possibility of being interpreted as one operator. A negative phrase moves optionally to spec FP, and if it does, it is because it requires a focus interpretation.

The sentential scope of the negative phrase was argued to obtain through the presence of a scope marker, an expletive element member of the negative CHAIN in spec NegP. Negative phrases which occur on spec FP belong to a chain/CHAIN which enables them to get sentential scope. In the case of a movement to spec FP, the head of the chain, that is the element which occurs at the top of the chain is the negative phrase in spec FP: it occupies a scope position. But I will assume that the chain must contain a member (i.e. a trace in this case) in spec NegP in order for the phrase to attain sentential scope as a negative element: the negative chain is licensed in spec NegP. Therefore, the representation of (40a) will be the following:

(42) [_{FP} semmit_i nem_j látott [_{NegP} t_i OP [_{Neg} t_j [Balázs t_i]]]

3.3. Negative concord

Consider the following examples:

(43) (a) Balázs nem beszélt senkivel semmiről.
Balázs-nom neg speak-past-3sg nobody-instr nothing-delat
'Balázs didn't speak about anything with anybody.'

(b) Balázs nem beszélt semmiről senkivel.
'id.'

(44) (a) Nem beszélt Balázs senkivel semmiről.
neg speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom nobody-instr nothing-delat
'Balázs didn't speak about anything with anybody.'

(b) Nem beszélt senkivel Balázs semmiről.
'id.'

The examples in (43), (44) above contain two negative phrases, *senkivel* 'with nobody' and *semmiről* 'about nothing'. As shown by the glosses, these examples all

exhibit Negative Concord (NC). This means that the various negative elements all contribute to a unique negative force in the sentence (see Zanuttini 1989). Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991) observe that NC applies to West Flemish under given constraints. Indeed, in order to enter NC, negative phrases must be scrambled out of the VP. If they do not, the result is a double negation (DN) reading:

- (45) (a) da Valère niemand nie (en-)kent
 that Valère nobody not en-knows
 'that Valère does not know anybody.'

- (b) da Valère nie niemand (en-)kent
 'that Valère doesn't know nobody' (DN)

In (45a), *niemand* 'nobody' precedes *nie*, which sits in spec NegP. In (45b), the same negative phrase follows the *nie*, and the reading is that of a double negation. Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991) conclude that in (45a), the negative phrase has scrambled out of the VP and adjoins to NegP, whereas in (45b), it stays inside VP.

Haegeman (1995) argues that the scrambling of the negative phrases follows from the fact that the NEG-criterion applies at S-structure in West Flemish. Therefore, all negative phrases which occur in spec NegP enter a NC relation with the negative element *nie*, as in (45a). On the other hand, when negative phrases are not scrambled out of the VP, they cannot have sentential scope and fail to enter into the NC relation.

As shown by examples (43) and (44) above, Hungarian negative phrases also enter into a NC relation. However, the following contrast is interesting:

- (46) (a) SENKIVEL nem beszélt SEMMIRŐL.
 nobody-instr neg speak-past-3sg nothing-delat
 'He didn't speak with anybody about anything.'

- (b) SENKIVEL nem beszélt semmiről.
 'He did not speak with anybody about nothing' (DN)

In the pair above, É. Kiss (p.c) notes that the NC reading obtains when the lower negative phrase receives stress, as in (46a). Whereas in (46b), the interpretation is that of a double negation (DN). This is due to the fact that the negative phrase *semmiről* is not stressed. Although the DN reading does not seem to be available to all speakers, as pointed out by a reviewer, it seems that at least a subgroup of the native speakers does accept the contrast in (46) above. Objections to DN read-

ings seem to be raised by the observation that Hungarian is an NC language (see e.g. Newson 1994, Tóth 1995). However, as discussed in section 3.1 above, I take NC to apply only to the cases where several negative phrases contribute to the negative meaning of the sentence, the relation between one negative phrase and the negative marker being of a different type. Given this, the contrast in (45), to the extent that it is accepted by some speakers, is indeed a contrast with respect to NC versus DN interpretations.²¹ In fact, all examples containing negative phrases and which yield a NC reading require a stress, although the latter is not always prominent:

- (47) Nem beszélt SENKIVEL Balázs SEMMIRŐL.
 neg speak-past-3sg nobody-instr Balázs-nom nothing-delat
 'Balázs didn't speak about anything with anybody.'

The examples above show that the presence of a stress is a condition on the NC reading of the negative phrases. In other words, stress enables the negative phrases to reach sentential scope. Brody (1990) also notes that "neg-phrases are always stressed in post verbal position: we have taken this throughout as indicating LF movement" (Brody 1990, 224). In this approach, one will conclude that whereas negative phrases which enter into a NC move at LF, those who do not will stay in-situ. I would like to argue that it is not the case.

As discussed in section 3.1 above, negative elements which have sentential scope, and hence are able to enter into NC, stay in a position which is not a scope position: as opposed to West Flemish negative phrases, they do not scramble out to spec NegP. On the other hand, they show some kind of contrast with negative phrases which do not carry stress and yield DN readings. One way out would be to say that at LF, the stressed phrases move, as opposed to the unstressed ones. However, this raises again the problem that negative phrases can move at S-structure, a fact which basically amounts to entering into a NC with the negative head. But they can also wait until LF. This is an undesirable result, as it leaves the question of the level of application of the NEG-criterion and that of scope assignment open.

I will argue that the difference between NC sentences like (45a) and DN sentences as in (45b) lies in the fact that negative phrases which result in a DN reading do not belong to a negative chain/CHAIN as discussed in section 3.1: they are in

²¹ The interaction, e.g. scope relations, between negative phrases which enter into NC and those which do not remains to be explored. As this goes beyond the scope of the present paper, I will keep all the issues related to this problem, including interaction between negative elements and other quantified expressions for (near) future research. Thanks to the reviewer who suggested these extensions to me.

no way related to the position in NegP. Therefore, they cannot reach sentential scope: indeed, the lack of NC reading shows that their scope is not that of the negative marker and/or other negative phrases. Typically, they occupy an A-position which cannot allow them to qualify as operators. Thus, the representation of (45a) and (45b) will be, respectively, (47a) and (47b), as far as the lower negative phrase is concerned:

(47) (a) [_{FP} Senkivel [_F⁰ nem_i beszélt [_{IP} [_{Neg} SM_k OP t_i [SEMMIRÖL_k]]]]]

(b) [_{FP} Senkivel [_F⁰ nem_i beszélt [_{IP} [_{NegP} OP t_i [semmiről]]]]].

In (47a), *semmiről* belongs to a CHAIN <SM; *semmiről*>; the same negative phrase in (47b) does not appear in a CHAIN. The fact that in (47a), the negative phrase belongs to a negative CHAIN whose head is adjoined to spec NegP enables it, or more precisely the CHAIN, to reach sentential scope. Such a possibility is not available in (47b), where the negative phrase occupies an A-position and does not belong to a CHAIN/chain which has access to spec NegP.

Consider now the following:

(48) Nem beszélt SEMMIT meg SENKIVEL
 neg speak-past-3sg nothing-acc part nobody-instr
 'He didn't discuss anything with anybody.'

In (48) above, the contentive *semmi* 'nothing' precedes the particle. It occupies spec NegP. As noted in section 3.1 above, it is heavily stressed. It forms a negative chain with its trace. In this case, the contentive occurs at the head of the chain <*semmi*; t>. On the other hand, *senkivel* does not appear in spec NegP. However, it contributes to the NC reading in the same way as the other negative phrase. As discussed above, it is part of a CHAIN <SM; *senkivel*>. I will propose that the NC reading obtains because the two chains "intersect" in spec NegP, where they get sentential scope and can undergo absorption. As discussed above, negative elements adjoined to spec NegP are able to undergo neg-absorption, forming a unique negative operator which is interpreted as a unique sentential negation reading. As negative phrases carry a feature [+neg], I will assume that in the case of NC, the feature [+neg] is transmitted to the expletive head of the chain: thus the whole chain is [+neg]. It enables the assignment of sentential scope to the negative phrase, via the element in spec NegP.

I will conclude that in a negative chain/CHAIN, if the contentive is at the head, it is stressed. On the other hand, if it is at the foot, the stress is passed on to it: I

assume that the reason is that expletives do not realise stress. Note, however, that this stress cannot be assimilated with the stress assigned in spec FP, which has a strong emphatic or identificational reading. Therefore, it cannot be argued that these negative phrases carry [+f].²²

Consider now the following:

- (49) (a) SENKIVEL SEMMIRŐL nem beszélt Balázs.
 nobody-instr nothing-delat neg speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs didn't speak with anybody about anything.'
- (b) Balázs SENKIVEL SEMMIRŐL nem beszélt.
 'id'
- (c) *SENKIVEL Balázs SEMMIRŐL nem beszélt.

The examples above show that more than one negative phrase can occur pre-verbally. In this case, they all enter into a NC relation. They might be preceded by a constituent (49b), which occurs in the topic position, but they cannot be separated by a constituent (49c). The negative phrases must be adjacent. So, as opposed to a focused phrase, negative phrases can be stacked in the focus slot. The reason is that as they enter NC, they undergo absorption: indeed, the negative phrases are interpreted as contributing to one and only one sentential negation.²³ I will assume that the first negative phrase sits in spec FP, and the other one(s) adjoin to spec FP:

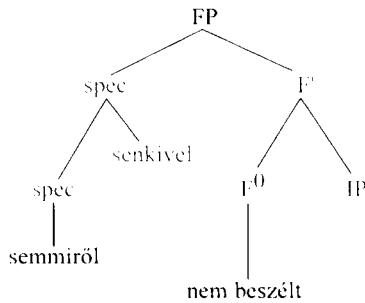
²² Indeed, there is a difference in reading between (i) and (ii) below:

- (i) Balázs SEMMIT nem látott.
 Balázs nothing-acc neg see-past-3sg
 'Balázs didn't see ANYTHING.'
- (ii) Balázs nem látott SEMMIT.
 'Balázs didn't see anything.'

Whereas in (i), the negative phrase has a strong emphatic or even contrastive interpretation (and in that sense corresponds to the 'focus' of the sentence), (ii) would rather correspond to a non-contrastive, maybe somehow 'corrective' kind of stress. I will leave for further research the question of how this stress is assigned; it seems that a non-contrastive, non-'identificational' type of stress is available for other types of quantificational elements as well. Note that to some extent, this happens in other languages as well. L. Rizzi (p.c.) points out that in Italian, where contrastive focus occurs sentence-initially, a kind of corrective focus is assigned IP-internally.

²³ The reason why focused phrases cannot adjoin to spec FP is that they do not undergo LF absorption. Indeed, if focused phrases are interpreted, following Kenesei (1984), as "exclusion by identification", the identificational property of focusing is in my view incompatible with absorption.

(50) (a)



As in the case of a single preverbal negative phrase, the negative phrases occur as elements of negative chains. I have argued that the NC reading obtains when negative chains are able to be assigned sentential scope in spec NegP. I propose that negative phrases in spec FP head jointly a negative chain, whose trace occurs in spec NegP. The full representation for (50a) will then be:

(50) (b) [_{FP}Senkivel semmiről_{i/k} [nem beszélt [_{NegP} t_{i/k} OP [_{NegP} t [_{Balázs} t_j t_k]]]]]

3.4. Preverbal and postverbal negative phrases

We have seen that negative phrases can either occur inside IP, in which case they enter into an expletive **CHAIN** whose head occurs in the relevant scope position, or in spec FP, in which case sentential scope is also assigned to a negative chain, whose head is the contentive negative phrase. Consider now a third possibility, which combines the two others:

(51) (a) SENKIVEL nem beszélt Balázs SEMMIRŐL.
 nobody-instr neg speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom nothing-delat
 'Balázs didn't speak with anybody about anything.'

(b) SEHOL nem beszélt SENKIVEL Balázs SEMMIRŐL.
 nowhere neg speak-past-3sg nobody-instr Balázs-nom nothing-delat
 'Balázs didn't speak about anything anywhere with anybody.'

The examples above show that several negative phrases can occur in the sentence in several surface positions: in (51a), *senkivel* 'with nobody' occupies spec FP and *semmiről* 'about nothing' occurs inside IP, either in its VP-internal base-position or

in another “canonical” indirect object position.²⁴ In (51b), *sehol* ‘nowhere’ sits in spec FP, and *senkivel* ‘with nobody’ and *semmiről* ‘about nothing’ occupy IP-internal positions (*senkivel* might be adjoined to spec NegP). In both cases, the various negative phrases enter into a NC relation with one another. The fact that these phrases occur in different positions and still enter into NC speaks in favour of an analysis in terms of chains. I will argue that the chains/CHAINS in which the various negative phrases occur all contain a member which occupies spec NegP: it is in this position that absorption can take place, enabling the negative phrases to enter a NC relation. The representation of (51a), details aside, will be the following:

(52) [_{FP} SENKIVEL_i [_F⁰ nem_k beszélt [_{IP} [_{NegP} t_i SM_m OP [_{Neg}⁰ t_k [Balázs SEMMIRŐL_m t_i...]]]]]]]

The chains which contain the different negative phrases “cross” in spec NegP. Indeed, if we want to account for the NC reading in the above configuration, it is not possible to say that sentential scope is assigned at the level of FP for *senkivel* and at the level of NegP for *semmiről*. The two negative phrases occur in negative chains which have an element in the same specifier, namely spec NegP, where absorption can take place. This is where sentential scope can be assigned and NC obtains.

3.5. Summary

Hungarian negative sentences optionally contain negative phrases. I have argued that given the optionality of the negative phrases, they could not be assimilated to the elements which, in other languages, form a bi-partite negation. I have proposed that in sentences with negative phrases, as in bare sentential negation, the NEG-criterion is satisfied by a null negative operator in spec NegP.

Negative phrases were observed to have sentential scope, in the same way as the negative marker *nem*. It was also observed that as opposed to West Flemish, the negative phrases do not always appear in a scope position: they can either occupy spec FP or “low”, IP-internal A-positions. I have proposed that in the latter case, negative phrases form a representational CHAIN whose head is an expletive scope marker. This scope marker adjoins to spec NegP and enables the CHAIN, and hence the negative phrase, to get sentential scope. I have argued that negative elements which appear in spec FP do not move for negative scope reasons, but because they are focused: the movement is constrained by the Focus-criterion. As negative elements, they are interpreted as sentential negation because they belong to a chain some element of which is adjoined to spec NegP. This is where neg-absorption can take place.

²⁴ Brody (1995a) argues that IP could also contain an AgrIO P.

I have also examined the cases where several negative phrases occur in a negative sentence. It was shown that these negative phrases can enter into negative concord, but that they do not do so obligatorily. In fact, the NC reading is linked to stress. I have argued that the difference between the cases where the NC reading obtains and the instances of double negation cannot be a matter of LF-movement versus no movement. Rather, I proposed that the negative phrases which enter into NC, that is have identical sentential scope, enter into a negative **CHAIN** whose head appears in spec NegP, the locus of negative sentential scope assignment. Negative phrases which exhibit no NC are not part of a negative **CHAIN**.

The occurrence of negative phrases with identical scope in different positions in the sentence reinforces the proposal that negative elements are assigned sentential scope in one unique position, that is spec NegP. Thus, an analysis in terms of chains/CHAINS accounts for the different positions of negative phrases.

4. The case of *sem*

4.1. *sem* and *nem*

Brody (1990) discusses negative phrases on the basis of examples in which there is a systematic alternation between the negative marker *nem* and the negative particle *sem*. He notes that “phrases containing negative polarity items like *senki* (nobody), *soha* (never), (...) must precede c-focus, uq-phrases and *is*” (Brody 1990, 222). He gives the following examples:

- (53) (a) SENKIT nem/sem szeretek.
 NOBODY(ACC) not/also not like-I
 ‘I don’t like anybody.’
- (b) SENKIT nem/sem PÉTER szeret
 NOBODY(ACC) not/also not PETER likes
 ‘PETER doesn’t like anybody.’

Brody argues that *sem* is a contracted form of *is* and *nem* (‘also’ and ‘not’) and that when the negative items are not followed by the contracted form *sem*, it is “due to a minor rule optionally deleting *is* in the context ‘[neg-phrase—]’” (Brody 1990, 222).

Although Brody (1990) gives the two examples as illustrating the same phenomenon, I will consider the two cases separately.

Let us look at (53a) first ((53b) will be discussed in section 4.3). The two variants in (53a) are both grammatical. However, I will argue that they might belong in fact to two different phenomena. The behaviour of *senki sem* and *senki (nem)* are different and the two forms belong to two different constructions, involving different structural positions. Indeed, in a context like (53a), *sem* cannot be a variant of *nem*:

(54) (a) *Sem ismeri Balázs az olasz filmeket.
sem know-pres-3sg Balázs-nom the Italian films-acc

(b) *Sem ismer Balázs semmit.
sem know-pres-3sg Balázs-nom nothing-acc

The examples above show that *sem* does not function like the negative marker *nem* discussed in the previous sections. It cannot occur on its own (54a); it cannot occur separated from the negative phrase (54b). Consider now the following:

(55) (a) *Semmit BALÁZS nem ismer.
nothing-acc Balázs-nom neg know-pres-3sg

(b) Semmit sem BALÁZS nem ismer.
nothing not-also Balázs-nom neg know-pres-3sg
'There's nothing BALÁZS does not know.'

There is no x, such that it is Balázs who does not know x.

As shown by (55), the sequence *semmit sem*—focused phrase is grammatical (55b), whereas the sequence *semmit*—focused phrase is not (55a). The gloss in (55b) shows that the sentence contains a focus negation as well as a sentence negation.²⁵ The sentence negation is precisely expressed by the negative marker *nem* which is distinct from *sem*. The latter is related to a negative expression which is focalised. Obviously, *senki + sem* can be focused, despite the presence of a non-negative focused phrase. As discussed in the previous sections, this is not possible when negative phrases of the type *senki* occur on their own. Another argument to distinguish the two types of negation is illustrated by (56) below:

²⁵ Thanks to the reviewer who pointed this out to me.

- (56) (a) Senkivel semmiről nem beszélt Balázs.
 nobody-instr nothing-delat neg speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs didn't speak about anything to anybody.'

- (b) *Senkivel sem semmiről sem beszélt Balázs.
 nobody-instr not-also nothing-delat not-also speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom

(56a) shows that several *senki*-type negative phrases can occur in a sequence. This is not possible with *senki sem*-type phrases (56b). The fact that in similar contexts, the sequences *senki nem* and *senki sem* behave differently leads us to the conclusion that whereas the former is composed of a negative phrase which precedes the sentential negative marker *nem*, the latter is a negative phrase on its own, which is formed of a *senki* type negative phrase and a negative element *sem*. This negative element *sem* is not a sentential negative marker (see (54)), but some kind of constituent negative marker.

Brody (1990) proposes that *sem* is a contracted form of *is* 'also' and negation. I will rather consider it as a negative equivalent of *is*, that is distinct from the negative marker *nem*:

- (57) (a) Az olasz filmet is látta Balázs.
 the Italian film also see-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs saw also the Italian film.'

- (b) Az olasz filmet sem látta Balázs.
 the Italian film-acc also-not see-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs didn't see the Italian film either.'

(57) shows that *is*-phrases and *sem*-phrases are parallel, *sem* (57b) being the negative counterpart of *is* (57a). Consider also the following:

- (58) (a) SEMMIT nem ismer Balázs.
 nothing-acc neg know-pres-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs doesn't know anything.'

- (b) SEMMIT sem ismer Balázs.
 'Balázs doesn't know anything (at all).'

- (c) %SEMMIT SEM nem ismer Balázs.
 'id.'

Example (58a) shows that the bare negative phrase *semmit* occurs in the position which precedes [*nem*+verb]. Indeed, I have argued that it occupies spec FP (see section 3.2). In (58b), the constituent *semmit sem* also occurs preceding the verb.²⁶ In this case, the negative marker *nem* is not present. I would like to propose that the sequence *sem-nem* undergoes a phonological reduction and the output is *sem*. Indeed, Katalin É. Kiss (p.c.) observes that some dialects of Hungarian allow for the cooccurrence of *semmit sem* and *nem*, as in (58c). I will assume that in these cases, the phonological rule does not apply.

Therefore, I consider *sem* as the negative counterpart of *is* and *senki sem* type phrases (as in (56b)) as one negative constituent of the *is/sem* type, which is different from the negative phrase *senkit*.

Let us now examine the position of the *is/sem* phrase. Brody (1990) gives the following examples:

(59) (a) *Senkit sem mindenki szeret.*
 nobody-acc also not everybody likes
 'EVERYBODY doesn't like anybody.'

(b) **Senkit sem Péter is szeret.*
 nobody-acc also not Peter also likes

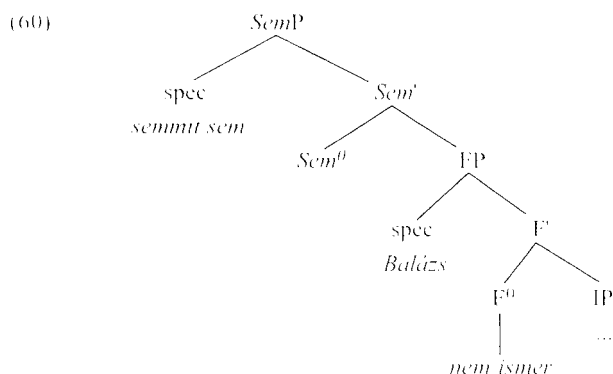
In (59a), *senkit sem* precedes a universal quantifier, and the sentence is fine. On the other hand, when it precedes an *is*-phrase, as in (59b), the result is ungrammatical. Brody argues that universal quantifiers occur in a projection higher than FP and that *is* also projects a functional projection on top of the quantifiers. The "focus field" is thus optionally composed of (recursive) FP-projections, the highest one headed by *is*, and the lowest one hosting the focused phrases. Brody (1990) argues that *is* is the head of a functional focus projection, and that the XP sits in the specifier.²⁷

In Puskás (1996b), *is* is analysed as forming one constituent with the adjacent XP and occupying the spec position of a functional projection. I will retain this

²⁶ Semantically, *sem*-phrases have an interpretation of a strongly negated element: although it was argued that *sem* is the negative counterpart of *is* ('also'), in the cases where it occurs with negative phrases, its meaning is not that of negative phrase+neither, as it is the case with non-negative phrases. Rather, the *sem* corroborates the negative strength of the phrase it attaches to.

²⁷ Interestingly, the examples above do not contain a negative marker *nem* adjacent to the verb. In fact, the examples do not involve sentence negation. The gloss given for (56a) can only be interpreted as meaning "there is no person such that everybody likes him". It seems that sentence negation cannot involve positive universal quantifiers. However, I will assume that this does not modify the behaviour of the *sem*-negative phrases. This is discussed in section 4.3 below.

analysis for *sem*-phrases: *sem* forms a negative phrase with the constituent it occurs with. I will therefore assume that the head of the *semP* is phonetically null. A sentence like (55b) will then have the following representation:



If we assume, as discussed above, that *sem*-phrases are the negative counterparts of *is*-phrases, the pair in (59) follows: *sem*-phrases occur in the functional projection which dominates the position of universal quantifiers. The contrast between (55a) and (55b) above can thus be accounted for: bare negative phrases occur in spec FP, a position to which they move to satisfy the Focus-criterion. On the other hand, *sem*-phrases move to spec *is/semP*.

Consider now the following:

- (61) (a) Senkivel semmiről nem beszélt Balázs.
 nobody-instr nothing-delat neg speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs didn't speak about anything to anybody.'
- (b) *Senkivel sem semmiről sem beszélt Balázs.
 nobody-instr not-also nothing-delat not-also speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom

(61a) follows from the analysis of negative phrases in section 3 above. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (61b) is straightforwardly accounted for: as *sem*-phrases occupy the spec of *is/semP*, there can be no recursion of *sem*-phrases. As in the case of positive *is*-phrases, they cannot undergo LF absorption.²⁸

²⁸ Although this is given here as a mere observation, one can stipulate that the properties of *is/sem* phrases do not allow for absorption. Indeed, *also* can be analyzed as a focusing particle, along with *only* and *even* (see Bayer 1996). Focusing particles might thus have the property of not being able to undergo absorption, as opposed to quantificational elements.

However, the following data seems to contradict predictions generated by the analysis given above:

(62) (a) Soha senkivel semmiről sem beszélt Balázs.
 never nobody-instr nothing-delat sem speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom
 'Balázs never spoke to anyone (at all) about anything (at all).'

(b) *Senkivel sem semmiről nem beszélt Balázs.
 nobody-instr sem nothing-delat neg speak-past-3sg Balázs-nom

(62a), in which several bare negative phrases precede the *sem*-phrase is fine. This seems to go against what one would expect under an analysis in which *sem*-phrases precede the focus position in which bare negative phrases occur. On the other hand, (62b), in which a *sem*-phrase precedes a bare negative phrase, is ruled out, again contrary to predictions.

A reviewer suggests that (62a) argues in favour of an analysis in the line of Brody (1990), namely that if we take *sem* to be a head, negative phrases then occur in the specifier position and undergo absorption. However, the following could be taken as a drawback to this alternative analysis:

(63) (a) ??Nem beszélt semmit sem meg a barátaival.
 neg speak-past-3sg nothing-acc sem part the friends-poss-instr
 'He didn't arrange anything (at all) with his friends.'

(b) Nem beszélt meg semmit sem a barátaival.
 neg speak-past-3sg part nothing-acc also not the friends-poss-instr
 'He didn't discuss anything at all with his friends.'

As illustrated by (63a,b), the *sem*-phrase can occur in a position inside IP. Besides, although the status of (63a) is rather marginal, it is not ruled out completely. In this case, the *sem* phrase appears in spec NegP. In (63b), it occurs lower, as it follows the particle. If *sem* is to be analysed as a head, one has to postulate (at least) three different *sem* heads in three different functional projections. This seems to be rather a high cost. I will therefore go on assuming that *sem*-phrases are units which function as one negative constituent.

Coming back to (62a), I will propose that the negative phrases undergo absorption, but in NegP, as was discussed for multiple bare negative phrases as well (see section 3.2). Therefore, when they appear in spec *SemP*, they already form a unit, which heads one negative chain. They are licensed in this position as they form an amalgamated negative *sem* phrase:

(64) [_{SemP} Soha_i senkivel_j semmiről_k sem [_{FP} beszélt [_{NegP} t_{i/j/k} [... Balázs]]]]

How can we account for the ungrammaticality of (62b)? I will propose, as a corollary to the analysis of (62a), that when a *sem* negative chain occupies spec NegP, a bare negative chain (without the *sem* feature) cannot appear simultaneously. This could be accounted for as a problem due to restrictions in neg-absorption. If negative phrases undergo absorption in spec NegP with a *sem*-chain, they will appear in spec *SemP*, as is the case in (62a). On the other hand, if there is no neg-absorption between the two types of negative phrases, the coexistence of the two types of chains will be ruled out, as the coexistence of the two, non-absorbed, types of negative operators in spec NegP is ruled out. Therefore, in the preverbal positions, *sem* phrases can appear, or bare negative phrases, but not the two. On the other hand, a non-negative focused phrase will not be ruled out, as there is no absorption, focused phrases not entering into NC with negative phrases (see (55b)).

4.2. *Sem*-phrases and the NEG-criterion

Consider now the following pair:

- (65) (a) *BALÁZS semmit sem ismer.
 Balázs nothing sem know-pres-3sg
- (b) Semmit sem BALÁZS nem ismer.
 nothing-acc sem Balázs-nom neg know-pres-3sg
 'There's nothing BALÁZS does not know.'

The ungrammaticality of (65a) above can be accounted for as a violation of the Focus-criterion: the focused phrase *Balázs* does not occupy the required position in which it enters a spec-head relation with the head carrying [+f], namely F⁰, which hosts the verb *ismer* 'knows'. However, the fact that (65b) is fine shows that, as opposed to bare *senki*-phrases, the *sem* phrase does not compete for the same position as the focused phrase. Recall that it was argued in section 3.2 that bare negative phrases move to spec FP to satisfy the Focus-criterion. As discussed above, *senki sem*-type phrases occur in a spec position higher than FP, where they get interpreted as focused, since they belong to the focus field. I will assume that as for (positive) *is*-phrases, they are assigned [+f] when they occur in the focus field, in the position in which they are licensed.²⁹ Therefore, the negative phrase *semmit*

²⁹ Licensing in this case may be that they carry some *is* feature which forces them to move to spec *is/sem P*.

sem in (65b) does not sit in a spec position in which it could satisfy the NEG-criterion. This reinforces the argument made above that the NEG-criterion is satisfied in NegP by a null negative operator, and that if negative phrases move to the preverbal position, it is for independent reasons. As mentioned above (section 4.1), the movement of *sem*-phrases to the preverbal position is not obligatory:

- (66) Balázs nem látott semmit sem.
 Balázs neg see-past-3sg nothing-acc sem
 'Balázs didn't see anything at all.'

Although (66) is not the preferred word-order (the *sem*-phrase occurs low in the structure, maybe in spec AgrOP), it is acceptable, with a stress on the negative phrase. I have argued above (see section 3.2) that stressed negative phrases enter into a negative CHAIN whose head is a null expletive occupying a spec NegP adjoined position. I will say that in the case of *sem*-phrases, this is exactly what happens. Therefore, in (66), the head of the CHAIN <SM, *semmit sem*> adjoins to spec NegP, yielding the sentential scope reading.

4.3. Sentences without sentential negative marker

Let us now come back to (53b), repeated here:

- (53) (b) SENKIT nem/sem PÉTER szeret
 NOBODY(ACC) not/also not P likes
 'PETER doesn't like anybody.'

In both versions, that is the one with *sem* and the one with *nem*, the negative phrase precedes the focused phrase *Péter*. However, neither the negative phrase *nem* nor, for that matter, the negative element *sem* are adjacent to the verb. This seems to speak against all previous assumptions concerning the status of *nem* as sentential negative marker and as a clitic appearing on the verb in F⁰. A closer look at the facts will enable us to distinguish these cases from the ones discussed in the sections above. Indeed, the exact gloss of (67a), an equivalent to the *sem* version of (53b), is given in (67b):

- (67) (a) Semmit sem BALÁZS ismer.
 nothing-acc sem Balázs-nom know-pres-3s
 'BALÁZS knows nothing (at all).'

- (b) There is no x, such that BALÁZS knows x.

It seems that in this case, instead of a negated verb, the sentence contains a declarative form. The fact that there is no real sentential negation is confirmed by the following:

- (68) **Semmit sem BALÁZS mondott senkinek.*
 nothing-acc sem Balázs-nom say-past-3sg nobody-dat

The fact that (68) is ungrammatical shows that *semmit sem* does not involve sentence negation: indeed, *senkinek* is not licensed in a non-negative context. The variant with *nem* can be taken here as alternating with the *sem* version, as an expression of constituent negation. Similarly, the examples given in Brody (1990) and involving universal quantifiers, as mentioned in section 4.1 above, do not contain a negative marker *nem*. Again, their reading will not be that of sentential negation. Compare with the following cases of constituent negation:

- (69) (a) *NEM BALÁZST láttam.*
 neg Balázs-acc see-past-1sg
 'It is not BALÁZS that I saw.'
- (b) **NEM BALÁZST láttam senkivel.*
 neg Balázs-acc see-past-1sg nobody-instr

In (69a), the focused constituent *Balázst* is negated. As in the cases above, there is no negative marker *nem* in the immediate preverbal position. The sentence is not interpreted as carrying a sentential negative force: the negative element *nem* only negates the element it precedes. The ungrammaticality of (69b) can be assimilated to that of (68) above: the negative phrase *senkivel* is not licensed, as there is no sentential negation marker, and hence no sentential negation.

Therefore, I will assume that the NEG-criterion has nothing to say about these cases: as they can appear independently from sentence negation, and hence without a sentence negation marker, they will be interpreted as not involving sentence negation at all. I will assume that these sentences do not have a NegP at all. Hence, scope relations will be different from that of negative phrases which do belong to sentential negation, as they will not be related to NegP.

4.4. Summary

In this section, I have examined the behaviour of the negative particle *sem*. I have proposed, contra Brody (1990), that *sem* does not alternate with *nem*, at least not as sentential negation marker. I have argued that *sem* is the negative counterpart of *is*

and that *sem*-phrases form one negative unit which occurs in the specifier of a *SemP* whose head is phonetically null. This spec position is distinct from spec FP in which bare negative phrases appear. As in the cases of negative phrases, the **NEG**-criterion is satisfied by a null operator in spec NegP. The *sem*-phrases reach sentential scope as a negative chain which undergoes neg-absorption in spec NegP. The occurrence of *sem*-phrases in spec *SemP* is motivated by other independent factors.

Finally, I have discussed the cases where the *sem*-phrase occurs jointly with a focused phrase but without negative marker. I have argued that here, *sem* might alternate with *nem*, but that neither of the negative elements involves sentential negation. Rather, they express some kind of constituent negation, which can appear independently from sentential negation and which does not license other negative phrases.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I argue that negative sentences contain a NegP, a functional projection which is projected inside IP. I show that NegP is the projection where the **NEG**-criterion, an instance of the more general **AFFECT**-criterion, applies in Hungarian. I argue that bare sentential negation involves a null operator, which satisfies the spec-head configuration requirement of the **NEG**-criterion. The latter applies at S-structure in Hungarian.

I also examine the occurrence of negative phrases. They are allowed to surface in different positions, namely IP-internal A-positions as well as IP-external scope positions. I argue that the **NEG**-criterion is systematically satisfied at the level of NegP by a null negative operator. A corollary to this is that negative phrases do not play a role in the **NEG**-criterion *per se*. However, the negative phrases in different positions are interpreted as having identical scope. I propose that this is possible because negative phrases enter into a representational **CHAIN** or a derivational chain, a member of which adjoins to spec NegP. Therefore sentential scope is assigned to negative chains/**CHAINS** and the contentive negative phrase is interpreted as having sentential scope. The presence of negative phrases in spec FP, a focus position, is due to independent reasons.

The cases of Negative Concord which include negative phrases in different positions in the sentence are also straightforwardly accounted for: whatever their surface position, a member of the negative chain they belong to occurs in spec NegP, enabling identical scope and neg-absorption.

Finally, I examine the case of negative phrases involving the particle *sem*. I argue that negative *sem* phrases differ from bare negative phrases with respect to

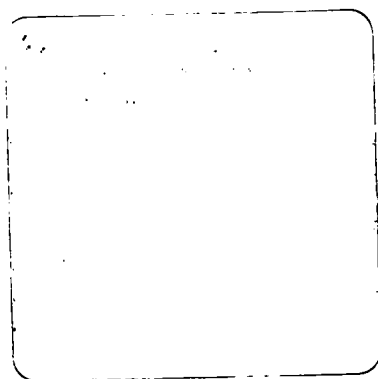
the position in which they occur in the focus field. The fact that *sem*-phrases occur in the focus field in a position in which they do not enter a spec-head relation with a negative head reinforces the claim that the NEG-criterion involves solely NegP.

References

- Acquaviva, P. 1993. The logical form of negation: a study of operator-variable structures in syntax. PhD dissertation, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa.
- Acquaviva, P. 1995. Operator composition and the derivation of negative concord., ms, University College, Dublin.
- Bayer, J. 1996. Directionality and logical form. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Belletti, A. 1990. Generalized verb movement. Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino.
- Brody, M. 1990. Some remarks on the focus field in Hungarian. UCL Working Papers, 2: 201–25.
- Brody, M. 1995a. Focus and checking theory. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): Approaches to Hungarian Vol. 5, 29–43. JATE, Szeged.
- Brody, M. 1995b. Lexico-logical form. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Choe, H.S. 1989. Restructuring parameters and scrambling in Korean and Hungarian. In: Marácz, L., Muyskens, P. (eds): Configurationality, 267–92. Foris, Dordrecht.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987. Configurationality in Hungarian. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- É. Kiss, K. 1992. Move-alpha and scrambling in Hungarian. In: Kenesei, I.–Pléh, Cs. (eds): Approaches to Hungarian Vol. 4, 67–98. JATE, Szeged.
- Grimshaw, J. 1991. Extended projections, ms, Brandeis University.
- Haegeman, L. 1995. The syntax of negation. CUP, Cambridge.
- Haegeman L.–Zanuttini, R. 1991. Negative heads and the Neg criterion. In: The Linguistic Review 8: 233–51.
- Horváth, J. 1981. Aspects of Hungarian syntax and the theory of grammar. PhD dissertation, UCLA, Los Angeles CA.
- Horváth, J. 1986. Focus in the theory of grammar and the syntax of Hungarian. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Kenesei, I. 1984. On what really figures in a non-configurational language. In: Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik 24: 28–54.
- Kenesei, I. 1986. On the logic of word-order in Hungarian. In: Abraham, W.–de Meij, S. (eds): Topic, focus and configurationality, 143–59. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Klima, E. 1964. Negation in English. In: Fodor, J.–Katz, J. (eds): The structure of language, 246–323. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs NJ.
- Laka, I. 1990. Negation in syntax: on the nature of functional categories and projections. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Lipták, A. 1996. AgrP projections and expletives in Hungarian: what long focus-movements can reveal, ms, József Attila University, Szeged.
- Marácz, L. 1989. Asymmetries in Hungarian. Doctoral dissertation, Rijksuniversität Groningen.
- Marácz, L. 1990. V-movement in Hungarian: a case of minimality. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): Approaches to Hungarian, Vol. 3, 1–27. JATE, Szeged.
- Marácz, L. 1992. Some notes on long verb movement in Hungarian. ms, University of Groningen.
- Newson, M. 1994. Negation, double negation and optimality theory. In: The Even Yearbook 1994, 87–136. ELTE, Budapest.

- Ouhalla, J. 1990. Sentential negation, relativised minimality and the aspectual status of auxiliaries. In: *The Linguistic Review* 7: 183–231.
- Papp, Sz. 1996. The acquisition of Hungarian negation, wh-questions and focus by L1 and L2 adult learners, ms, University of Edinburgh.
- Piñón, C. 1992. Heads in the focus field. In: Kenesei, I.–Pléh, Cs. (eds): *Approaches to Hungarian* Vol. 4, 99–122. JATE, Szeged.
- Pollock, J.-Y. 1989. Verb movement, UG and the structure of IP. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 364–424.
- Progovac, L. 1993. Negation and comp. In: *Rivista di Linguistica* 5: 329–247.
- Puskás, G. 1992. The WH-criterion in Hungarian. In: *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 17: 141–86.
- Puskás, G. 1994. Sentential negation in Hungarian. In: *Rivista di Linguistica*, 6: 57–90.
- Puskás, G. 1996a. A split CP approach: evidence from Hungarian. In: *GenGenP* 3,2: 1–12.
- Puskás, G. 1996b. Word-order in Hungarian: the syntax of A'-positions. Doctoral dissertation, University of Geneva.
- Rizzi, L. 1990a. *Relativized minimality*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Rizzi, L. 1990b. Speculations on verb second. In: Mascaró, J. Nespó, M. (eds): *Grammar in progress. GLOW essays for Henk van Riemsdijk*, 375–86. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Rizzi, L. 1991. Residual verb second and the wh-criterion. Technical reports in formal and computational linguistics 2. Université de Genève.
- Rizzi, L. 1995. The fine structure of the left periphery. ms, Université de Genève.
- Tóth, I. 1995. Negative polarity licensing in Hungarian, ms, József Attila University, Szeged.
- Zanuttini, R. 1989. Syntactic properties of sentential negation: A comparative study of romance languages. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Zanuttini, R. (1997.) Negation and verb movement. In: L. Haegeman (ed.): *The new comparative syntax*, 214–45. Longman, London.

Address of the author: Genovéva Puskás
 Department of General Linguistics
 2 rue de Candolle
 CH-1211 Genève 4, Switzerland
 e-mail: puskas@uni2a.unige.ch



PRINTED IN HUNGARY

Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Please provide typewritten double-spaced manuscripts with wide margins (50 characters per line, 25 lines per page). Type on one side of the paper only and number all the pages consecutively. The following information should be provided on the first page: the title of the article (or, in case of reviews, the title of the book under discussion, the name of the publisher, the place and date of publication as well as the number of pages), the author's full name and address and an abbreviated title of the paper (not exceeding 45 characters including spaces). Only original papers will be published and a copy of the Publishing Agreement will be sent to the authors of papers accepted for publication. Manuscripts will be processed only after receiving the signed copy of the agreement. Authors are requested to send two hard copies of their manuscript + a floppy disk under DOS.

The manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of about 100 words. It should be typed on a separate sheet of paper. Tables, diagrams and illustrations (with the author's name and an Arabic number) should be presented on separate sheets. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet and placed at the end of the manuscript. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on a separate sheet at the end of the article. All language examples (and only these) are to be italicized (single underlining). Citations in the text should be enclosed in double quotation marks (" " in case of a paper written in English, „ " in German and « » in French).

Reference to a publication should be made by the name of the author, the year of publication and, when necessary, by page numbers in the following ways:

- ... as described by Schmidt (1967) . . .
- ... as referred to by Hoover (1967, 56-78; 1976, 43).
- ... mentioned by several authors (Elgar 1978, 77; Williams 1981, 154-6) . . .

An alphabetically arranged list of references should be presented at the end of the article as follows:

- Bárczi, G. 1958a. Magyar hangtörténet [The history of Hungarian sounds]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Bárczi, G. 1958b. A szótövek [Word stems]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Lakoff, G.-Peters, P.S. 1969. Phrasal conjunction and symmetric predicates. In: Reibel, D.-Schane, S. (eds): Modern studies in English, 113-41. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs.
- Leben, W.R. 1980. A metrical analysis of length. In: Linguistic Inquiry 11: 497-509.
- Ross, J.R. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. Ph.D. dissertation. MIT, Cambridge MA.

For marking subsections decimal notation should be applied. Do not use more than four digits if possible.

Examples within the text should be marked in italics. Meanings are to be rendered between inverted commas (' '). If glosses are given morpheme by morpheme, the initial letter of the gloss should be placed exactly below that of the example. Grammatical morphemes can be abbreviated in small case letters connected to the stem or the other morphemes by a hyphen. No period should be applied in such abbreviation. For example:

- (1) (a) A sólymaid elszálltak
 the falcon-gen-pl-2sg away-flew-3pl
 'Your falcons have flown away.'

Examples can be referred to in the text as (1a), (1a-d), etc.

One proof will be sent to the author. Please read it carefully and return it by air mail to the editor within one week.

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

VOLUME 45, NUMBERS 1-2, 1998

CONTENTS

<i>É. Kiss, K.</i> : Guest editor's note	1
<i>É. Kiss, K.</i> : Multiple topic, one focus?	3
<i>Horváth, J.</i> : Multiple WH-phrases and the WH-scope-marker strategy in Hungarian interrogatives.....	31
<i>Kenesei, I.</i> : Adjuncts and arguments in VP-focus in Hungarian	61
<i>Molnár, V.</i> : Topic in focus. On the syntax, phonology and prag- matics of the so-called "contrastive topic" in Hungarian and German	89
<i>Puskás, G.</i> : On the NEG-criterion in Hungarian	167

302426

Acta Linguistica Hungarica

23

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Volume 45, Numbers 3–4
1998



Akadémiai Kiadó
Budapest



Kluwer Academic Publishers
Dordrecht/Boston/London

Acta Linguist. Hung. ALHUE8 HU ISSN 1216-8076

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Acta Linguistica Hungarica publishes papers on the subjects of Finno-Ugric, Slavonic, Germanic, Oriental and Romance linguistics as well as general linguistics in English, German and French.

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

Institute for Linguistics
H-1250 Budapest, P.O. Box 19.
Phone: (36 1) 175 8285
Fax: (36 1) 212 2050
E-mail: kiefer@nytud.hu

Distributors:

for Hungary

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

P.O. Box 245, H-1519 Budapest, Hungary
Fax: (36 1) 464 5519

for all other countries

KLUWER ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS

P.O. Box 17, 3300 Dordrecht, The Netherlands
Fax: (31) 78 639 2254

Publication programme, 1998: Volume 45 (in 4 issues).
Subscription price: NLG 380.00 (USD 205.00)
per annum including postage & handling.

© Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1998

Acta Linguistica Hungarica is abstracted/indexed in Current Contents–Arts and Humanities, Arts and Humanities Citation Index and Bibliographie Linguistique/Linguistic Bibliography

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

MANAGING EDITOR:

F. KIEFER

ASSOCIATE EDITOR:

P. SIPTÁR



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
BUDAPEST



KLUWER ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS
DORDRECHT/BOSTON/LONDON

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA

ARGUMENT HIERARCHY AND REFLEXIVIZATION

GÁBOR ALBERTI

Abstract

This paper demonstrates a new kind of thematic theory (Alberti 1993, 1994, 1997) and its descriptive and explanatory power in the selection of binder from coreferring arguments (an area where the application of (hierarchical) thematic theories is often argued for). The novelty of this thematic theory lies in the fact that roles are regarded as no semantic primitives, which have proved to be inevitably vague and unreliable, but positions in an abstract internal structure of argument frames, which expresses both some argument hierarchy (Jackendoff 1972, Wilkins 1988, Grimshaw 1990) and polarities of arguments (Dowty 1991) simultaneously. The abstract roles have similar semantic interpretations to those of traditional thematic roles but they are justified by calculations on the basis of morphosyntactic data.

Introduction

This paper demonstrates a new system of thematic roles and its application to the selection of binder from coreferring arguments.¹

In Section 1 I sketch the relevant features of my thematic theory. This part is a brief summary of my dissertation (Alberti 1993) with useful informal remarks.²

The total lack of consensus on a system of thematic roles has led me (and not only me, e.g. Levin–Rappaport 1988, Dowty 1991, etc.) to the conclusion that semantically contentful role classes based on some categorization of the experienced world around us, such as Agent, Instrument, Patient, etc. (see e.g. Komlósy 1992), are unavoidably vague. Hence, the level of syntactically relevant semantic features of arguments of verbs must be a more abstract level. In my system the

¹ Special thanks are due to András Komlósy for his valuable comments on a previous version of this paper.

² An entire description of the basic formal details is published in Alberti (1994). The paper mentioned and this paper in the reader's hands complement each other in that they illustrate the application of my thematic theory (Model Tau) in different areas of linguistics (passivization and reflexivization, resp.). My further relevant works on passivization are Alberti (1996a, b).

arguments in a verb's argument structure³ are assigned only some kind of **polarity** (+/–) and **order** (<) where – refers to an essentially agentive nature of an argument while + refers to a patient-like nature. $p < q$ refers to the 'more agentive' nature of the argument assigned role p . The determination of these roles—hence, polarity and order of arguments in an AS—is based on an exact calculation, in the course of which not only the given AS is considered but a **family** of ASs of the same verb stem. The family is determined on the basis of semantic properties, and corresponding arguments of different ASs in a family are to be assigned a role (polarity and position in the order) that is invariable within the whole family, hence I call these roles **absolute roles** (see 1.3).

Another group of related questions to which there is no perfect 'formal' answer in traditional thematic theories is the following: (i) What role is played by the several different AS versions of verbs in the synchronic system of language? (ii) Why is it that just the most usual cases (Nominative, Accusative) 'hide' the semantic content of arguments most, being the most heterogeneous 'thematically' (e.g. Fillmore 1968)? (iii) What is the semantic entailment of a (syntactic or lexical) operation that involves a change in AS (e.g. passivization)? These problems require the introduction of a 'relative' role system: a **relative role** assigned to an argument of a particular AS is to express the speaker's relative perspective on the situation that the chosen AS family refers to. The part of the general definition of relative roles that is relevant to accusative languages (see also Alberti 1993) contains the following roles with this order: subject of an intransitive AS < subject of a transitive AS < object of a transitive AS (see 1.4–6).

AS families, thus, serve the purpose of making speakers more or less free to choose relative roles for arguments. However, there are some constraints on well-formed ASs, that is, connections between the relative role system and the absolute one. 1.7 provides these constraints.

Section 2 contains a system of lexical-semantic criteria to **binder selection** and a thorough analysis of relevant English and Hungarian data. I explain the selection of binder and bindee from coreferring arguments in an AS by means of the following straightforward principle: the binder precedes (<) the bindee according to both or either of the two role hierarchies. This principle elucidates an essential feature of my thematic theory: its relation to theories based on **thematic hierarchies** (e.g. Jackendoff 1972, Wilkins 1988, Bresnan–Kanerva 1989, Grimshaw 1990, Dowty 1991).

To sum up, the first part of this paper is devoted to the introduction of an abstract and formal thematic theory and contains theoretical arguments for it, while the second part provides empirical arguments in a linguistic area which serves as an excellent illustration of the crucial features of this thematic theory.

³ Abbreviated as AS from now on.

1. Argument order and polarity instead of thematic roles

The role of the categorial component of the grammar has been greatly diminished within the GB theory (Chomsky 1981; 1995) as well as within other generative grammatical frameworks like LFG (Bresnan 1982; Bresnan–Kanerva 1989) and R. Jackendoff's (1987) Conceptual Semantics; and concomitantly lexical structure has assumed a more central role in syntactic description (see Levin–Rappaport 1988). There is an undesirable redundancy between the lexicon and the categorial component: they both specify the range of possible complement structures in a language. Moreover, viewing the phrase structure rules as lexical redundancy rules does not allow for the simplification of individual lexical entries, because each lexical item will still have to specify the complements that it selects.

Hence, we need principles and generalizations operating on an appropriate lexical representation of the relation between predicates and their ASs.

According to Levin and Rappaport's (1988) summary, traditional systems of predicate-argument relations (Fillmore 1968, Gruber 1965, Anderson 1977, Jackendoff 1987, Wilkins 1988, etc.) are intended to provide a level of representation where arguments are identified on the basis of the semantic, rather than the syntactic, relation they bear to a predicator. One of the goals of all these systems is to find a small number of appropriate semantic relations (thematic or Theta-roles) that would permit the statement of generalizations describing the syntactically relevant semantic regularities. This set of semantic relations, each identified with a natural class of relations of arguments to predicators, then forms the basis of a lexical-semantic representation of the argument-taking properties of verbs.

On the one hand, these thematic role labels have been implicated in numerous grammatical constraints, principles and rules over the years. Reference to thematic roles has been involved in the description of the expression ("deployment" / realization / selection) of arguments in syntax, coordination of arguments, (adjectival) passive formation, the distribution of reflexive anaphors, incorporation, nominalization, the choice of controllers, etc.

On the other hand, the use of thematic roles has often been criticized because of the lack of consensus concerning the appropriate set of thematic role labels and the criteria for determining what role any given argument bears. Their definitions are typically (and unavoidably) vague, and as a result they either cannot be applied easily outside the core classes of verbs which have been used to motivate the role types or are extended in unprincipled ways to new cases (see Levin–Rappaport 1988 again).

These advantages and disadvantages of traditional thematic theories have led me to the conclusion that semantically contentful role classes based on some categorization of the experienced world around us, such as Agent, Instrument, Patient,

etc. (see e.g. Komlósy 1992), are unavoidably vague. Hence, as was mentioned in the Introduction, the level of syntactically relevant semantic features of arguments of verbs must be a more abstract level. In my system the arguments in a verb's AS are assigned only some kind of polarity (+/–) and order (<) where – refers to an essentially agentive nature of an argument while + refers to a patient-like nature. $p < q$ refers to the 'more agentive' nature of the argument assigned role p .

The determination of these roles—hence, polarity and order of arguments in an AS—is based on an exact calculation, in the course of which not only the given AS is considered but a **family** of ASs of the same verb stem. The family is determined on the basis of semantic properties, and corresponding arguments of different ASs in a family are to be assigned a role (polarity and position in the order) that is invariable within the whole family.

First of all, let us focus on the mentioned semantic relation between different AS versions of related verb stems which enables us to form families from these AS versions.

1.1. Semantic priority

Some verbs can take more than one AS and, concomitantly, the different AS versions seem to express (more or less) different situations. I consider this phenomenon a fundamental property of verbs, and not an anomaly (see also 1.4). A special comparison of these related situations plays a crucial role in my thematic theory, yielding a novel approach to the determination of the status of thematic roles.

Here I do not intend to demonstrate the general methods of comparing situation schemes described by different AS versions. Nor do I provide the general formal definition of **semantic priority**, the relation between AS versions that will play a crucial role in AS family formation (the interested reader is referred to Section 1.1 in Alberti 1994). Here I would like to elucidate the intuition behind the concept of semantic priority and demonstrate its three basic cases. Every example in this paper is an analogue of one of them or associated with additional remarks.

I. Let us look at the first case where an AS version (say, denoted by u) is compared to another one (denoted by w) with 'more' argument places, in the precise sense that each argument in u corresponds to an argument in w but not vice versa:

- (1) (a) Az ablak betört. (u)
 the window broke
 'The window broke'
 (b) Péter betört az ablakot. (w)
 Peter broke the window-acc
 'Peter broke the window'

Clearly, the proposition in (1b) entails the proposition in (1a) but not vice versa. This fact is not surprising since each participant mentioned in (1a) is mentioned also in (1b) but there is a participant in (1b) (*Peter*, the agent) that is not mentioned in (1a). Moreover, (1a) does not entail the existence of any kind of agent (window breaker).

To sum up, the situation scheme⁴ described by *w* (that an agent breaks something) entails, but is not entailed by, the situation scheme described by *u* (that something breaks). In this case I say that AS *u* is **semantically prior** to AS *w*. The intuition is that the situation scheme described by *w* is richer, or more contentful, than the situation scheme described by *u*; the former scheme seems to involve the latter one, which can be derived from the former one by adding a new participant. The following denotation will be used: $u \sqsubset w$.

II. In the second case it is also true that an AS version (*u*) is compared to another one (*w*) with 'more' argument places in the above sense that each argument in *u* corresponds to an argument in *w* but not vice versa:

- (2) (a) Péter evett. (*u*)
 Peter ate
 'Peter ate'
 (b) Péter répát evett. (*w*)
 Peter carrot-acc ate
 'Peter ate some carrot'

Hence, it is still also true that the proposition in (2b) entails the proposition in (2a) but not vice versa. This fact is a straightforward consequence of the fact that each participant mentioned in (2a) is mentioned also in (2b) but there is a participant in (2b) (*carrot*, the patient) that is not mentioned in (2a). Let us scrutinize the situation schemes, however. Both situation schemes entail (on usual everyday presuppositions) that an agent ate something. Despite the fact that no patient is mentioned in (2a), it is clear that there is something eaten, that is, there is an implicit patient.

⁴ The term 'situation scheme' refers to the conflict that, on the one hand, I would like to make a logical-semantic comparison between AS versions but, on the other, only propositions can be compared to each other from a viewpoint like this. Hence, AS versions under examination should be embedded in sentences (which is nothing else but Kamp & Rossdeutscher's (1994) 'instantiation' of schematic Discourse Reference Structures supplied by lexical entries). Obviously, the corresponding arguments of the AS versions to be compared should be the same, and the differing arguments should be as neutral as possible. In order to filter out of the test sentences the referential and aspectual factors that might disturb the comparison of AS versions, **existential** sentences with bare nominals are suggested to be used in Alberti (1997). The next footnote provides an illustration.

Thus, the two situation schemes (!) mutually entail each other despite the fact that one of them contains fewer explicit arguments. In this case I regard the situation scheme that corresponds to the 'richer' proposition (here *w*) as being semantically prior to the other one (*u*): $w \sqsubset u$. The intuition is that the situation that belongs to the apparently poorer AS version can be interpreted with reference to the AS version with more (explicit) arguments. The situation scheme that an agent eats means that an agent eats something not specified. Thus the poorer AS version is derivable from the richer one, by argument deletion.

III. The third case is that the AS versions to be compared consist of the same arguments. In other words, each argument of *u* corresponds to an argument of *w*, and for each argument of *w* there is a corresponding argument of *u*. The example pair below serves as an illustration:

- (3) (a) Péter szénát rakott a szekérre. (*u*)
 Peter hay-acc loaded the wagon-onto
 'Peter loaded hay onto the wagon'
 (b) Péter megrakta a szekeret szénával. (*w*)
 Peter perf-loaded the wagon-acc hay-with
 'Peter loaded the wagon with hay'

It is not true that the two propositions entail each other. Only (3b) entails (3a): the situation scheme illustrated in (3b) has a component of meaning that the other one in (3a) lacks: the location (*wagon*) is **totally affected** in (3b) but may be only partially affected in (3a).

Thus, despite the fact that the two AS versions consist of the same arguments, the proposition (and the situation scheme) that belongs to *w* entails the proposition (and the situation scheme) that belongs to *u*, but not vice versa. In such a case I regard *u* as being semantically prior to *w*: $u \sqsubset w$. *w* is to be derived from *u* by adding not a new participant but a certain meaning component (expressing the total affectedness of a participant).⁵

⁵ One might say that the AS version with *hay* as object can express the total affectedness of the hay (*szekérre rakta a szénát* 'wagon-onto loaded the hay-acc') so there is no asymmetry between the two AS versions wrt. affectedness. I argue, however, that there is an asymmetry, which can be proved by existential test sentences: *rakott már részeg munkás szénát szekérre (ebben a faluban)* 'loaded already drunken worker hay-acc wagon-onto' vs. *rakott már meg részeg munkás szekeret szénával (...)* 'loaded already perf drunken worker wagon-acc hay-with'. The first sentence is not necessarily to be interpreted so that a whole amount of hay is concerned whereas the second sentence undoubtedly refers to the total affectedness of a wagon or wagons. Thus, Hungarian has different tools to express total affectedness (e.g. definite article, perfect aspect), which are prevented from functioning in neither AS version but it is only the version with the Goal (*wagon*) as object that entails total affectedness alone.

In support of these analyses (I-III), I would like to mention that the formulae usually assigned to the AS versions below (in different frameworks) clearly express the same priority relations. The formula of the AS that I consider prior to its counterpart is a part of the formula of the latter in works of Partee *et al.* (1990, ex. (13–65)), Komlósy (1992, 4.3, ex. (11)) and Levin–Rappaport (1988, 26, ex. (25)), respectively.⁶

1.2. Argument structure family

Argument polarity and order in a given AS version of a verb are to be calculated on the basis of a **family** of AS versions semantically prior to it.

In addition to this semantic condition, there is a morphological restriction on AS family formation. A principled answer to the question as to between what kind of AS versions the relation ‘semantic priority’ is (should/can be) defined is available only in 3.4 in Alberti (1994) where I argue that the appropriate domain consists of the AS versions of a verb and the verbs whose etymological relation to this verb is obvious to native speakers.⁷ Hence, an AS version of a verb may be the member of the family of an AS version of the same verb stem with a/another preverb or affix (or without the original preverb or affix). Nevertheless it should be emphasized again that etymological relation is only a necessary condition; the decisive factor is semantic priority.

According to this definition, the following can be claimed of the AS versions illustrated above:

- intransitive *break* belongs to family of transitive *break*;
- whereas, quite to the contrary, it is transitive *eat* that belongs to the family of intransitive *eat*;
- and finally, the AS version of *load* with *onto* belongs to the family of the *with* version.

⁶ $\text{break}_{\text{transitive}}'(x, y) = \text{cause}'(x, \text{that}(\text{break}_{\text{intransitive}}'(y))$

$\text{eat}_{\text{intransitive}}'(x) = \text{EXIST } y(\text{eat}_{\text{transitive}}'(x, y))$

$\text{LOAD}_1: [x \text{ cause } [y \text{ to come to be at } z] / \text{LOAD}]$

$\text{LOAD}_2: [[x \text{ cause } [z \text{ to come to be in STATE}]] \text{ BY MEANS OF } \text{LOAD}_1(x, y, z)]$

⁷ Thus the meaning of a verb does not determine unambiguously certain features of its family relevant to my approach. There are etymologically unrelated verbs with almost the same meaning which belong to families whose organizing logic significantly differs. The pair *please/like* is a good illustration: both verbs are transitive and have a Stimulus (Theme) and an Experiencer in their ASs, but in the case of *please* the Stimulus is expressed as a subject and the Experiencer as an object whereas in the case of *like* the Stimulus is the object and the Experiencer is the subject. My hypothesis is that languages are characterized by the possibility of these kinds of arbitrariness but not within one and the same family, as it has been defined.

1.3. Absolute role assignment

As was emphasized, my fundamental aim is to substitute abstract roles for the traditional semantically contentful thematic roles. I call them **absolute roles**.⁸

They are abstract because the absolute role of an argument in an AS expresses only some kind of **polarity** and a position in the **order** of the arguments involved in the AS in question. I would like to highlight this character of my roles by associating them with negative (–) and non-negative (+) whole numbers.

The informal meaning of this order is that if two arguments in an AS are assigned whole numbers M and N , $M < N$, then the argument whose role is M is 'more agentive' than the other one. If the arguments in an AS are assigned N_1, N_2, \dots, N_k , where $N_1 < N_2 < \dots < N_k$, then this is the order and direction of influence exertion: the argument with role N_1 exerts some kind of influence on the argument with role N_2 , which latter exerts influence on the argument with role N_3 , etc. What this influence exertion describes is not necessarily a real⁹ process. Its interpretation is similar to that of grammatical gender in several languages, for instance: if there is a real gender, then it coincides with the grammatical gender, and otherwise no real meaning is to be associated with grammatical gender.¹⁰

In our three discussed families there is an unambiguous real direction of influence exertion:

- Peter exerts influence on the window by breaking it;
- Peter also exerts influence on the carrot by eating it;
- Peter exerts an immediate influence on the hay by loading it onto a wagon, and the hay exerts some influence on the wagon by filling it.

Psych verbs serve as excellent examples of the case where influence exertion is only a grammatical construction (because of the lack of a real (unambiguous) influence direction). In the example pair *Peter likes Mary* / *Mary pleases Peter*, one may say that no real influence is exerted, or that Peter (the experiencer) is the active participant, expressing his feeling by actions, or that Mary (the stimulus) is the active participant, stimulating Peter by different actions.

⁸ The name will be elucidated when another role system, that of the relative roles, has been introduced.

⁹ Cross-linguistic data suggest that motions in the physical world, for instance, are so elementary factors in our human perception that the direction of influence exertion embedded in language is practically invariable. Certain interpersonal relations also seem to belong to these invariably interpretable elementary factors (e.g. *giving an order*: who gives it exerts an influence on the one to obey it). On the other hand, relation between an Experiencer and a Stimulus makes room for different interpretations even within one and the same language.

¹⁰ See the Canonical Interpretation Principle, [7] in Alberti (1994, 195).

As for the informal meaning of polarity, – refers to an **agentive** nature while + is an indication of a **patient-like** nature. It is true also here that this statement is to be interpreted only in cases where agent- or patient-like nature can be associated with any kind of meaning. In the last example, for instance, both the experiencer and the stimulus can be regarded as a bit agentive but a bit patient-like at the same time (Dowty 1991). In the earlier three families, however, it is clear that Peter is always agentive while the window, the carrot, the hay and the wagon are all patient-like.

I would like to emphasize quickly that the last paragraphs are not to be regarded as definitions of absolute roles but only provide informal interpretation. The reader interested in the precise formal description of absolute role assignment to arguments is referred to [13–14] in Alberti (1994, 201). This definition is an algorithm to calculate absolute roles for arguments in an AS on the basis of the family of this AS. In the course of the execution of this algorithm the members of the AS family are considered in the order determined by the semantic priority relations among them.

Here I would like to provide some further principles and conditions that the algorithm or its production satisfies.

I. Agentive subjects, patient-like objects. The properties of an argument in an AS that play a crucial role in assigning polarity and position in an order to it can be determined on the basis of the factors whether this argument is expressed as a subject or an object in the AS version in question or not, and whether the correspondents of this argument in other ASs of the family are expressed as subjects or objects or not. The intuition here is that the simultaneous presence of a subject and an object in an AS always refers to the facts that the argument expressed as subject is agentive to a certain extent (– polarity), the argument expressed as object is patient-like to a certain extent (+ polarity), and the former is more agentive (<) than the latter (see also Dowty 1991).

II. Two kinds of intransitive subjects. The polarity of an argument expressed as the subject of an intransitive AS version is to be determined on the basis of a group of morphological and syntactic phenomena known as **unaccusative phenomena** (Perlmutter 1978; see also Alberti 1994, 189–192). These phenomena are based on the observation that certain syntactic and morphological features characteristic of objects of transitive verbs are valid for subjects of particular intransitive verbs (but invalid for those of others).¹¹ This observation enables us to separate patient-like (+) intransitive subjects from agentive ones (–).

¹¹ Some phenomena that show the patient-like nature of an argument are: *ne*-cliticization from it (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1981; Baker 1983) and the selection of *essere* ‘be’ as perfect auxiliary (instead of *avere* ‘have’) (e.g. Grimshaw 1990) in Italian; its taking the genitive of negation in Russian (Neidle 1982; Pesetzky 1982); occurring in empty *there* constructions in English (Baker 1983); and the occurrence of its governing verb as its past participial adjective modifier in Hungarian NPs

III. Invariance of absolute roles. If an argument is assigned a role (a number) at some time in the course of the execution of the algorithm, then this role is to be retained in what follows. That is, the corresponding arguments in further AS versions are to be assigned the same number. The intuition here is that the absolute role of an argument must be invariant within a family because a family describes essentially the same situation.

IV. Situation expansion in a family. The importance of the fact that semantic priority attributes a (partial) order to AS versions in a family is that these ASs are “worked out” in this order in the course of the execution of the algorithm, that is, the arguments involved in them are also assigned numbers depending on this order.¹² A new agentive, or patient-like, argument is to be assigned a number less, or greater, than those assigned to old arguments so far, respectively. The intuition is that the order in the AS family determined by semantic priority expresses a permanent enrichment or expansion of situation schemes described by the AS versions, in the course of which sometimes new participants appear. My observation, built into the algorithm, is that a new agentive argument is always more agentive (<) than the old ones, and a new patient-like argument is always less agentive than they are.

V. The absolute value of numbers serving as roles. The last remark concerns a practical feature of the algorithm of absolute role assignment. It is true in the course of the execution of the algorithm that the number of the lowest possible absolute value is assigned to a new argument at any time. The number –3 cannot be assigned to an argument unless –2 has already been assigned to an argument in the family. I do not intend to attribute any common meaning (except for polarity) to the same numbers in different families, however. Peter, for instance, will be assigned role –1 in all three discussed families but it does not mean at all that the person who broke the window is “as agentive as” the person who ate something or the person who loaded the wagon. The only thing I argue for is that Peter plays an agentive (–) role in all three cases.¹³

Now I demonstrate the application of the algorithm to the three families discussed (repeated below).

(Alberti 1994). This last phenomenon makes it possible to point out the patient-like nature of the subject of *elvész* ‘get lost’) and the agentive nature of that of *ugat* ‘bark’: *az elvesz-ett/*ugat-ott kutya* (intended meaning: *the dog that got lost/barked*).

¹² Nevertheless, an argument is not necessarily assigned a role when it first occurs in an AS but only when it first occurs in an AS as a subject or object.

¹³ The structure of the world of whole numbers is only similar to the structure attributed to ASs in my approach, but not the same, of course. No property of whole numbers should be related to my argument roles without having been declared explicitly. See also Alberti (1997).

- (4) (a) Az ablak betört. (u)
the window broke
'The window broke'
(b) Péter betörte az ablakot. (w)
Peter broke the window-acc
'Peter broke the window'
(c) u [w; the family of w: {u, w}
(d) a betör-t ablak
the break-pp window
'the broken window'

First AS u should be considered (IV). Its single argument occupied by *the window* here is patient-like according to the unaccusative phenomenon illustrated in (4d) (see footnote 11). Thus it should be assigned the smallest non-negative number, which is 0 (IV, V). The same number should be assigned to the corresponding argument in w (occupied by the phrase *the window* too) (III). As expressed as a subject, the other argument in w should be assigned role -1 (I, IV, V).

- (5) (a) Péter evett. (u)
Peter ate
'Peter ate'
(b) Péter répát evett. (w)
Peter carrot-acc ate
'Peter ate some carrot'
(c) w [u; the family of u: {w, u}

Here the transitive AS version (w) should be worked out first. According to principles I, IV and V, the two arguments (*Peter*, *carrot*) should be assigned the numbers -1 and 0. Then comes u, whose single argument corresponds to the subject of w. Hence, the intransitive subject should be assigned -1 here (III).¹⁴

- (6) (a) Péter szénát rakott a szekerre. (u)
Peter hay-acc loaded the wagon-onto
'Peter loaded hay onto the wagon'

¹⁴ It is worth noticing that the subject of the intransitive *break* is assigned 0, whereas the subject of the intransitive *eat* is assigned -1. This difference is a clear expression of the patient-like character of the former argument and the agentivity of the latter one.

- (b) Péter megrakta a szekeret szénával. (w)
 Peter perf-loaded the wagon-acc hay-with
 'Peter loaded the wagon with hay'
- (c) u [w; the family of w: {u, w} , .

AS u should be considered first. The arguments expressed as subject and object should be assigned -1 and 0, respectively (I, IV, V). The third argument of u still cannot be assigned an absolute role. The correspondents of the two arguments in w that have already received a role (*Peter*, *hay*) retain their roles (III). The third argument in w, which is expressed as an object here, should be assigned the lowest possible non-negative number, that is, 1 (IV, V). The interpretation of the fact that $0 < 1$ is that Peter exerts a direct influence on the hay, and only an indirect influence on the wagon.

The results are summarized in (7):

(7)		-2	-1	0	1	
	tör(ik) 'break'					window
			Peter	window		
	eszik 'eat'		Peter	carrot		
			Peter	()		
	rak 'load onto'		Peter	hay		
	'load with'		Peter	hay	wagon	
	'have it loaded with'	boss	Peter	hay	wagon	

In order to illustrate situation expansion, I show a further AS version of *rak* 'load', to which all the earlier versions are semantically prior:

- (8) A főnök megrakatta a szekeret szénával / Péterrel. (w)
 the boss perf-load-cause-past the wagon-acc hay-with / Peter-with
 'The boss had the wagon loaded with hay' / 'The boss made Peter load the wagon'

The absolute roles assigned to the arguments of *Peter*, *the hay* and *the wagon* (-1, 0, 1) should be retained (III). Therefore the new subject should receive role -2 (I, IV, V). The interpretation is straightforward: the boss exerts some influence on Peter by ordering him, and then the chain of influence is the same.

The verb stem *rak* 'load' has several further AS versions. Every version exists in the Hungarian vocabulary where one of the 'agentive' (-) arguments occupies the subject position and one of the 'patient-like' (+) ones occupies the object position.

Those versions, however, do not exist where a patient-like argument is expressed as subject and an agentive one is expressed as object. This fact is in accordance with the characters (–, +, <) attributed to subjects and objects (see also the analysis in [22] of Alberti 1994, 206).

1.4. Central cases

In the Introduction I mentioned a group of related questions to which there is no perfect formal answer in traditional thematic theories:

I. What role is played by the several different AS versions of verbs in the synchronic system of language? As could be seen in the previous paragraphs, there are so many alternative AS versions with slight differences in meaning that this phenomenon cannot be regarded as an anomaly or a peripheral property of particular languages.

II. Why is it that just the most usual cases (Nominative, Accusative) ‘hide’ the semantic content of arguments most, being the most heterogeneous ‘thematically’? This phenomenon was discovered as early as in the time of the first articles on thematic roles (e.g. Fillmore 1968). The subject of a sentence, for instance, may refer to such participants of the situation described by the sentence as Agent, Patient, Instrument, Natural Force, Experiencer, Stimulus:

- (9) (a) Peter_{Agent} has broken the window_{Patient}.
 (b) The window_{Patient} has broken.
 (c) The needle_{Instrument/Natural Force} has pricked my finger_{Patient}.
 (d) Peter_{Experiencer} likes this cake_{Stimulus}.
 (e) This cake_{Stimulus} pleases Peter_{Experiencer}.

The same examples above also illustrate the semantic (‘thematic’) heterogeneity of objects.

III. What is the semantic entailment of a (syntactic or lexical) operation that involves a change in AS? Such operations are passivization, causativization, middle formation, deletion of various arguments, etc.

I argue that a perfect answer to these questions should contain a formal expression of the following factors.

The wide variety of alternative AS versions must enable speakers to express their peculiar perspective on the situation described by a verb, that is, their own individual construal of the situation. Speakers are in a position to show their special viewpoint to a certain extent: their freedom lies in the fact that they can choose between different AS versions of the same verb. The absolute content of a situation “out in the real world” is separated from its alternative speaker-dependent / relative

approaches to some extent: language users are furnished with distinct AS versions of the same verb so as to express distinct relative analyses of the same (absolute) action or event.¹⁵

I argue that just the thematically most heterogeneous cases are to express the speaker's individual ('speaker-dependent', Dowty 1991) perspective because they are not 'canonical' expressions of particular thematic roles (Fillmore 1968, Bresnan–Kanerva 1989). The speaker attributes a **central** position in the situation described to the arguments that (s)he expresses as subject or object. Hence, the task of (syntactic or lexical) operations that involve a change in AS is to enable the speaker to ensure central positions in the AS to certain arguments.

My conjecture is that in every language there can be found a small group of cases (or appositions or sentence positions) that mark these central (speaker-dependent) argument positions. Their characteristic feature is thematic heterogeneity but it is concomitant with a frequent use in the language and further distinguishing properties. The unmarked case, for instance, must belong to the group of cases marking central argument positions (let us call them 'central cases').

I claim that in accusative languages the nominative and the accusative are central cases,¹⁶ and there are convincing arguments for considering also the dative case to be a central case in Hungarian.¹⁷ The determining argument in support of this latter decision is thematic heterogeneity: the argument marked with dative in a nominalized phrase can be the correspondent of either the subject or the object of a sentence (which are thematically heterogeneous). In *Péternek a tanítása* (Peter-dat the teaching-3sg.: 'Peter's teaching'), for instance, Peter can be the agent who teaches or the patient who is taught.¹⁸

¹⁵ This semantic (!) possibility (for the expression of different relative analyses) comes with, or manifests itself in, several concrete functions, which may differ from language to language. In English, for instance, where word order is strict and syntactic functions are expressed configurationally, certain scope relations and logical/rhetorical relations can only be realized by the appropriate selection of AS version. In the non-configurational Hungarian language where a wide range of operator positions are at our disposal to express different scopal and rhetorical relations (e.g. É. Kiss 1992) but the (explicit) aspectual system is imperfect, differences in AS are relevant to the expression of aspect (Alberti 1996a, b), for instance. Further, AS differences may refer to the degree of affectedness or definiteness of certain arguments in several languages, not mentioning the straightforward fact that the selection of AS version depends on which participants of the situation to be described are known to the speaker.

¹⁶ Arguments in support of this claim can be found in A.1.3.1 in Alberti (1993, 15–16).

¹⁷ See C.3.1.2 of Alberti (1994, 116–119).

¹⁸ As for ergative languages, the unmarked (absolutive) case is likely to belong to the group of central cases. Another candidate is the dative case, which shows a wide thematic heterogeneity in these languages. In Georgian, for instance, the ergative case of an Agent is to be replaced with the dative case if the action in question has not been seen immediately by the speaker (this information is due to Komlósy, p.c.). Komlósy has called my attention also to the fact that the ergative case almost

1.5. Relative roles

In Hungarian, thus, the group of central cases consists of the following three: nominative, accusative, dative. If an argument in an AS is marked with one of these cases, I call it a central argument. The interpretation of this concept is that the speaker regards a particular argument as playing a central role in the situation described by the verb used (by choosing an appropriate AS version of this verb).

There are more than one central cases so the speaker can highlight several arguments simultaneously. The three central cases are not equivalent. If there are a subject and an object in an AS, for instance, then it is the more agentive one (<) that is to occupy the subject position. This observation is built into the algorithm calculating absolute roles. There I argued that there was a (real or 'grammatical') chain of influence exertion in the center of the situation described by an AS family.

My hypothesis is that by using a transitive AS, the speaker attributes distinguished role to two participants of this chain, or rather, to the fact that the one, the subject, exerts some kind of influence on the other, the object. Thus the speaker points out the argument that is the **starting-point** of the chain of influence to her/him and the argument that (s)he considers the **endpoint**, without respect to the chain of influence as a whole. Notice that this whole 'absolute' chain is just the result of considering the possible speaker-dependent, relative, perspectives, that is, an AS family.

I regard an intransitive AS version (or an AS where there is no object) as an expression of the (speaker-dependent) coincidence of the starting-point and the endpoint of the chain of influence described by the chosen verb. The speaker attributes a central role only to a single argument and ignores the possible further arguments.

Let us review our three AS families from this point of view:

(10)

	-2	-1	0	1
tör(ik) 'break'		Peter	window	
eszik 'eat'		Peter	carrot	
rak 'load'	boss	Peter	hay	wagon

always refers to an Agent so it is not likely to belong to my central cases. A thorough cross-linguistic research would be required, naturally.

In Bantu languages, where argument realization is usually assumed to be based on a rich system of genders instead of cases or prepositions (Bresnan · Kanerva 1989, Bresnan · Moshi 1990), other factors must be relevant to the selection of central arguments. Potential candidates are the arguments with which the verb shows agreement in gender, and generally the arguments considered to be 'thematically unrestricted objects' in the LFG framework of the above mentioned papers (Alberti 1997).

Saying that *The window has broken* or *Peter is eating (again)*, the speaker intends to emphasize that only one participant of the described situation is important to her/him. The agent or object that has broken the window or the food eaten is regarded as irrelevant: it is not this influence exertion that the speaker considers relevant. What (s)he considers relevant is, say, the fact that there is a broken window to be repaired, and the fact that Peter makes himself fat. Or it may also occur that the speaker wants to hide the fact that (s)he himself (herself) has broken that window, intentionally.¹⁹

The sentence *Peter has broken the window* suggests Peter's accusation of something wrong to a certain extent. Saying that Peter has eaten the carrot, either the agent, or the food, or both may be considered relevant by the speaker. If (s)he only intends to express his (her) disappointment at finding no carrot at home (but no accusation), then (s)he says: *The carrot has been eaten*. Clearly, in this passive AS version it is the food that plays the single central role.

In the family of the Hungarian correspondent of *load* (*rak*), either the agent (*Peter*) or the causer (*the boss*) may be regarded as the starting-point of the action, and either the instrument (*hay*) or the location (*wagon*) can be the endpoint. There is an interesting relation between central argument selection and collective universal reading: In *P. loaded the hay onto the wagon*, the total amount of the hay must have been loaded onto the wagon, while in *P. loaded the wagon with hay*, the wagon must have become full. Thus, in both cases the success of the whole action depends on the actual endpoint.²⁰

¹⁹ The speaker must have the same purpose if (s)he says: *The tile/ ball/?hammer has broken the window*. According to the approach that only Natural Forces, and not Instruments, are permitted to occupy the subject position, this sentence illustrates an AS version of *break* with a Natural Force and a Patient as central arguments, which cannot be compared with respect to semantic priority—with the AS version with an Agent and a Patient as central arguments, because neither the version with Agent entails the existence of a Natural Force, nor vice versa. Kamp-Rossdeutscher's (1994, 144–146) 'Instrument Causer' (e.g. *the camomile* in the German sentence *Die Kamille heilte den Patienten* 'The camomile cured the patient'), however, would require, and makes possible, another kind of analysis (in a similar (?) group of verbs), which would yield the following causal chain for *heilen* (as well as for its Hungarian equivalent *gyógy-ít/-ul*): Agent (e.g. a doctor) → Instrument Causer (e.g. camomile) → Patient (who is the patient in the other sense).

²⁰ Dowty (1991) calls such an argument (on which the success of the whole action depends) an *Incremental Theme*. This should be a new thematic role, he proposes. There is a slight asymmetry between the AS versions of *rak*, however, which is relevant to my semantic priority relation, as was mentioned earlier: the expression of the Goal as an object is a sufficient condition for its totally affected interpretation whereas the expression of the Patient as an object is only a necessary condition.

Finally, I mention some English examples of Keenan (1984). He argues that in the pairs below the unmarked direct object is understood to be 'more totally affected' than when it carries a preposition.²¹

- (11) (a) John shot / struck **at** Bill.
(b) John shot / struck Bill.

In (11b), but not in (11a), *Bill* bears the 'endpoint' relative role, that is, he is considered by the speaker to be the endpoint of the chain of influence described by *shot*. Hence, it is plausible that the influence exerted by the subject on the other argument is interpreted as more total and intensive in the (11b) version.

To sum up, the speaker attributes certain relative roles to the arguments of a chosen verb by choosing a particular AS version of the given verb. There are central and non-central arguments in an AS (depending on language-specific factors, e.g. case marking, agreement, syntactic positions). Furthermore, a central argument can be the starting-point of a chain of influence, or the endpoint (according to the speaker). If an argument plays both roles at the same time (when there is no argument in the AS marked with the accusative case in an accusative language), it clearly expresses a highly distinguished relative role.

1.6. Relative role hierarchy

In order to paraphrase and interpret grammatical operations, rules and constraints in terms of my double role system, I have introduced an order between relative roles (too). '<' means that an argument occupies a 'more valuable' relative position than another one:

- (12) RELATIVE HIERARCHY OF ARGUMENTS:
starting-point and endpoint < (only) starting-point < dative < endpoint < non-central

Thus I would like to base the description of certain phenomena on a mapping between a relative hierarchy of arguments and an absolute hierarchy of arguments. This idea seems to be not new at all since in most modern thematic theories a certain thematic hierarchy is to be reconciled with a certain (explicit or implicit) hierarchy of syntactic functions (a few examples: Jackendoff 1972; Nichigauchi 1984; Carrier-Duncan 1985; Wilkins 1989; Grimshaw 1990; Bresnan-Kanerva 1989);

²¹ The same holds for the Hungarian correspondents, too.

hence, it is only the **order of arguments** in an AS that can be determined by means of a hierarchy of thematic roles, while the semantic content of particular thematic roles is often assumed to be irrelevant. There is a novel idea in my theory, however, perhaps the only one but I consider it an important step towards an exact formal theory of ASs. In these hierarchical thematic theories, it requires two arbitrary steps to determine the order of arguments, i.e. an argument hierarchy: first an appropriate system of thematic roles should be found, and then an appropriate hierarchy should be assigned to them, whereas in my model argument hierarchy is calculated on the basis of intuitions concerning semantic priority relations within a family of related AS versions, instead of intuitions concerning the semantic content of roles of arguments in situations.

Section 2 is devoted to demonstrating the cooperation of my relative hierarchy (which is an implicit hierarchy of syntactic functions) with the absolute order of arguments (which substitutes for the usual argument hierarchies calculated with reference to thematic roles) in the area of binding problems. Now a short analysis of passivization serves as an illustration of the Relative Hierarchy; a thorough analysis is available in Section 4 of Alberti (1994, 217–23) and in two further works (Alberti 1996a, b).

- (13) (a) Peter broke the window.
 (b) The window was broken (by Peter).

In terms of the Relative Hierarchy, ordinary passivization is to be interpreted as follows: the subject of the active AS version decreases its relative position in the course of passivization by losing its central role while the active object increases its relative position by replacing its endpoint relative role with the most valuable double relative role. The answer to the question as to why a speaker decides on performing the passive form is straightforward now: (s)he intends to ignore the active subject (here *Peter*), on the one hand, and/or wants to highlight (the affectedness of) the active object (*the window*), on the other.

A discussion on dative arguments (and their relative position) is postponed to Section 2.

1.7. Constraints on well-formed argument structures

The essence of my double role system, thus, is that the absolute roles express what different AS versions of a verb have in common while the relative roles are intended to express differences. This approach entails the separation of speaker-dependent features from the absolute content of the situation described by a verb. Speakers are not totally free, however, once they have already chosen a verb stem.

There are connections between my two role systems, serving as well-formedness constraints on AS versions.

These constraints simply say that speakers' freedom in AS selection is limited by the exclusion of a conflict between the relative content to be expressed and the absolute ("grammatical" or "grammaticalized"; see 1.3) content of the situation described by the chosen verb (AS family). The absolute order and polarity of arguments are to be in accordance with their relative order and "polarity", in the following sense:

- (14) If p and q are arguments expressed as central arguments (!) in an AS, then...
 (EXTENDED²² ORDERING CONSTRAINT:) $\dots \text{abs}(p) < \text{abs}(q)$ entails that $\text{rel}(p) < \text{rel}(q)$;
 (STABILITY CONSTRAINT:) $\dots \text{abs}(p) < 0$ excludes that p bears an only-endpoint relative role, while $\text{abs}(q) > 0$ excludes that q bears an only-starting-point relative role.

No AS version (available in the lexicon) violates the Extended Ordering Constraint, which ensures, for instance, that the subject in a transitive AS version is 'more agentive' ($<$) than the object. The speaker's freedom lies in the fact that even the 'most agentive argument' may occupy a non-central relative position, allowing the subject position to be occupied by 'less agentive' arguments (e.g. passive AS versions).²³

A violation of the Stability Constraint results in 'unstable' AS versions in the sense that sentences formed with such ASs would be marked with '?' by linguists and that it is likely that there is a very small group of counter-examples in every language. *Etet* 'feed' (which is derived from *e-szik* 'eat' in Hungarian by an improductive way of causativization²⁴), for instance, is clearly a counter-example since the subject in *w* can be expressed as an object in v_1 :

²² There is an Ordering Constraint in Alberti (1994, 199, [12]), which says that ' $<$ ' (the absolute order) is a strict partial order. This constraint ensures that the algorithm of absolute role assignment is correct, that is, provides unambiguous results.

²³ The assignment of syntactic functions to arguments in LFG (e.g. Bresnan-Kanerva 1989) is a bit similar to this method in that in the default case there is assumed to be an **order-preserving mapping** from a thematic hierarchy to an (implicit) syntactic hierarchy, which can be (partially) modified by morpholexical rules (e.g. passivization). My constraints also refer to an order-preserving mapping between absolute roles and relative roles, the former corresponding to a thematic hierarchy and the latter corresponding to an implicit syntactic hierarchy, but what I claim is that preservation of order is restricted just to central arguments. Non-central arguments get out of the scope of the constraint concerning order preservation.

²⁴ See [59] in Alberti (1993, 62)

- (15) (a) Péter répát evett. (w)
 Peter carrot-acc ate
 'Peter ate some carrot'
- (b) Papa megetette Pétert (répával). (v_1)
 Daddy eat-cause-past Peter-acc carrot-with
 'Daddy fed Peter (with carrot).'
- (c) Papa megetette a répát Péterrel. (v_2)
 Daddy eat-cause-past the carrot-acc Peter-with
 'Daddy fed the carrot to Peter'

Hence, the agent (*Peter*) should receive a -1 absolute role but 'later' (in v_1) the same argument is expressed as an only-endpoint. The exceptional nature of this AS version is obvious in other thematic theories as well since agents are rarely expressed as objects (Komlósy 1992, 444; Carrier-Duncan 1985). The existence of v_2 , that is, another causative form, which can practically always be produced, also corroborates the exceptional nature of v_1 , which violates the Stability Constraint. The sort of causativization represented by v_1 is only characteristic of a very small group of AS versions.

2. Reflexivization

My general task is to prove that my abstract double role system suffices to account for the phenomena that a traditional thematic theory is usually expected to account for. This article is devoted to demonstrating my results in the area of binding (reflexive and reciprocal²⁵ pronouns to antecedents). Often in this area thematic hierarchies are used, whose comparison with my hierarchies sheds light on the basic character of my approach.

2.1. Thematic hierarchies

Jackendoff (1972) proposed a hierarchy based on the content of thematic roles and a thematic hierarchy condition for reflexivization (Wilkins 1988):

- (16) JACKENDOFF'S HIERARCHY: 1. Agent; 2. Location, Source, Goal; 3. Theme.
 (17) JACKENDOFF'S CONDITION FOR REFLEXIVIZATION: A reflexive may not be higher on the thematic role hierarchy than its antecedent.

²⁵ I follow the usual assumption that reciprocal pronouns essentially behave the same way as reflexive pronouns but are easier to insert in certain AS versions.

Wilkins (1988) demonstrates two kinds of counterexamples (18)–(19), (20):

- (18) (With that new kind of kryptonite lock,) you_{Agent} have to lock the bike_{Theme} to itself_{Goal}.
 (19) By using a mirror, we_{Agent} pointed the gun_{Theme} at itself_{Goal}.
 (20) (a) We_{Agent} sold the slave_{Theme} to himself_{Goal}.
 (b) We_{Agent} sold the slave_{Goal} himself_{Theme}.

An account incorporating the simple hierarchy of a syntactic nature in (21) below would work up to this point, but Wilkins (1988) argues that there are reasons to reject it:

- (21) SYNTACTIC HIERARCHY: 1. external argument (subject); 2. direct internal argument (object); 3. indirect internal argument (prepositional object)

First of all, she argues that what (21) allows is the encoding of certain syntactic facts into thematic structure. This is a violation of the Autonomy Thesis,²⁶ in accordance with which the problem of reflexivization ought to be solved without recourse to syntactic structure. While an indication of direct-versus-indirect role assignment might turn out to be necessary in thematic structure for accurate interpretation of the semantic contribution of prepositions, it is actually not sufficient for explaining the reflexivization data. The distinction would not provide an account of the examples below:

- (22) (a) We talked about Mary to Peter.
 (b) We talked to Peter about Mary.
 (c) We_{Agent} talked to Peter_{Goal} about himself_{Theme}.
 (d) *We_{Agent} talked about Peter_{Theme} to himself_{Goal}.

In the examples in (22) above, the internal arguments are assigned their thematic roles indirectly, but only the reflexive in (22c) is grammatical (though (22a) proves that the word order in (22d) is acceptable). Cases like this are accounted for by Jackendoff's Hierarchy and Condition.

²⁶ The Autonomy Thesis (see Wilkins 1988) fights against the encoding of some grammatical information both at a syntactic and at a semantic level. Consequently, once a phenomenon (e.g. the syntactic realization of ASSs) turns out to require some lexical-semantic information to be accounted for, then this phenomenon is to be explained entirely at a semantic level; the syntactic part of the phenomenon is to be derived from the semantic properties.

Wilkins (1988) intends to reconcile the advantages of the syntactic and semantic approaches. She argues that the thematic hierarchy (16) must be revised to incorporate the roles of Patient and Affected, and the fact that an argument may be associated with roles from more than a single set (see A.3.3.2.a in Alberti 1993). She splits thematic roles into at least two distinct classes:

- there are those associated with motion and location in perceptual space: Source, Goal, Location, Theme;
- and there are those associated with the structure of events: Agent, Patient, Instrument, Affected, etc.

She defines the Patient as the complement next to the verb (Wilkins 1988, 209), and she says that a PP immediately following the verb may be an affected object (Affected, 210). Then she proposes the following hierarchy:

- (23) WILKINS' THEMATIC HIERARCHY: 1. Agent; 2. Patient; 3. Affected; and Location, Source, Goal; 4. Theme

Furthermore, she retains condition (17) with the following interpretation:

- (17') WILKINS' CONDITION FOR REFLEXIVIZATION: The highest role associated with the antecedent must be higher than the highest role associated with the reflexive.

Now I repeat the problematic sentences with Wilkins' annotations:

- (18') You_{Agent} have to lock the bike_{Theme, Patient} to itself_{Goal}.
 (19') We_{Agent} pointed the gun_{Theme, Patient} at itself_{Goal}.
 (20') (a) We_{Agent} sold the slave_{Theme, Patient} to himself_{Goal}.
 (b) We_{Agent} sold the slave_{Goal, Patient} himself_{Theme}.
 (22') (c) We_{Agent} talked to Peter_{Goal, Affected} about himself_{Theme}.
 (d) *We_{Agent} talked about Peter_{Theme, Affected} to himself_{Goal}.

In (18', 19', 20'a,b), Patient is higher than Goal or Theme so the sentences are predicted to be grammatical. While in (22') Affected is higher than Theme but not Goal so (22'd) is predicted to be ungrammatical, and it is ungrammatical indeed.

2.2. Reflexivization rule

There are some conceptual problems with a solution like the one in the previous subsection. First of all, the definition of Patient and Affected is actually of a syntactic nature. Furthermore, the approach that the same argument in different AS versions of a verb is assumed to be associated with different sets of roles questions

(weakens) the explanatory power of the rules based on these varying complex roles. Finally, I would like to refer to the general problems with semantically contentful thematic roles, summarized in the Introduction.

In my double role system there is a possibility for declaring a double Reflexivization Rule, a straightforward paraphrase of those based on thematic and syntactic hierarchies, mentioned in the previous subsection, in which there is no reference to contentful thematic roles but my two orders are referred to immediately:

(24) REFLEXIVIZATION RULE:

- (a) the bindee must not precede (<) the binder according to the relative order;
- (b) the bindee must not precede (<) the binder according to the absolute order.

Notice that (24a) corresponds to the syntactic hierarchy demonstrated in the previous subsection, while (24b) corresponds to the thematic hierarchies. Thus my double rule is a natural reconciliation of (the advantages of) these two approaches. Both subrules are of a semantic, and not of a syntactic, nature, however, because relative order is a semantic concept expressing the speaker's perspective on situations, which determines, and is not determined by, syntactic positions of arguments.

Furthermore, the separation of relative (speaker-dependent) features from absolute (event-dependent) features is more motivated than Wilkins' (1988) two thematic role classes (perceptual space / event structure). Her Patient and Affected are immediately related to syntactic positions while the other two thematic roles in the same thematic role class (Agent and Instrument) bear no such properties. In my system, however, it is obvious that relative roles are closely related to syntactic positions (cases) while absolute roles are to be calculated by means of a procedure where intricate semantic relations are considered.

A short comparison of my Reflexivization Rule to those mentioned in the previous subsection elucidates the difference between my abstract approach and systems of semantically contentful thematic roles. The idea of applying thematic hierarchies in the description of different lexical-semantic phenomena, as was mentioned in 1.6, is not new at all. There is a crucial difference, however, which is so important that I would like to repeat it. In a theory with a thematic hierarchy, it requires two arbitrary steps to determine the order of arguments in an AS: first an appropriate system of thematic roles should be established, and then an appropriate hierarchy should be assigned to them, whereas in my system argument order is calculated immediately, without any reference to (the content of) thematic roles.

Finally, I return to the problem that corresponding arguments in related AS versions may receive different role compounds in Wilkins's theory, obscuring their

correspondence. In my system their correspondence is clearly expressed by shared absolute roles while relative roles are just devoted to express the differences.

My “only” remaining task is to demonstrate the descriptive adequacy of my rule. Its application requires an auxiliary principle, which has not been embedded in the Reflexivization Rule because this principle is to be associated with every rule in my theory (Alberti 1993; 1994) where both role systems are referred to. The advantage of rules with a parallel reference to both role systems comes from the fact that not only unambiguously acceptable linguistic situations can be judged but also “clumsy” structures (in this latter case the subrule that refers to relative features is likely to be in conflict with the subrule that refers to absolute features). Let us look at the principle:

- (25) AVAILABILITY PRINCIPLE: Rules concerning relative roles are preferred to rules concerning absolute roles.

This preference means that if rules are in conflict, then it is more likely that out of the rules those referring to relative roles are satisfied and the others are violated than vice versa. This observation is plausible since relative roles are almost directly available for speakers (they bear a simple relation to surface cases or syntactic positions) while the calculation of absolute roles is fairly difficult.

2.3. English and Hungarian data

In this subsection I would like to look at the possible cases from the viewpoint of the Reflexivization Rule. Its two subrules are either in accordance, or in conflict, or one of them is irrelevant. Then I summarize the data in a table and examine the manifestation of the Availability Principle.

2.3.1. Reflexivization subrules in accordance

The simplest case is when an AS version includes two coreferring central arguments. The Extended Ordering Constraint ensures that in this case their absolute order will be the same as their relative order so the two subrules of the Reflexivization Rule will be in accordance:²⁷

²⁷ The following indications will be applied: the proposed binder will be marked with a double underline, and the bindee with a single underline. Both will be annotated with a reference to its relative position (both, stp, endp, Ø (neither)) and its absolute role (2, -1, 0, 1, 2,...), in this order. References to the higher (<) relative role and the higher (<) absolute role (lower number) will be written in **bold** letters.

- (26) (a) #Peter_[stp, -1] saw himself_[cndp, 0].
 (b) *Himself_[stp, -1] saw Peter_[cndp, 0].

Wilkins' (1988) two examples in (18)–(19) also belong to the unambiguous cases (#: acceptable, with an unacceptable inverse). The application of the (a) subrule of the Reflexivization Rule (24) is unambiguous, and there is no reason to think that the (b) subrule is in conflict with (24a). In these cases, thus, one argument out of the two coreferring ones, but not the other one, bears a central relative position and hence it also has an absolute role while the other argument has no absolute role. Clearly, the former argument should be the binder.

2.3.2. Reflexivization subrules in conflict

Neither the Extended Ordering Constraint, nor the Stability Constraint is violated if an AS includes two arguments, denoted by *p* and *q*, with the properties that $\text{rel}(p) < \text{rel}(q)$ (the former, but not the latter, is expressed as a central argument) but $\text{abs}(q) < \text{abs}(p)$ (*q* precedes *p* in the chain of influence). Which argument will be the binder? In other words, which reflexive construction will be correct out of the inverse variants? Let us analyze a few cases:

- (27) #Péter és Mari_[stp, 0] kiberultak egymástól_[ø, -1].²⁸
 Peter and Mary broke.down each.other-from
 'Peter and Mary broke down because of each other'

The # indicates that the inverse reflexive construction is entirely unacceptable. This is in accordance with the Availability Principle, with the specified interpretation that if the two subrules of the Reflexivization Rule are in conflict, the one that refers to relative features is to be taken into consideration.

As for the evaluation of acceptability of sentences, in addition to the customary denotations (* and ?), a special one will also be used: #, which means that the marked sentence is (more or less) acceptable whereas its inverse is undoubtedly unacceptable (to be marked with a *). I define the inverse of a reflexive construction as follows: if argument *p* is the binder and argument *q* is the bindee in an AS, then the inverse of this reflexive construction is to be produced by the replacement of the binder with the bindee in the given AS (with the result that *p* is the bindee and *q* is the binder). If word order makes it possible, I make the binder precede the bindee so as to get rid of the exclusion of a reflexive construction because of mere syntactic reasons.

²⁸ The annotations are based on the assumption that the following sentence is equivalent to the one in (27):

Péter és Mari _[·, 1]	kiberították	egymást _[0] .
Peter and Mary	broke.down-cause	each.other-acc

Wilkins' (1988) example (20) is also to be discussed here. First we should make some remarks on ASs with two objects. In Alberti (1993, B.3.2) I argue for regarding all three arguments of these bitransitive AS versions (the subject and the two objects) as central arguments. I call the relative role of the first object (the one immediately following the verb) an **intermediate** role, which precedes (<) the end-point relative role (and is preceded by the starting-point relative role of the subject, of course).²⁹ This relative order also determines the absolute roles below (see the last footnote again):

- (20') (a) #We sold the slave_[endp, 0] to himself_[σ, -1].
 (b) #We sold the slave_[med, -1] himself_[endp, 0].

In the bitransitive version (20'b), thus, the two subrules of the Reflexivization Rule are in accordance. I regard the 'prepositional' AS version (20'a) as semantically equivalent to the bitransitive version so the absolute roles are to be retained. This entails the violation of the absolute subrule in the prepositional AS version since the argument associated with the -1 absolute role is expressed as a non-central argument. The # above indicates what the Availability Principle predicts: the relative subrule is to be taken into consideration.

It is worth examining the Hungarian equivalent of the last example, too. There are no bitransitive verbs in Hungarian so a single Hungarian AS version corresponds to the two English versions, where the correspondent of the argument that bears the intermediate relative role in English is marked with the **dative** case. However, there are two entirely acceptable reflexive constructions:

- (28) (a) Eladtuk a rabszolgának magát.
 we.sold the slave-dat self-3sg-acc
 'We sold the slave himself'

²⁹ Not (only) the English word order has led me to this sequence but the fact that just this sequence meets the Extended Ordering Constraint. Let us consider a bitransitive AS version together with its passive form:

- (i) We_{stp} sold the rich man_{med} the slave_{endp}.
 (ii) The rich man_{stp} was sold the slave_{endp}.

In the passive form, the argument that bears the intermediate relative role (med) in the active form (*the rich man*, expressed as a subject in the passive form) precedes (according to the relative hierarchy) the argument that bears the endpoint relative role there (*the slave*), that is, the object position. This relative order in the passive form determines the same relative order in the active form, as well as a corresponding absolute order:

- (i) We_[stp, -2] sold the rich man_[med, -1] the slave_[endp, 0].
 (ii) The rich man_[stp, -1] was sold the slave_[endp, 0].

- (b) Eladtuk a rabszolgát magának.
 we.sold the slave-acc self-3sg-dat
 'We sold the slave to himself'

The fact that a reflexive construction and its inverse are both acceptable would be easy to explain in neither theory that applies some kind of (thematic or syntactic) hierarchy. My solution is based on the approach that the dative case is a central case (1.4) in Hungarian, which marks central arguments, of course, but these arguments have nothing to do with chains of influence, that is, with absolute roles. A whole section (C.3) is devoted to the discussion of this approach in Alberti (1993). Here I would like to mention a single argument.

The possessor is marked with the nominative or the dative case in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1992). These two possibilities are semantically equivalent and they are interchangeable within a possessive construction. A possessor, however, may be removed from the possessive construction and occupy any operator position of the sentence (topic, focus, etc., see É. Kiss 1987; 1992), which can be occupied otherwise by the arguments of the main verb. The removed possessor must be marked with dative. The dative case, thus, serves the purpose of highlighting a participant, which plays no role in the chain of influence described by the main verb in a sentence, since it is not an argument of this verb at all.

The example below, for instance, is the appropriate answer to the question *What has happened to your friends lately?*

- (28) (c) [Péternek]_{DP} megnősült [Ø a bátyja]_{DP}, és [Marinak]_{DP} egy autótólvaj karambolozott [Ø az autójával]_{NP}.
 Peter-dat got.married the brother-poss-3sg, and Mary-dat a car.robber got.into.collision the car-poss-3sg-with
 'P's brother has got married and a car robber has got into collision with M's car'

Clearly, the question does not concern Peter's brother and Mary's car, but indirectly Peter and Mary. The speaker who answers the question also attributes central roles to them despite that (s)he uses verbs which have no argument positions to refer to them. Thus the phrases marked with dative denote participants that are "outsiders" in the situations described by the verbs used but relevant to the speakers.

The role of the participant marked with dative in the situation described by the main verb is essentially **neutral** in comparison with that of a starting-point or an endpoint. Therefore, an argument does not receive an absolute role as a result of being expressed as a dative argument in an AS version. It receives, however, a relative role due to its typical central position. In C.3.1.2 of Alberti (1993), I argue for

assigning an **intermediate** relative position (between the only-starting-point and only-endpoint) to this neutral 'dative' relative role in the relative order.³⁰ This solution is in accordance with the fact that the typical English correspondent of the Hungarian 'dative' participant, the first object in a bitransitive AS, occupies the same (intermediate) relative position in the (English) relative hierarchy. The difference that the English, but not the Hungarian, intermediate relative role is associated with an absolute role is derivable from such differences between the two languages as, for instance, the mobility of the possessor (illustrated above), characteristic of only Hungarian, and the possibility for expressing the argument that has an intermediate relative role in an active AS version as the subject of a passive version, characteristic of only English (see C.3 in Alberti 1993 again).

This approach makes possible the following analysis of the double reflexive construction of *elad* 'sell':

- (28') (a) Eladtuk a rabszolgának_[dat, ø] magát_[cndp, 0].
 we.sold the slave-dat self-3sg-acc
- (b) Eladtuk a rabszolgát_[cndp, 0] magának_[dat, ø].
 we.sold the slave-acc self-3sg-dat
- 'We sold the slave to himself'

In the (a) version the relative subrule of the Reflexivization Rule is satisfied since the dative relative role precedes the endpoint in the relative order. The absolute subrule is violated in a strict sense if we regard an argument with an absolute role as preceding any argument that has no absolute role.³¹ Whereas in the (b) version it is the absolute subrule that is satisfied. This latter case violates the Availability Principle, at least in a **strict** sense, according to which only the reflexive construction that satisfies the relative subrule, but not its inverse, is allowed to be acceptable (this case is marked with #). A **weak** interpretation, however, may only require that the reflexive construction that satisfies the relative subrule should be acceptable, irrespective of the inverse. An argument in support of the weak interpretation is that the introduction of the dative relative role and its embedding into the relative hierarchy seems to be a peripheral grammatical principle, characteristic of only a few languages, and not a property of UG.

³⁰ In footnote 18 there are arguments for regarding the Georgian dative as a central argument of a similar, neutral, nature.

³¹ In another sense only arguments with absolute roles can be compared to each other. In this case the absolute subrule of the Reflexivization Rule is satisfied in both reflexivization constructions in (28).

The following analysis also illustrates the influence of the ‘suppressed’ absolute subrule:

- (29) (a) #Λ gyerekek_[stp, -1] ellenőrzik egymást_[endp, 0].
the children check each other-acc
‘The children look after each other’
- (b) Egymással_[ø, -1] ellenőriztetem a gyerekeket_[endp, 0].
each other-with check-cause-1sg the children-acc
‘I make the children look after each other’
- (c) ?Egymást_[endp, 0] ellenőriztetem a gyerekekkel_[ø, -1].
each other-acc check-cause-1sg the children-with

The AS version in (29a) is prior to the AS version in (29b–c). The argument of the agent (*children*) receives an absolute role –1 here. Hence the reflexive (reciprocal) construction in (29b) violates the absolute subrule of the Reflexivization Rule while that in (29c) violates the relative subrule. As is predicted by the Availability Principle, it is the variant in (29b) that is undoubtedly acceptable. The variant in (29c), however, is not entirely unacceptable either.³² I regard it as the manifestation of the fact that the variant in (29c) satisfies one (the weaker) subrule of the Reflexivization Rule.

It may also occur that the preferred relative subrule is satisfied though the violation of the other rule yields a sentence that is usually held to be not entirely correct (ex. 30c: ‘?’). If this fact is not only a consequence of the strange situation to be described, then it might demonstrate that out of similar AS versions the one where both subrules of the Reflexivization Rule can be satisfied at the same time is preferred to those where only either subrule can be met.

- (30) (a) #Péter egymásra_[ø, ø] dobálta a köveket_[endp, 0].
Peter each.other-onto threw the pebbles-acc
‘Peter threw the pebbles on each other (one after the other)’
- (b) *Péter a kövekre_[ø, ø] dobálta egymást_[endp, 0].
Peter the pebbles-onto threw each.other-acc
- (c) #.?Péter megdobálta a köveket_[endp, 1] egymással_[ø, 0].
Peter perf-threw the pebbles-acc each.other-with
‘Peter threw the pebbles at each other (one after the other)’

³² At least I find this variant (29c) significantly more acceptable than the one in (35d) (a bit later), though the same cases (nom, acc, ‘with’) appear in the two ASs. I argue that the difference in acceptability is due to the satisfaction of the absolute subrule in the one, but not in the other, case.

- (d) *Péter megdobálta a kövekkel_[ø, 0] egymást_[endp, 1].
 Peter perf-threw the pebbles-with each.other-acc

2.3.3. The rule concerning relative positions irrelevant

Now let us consider the problem represented by example (22).³³ What is relevant here is that though the coreferring arguments are both non-central, only one of them can be selected to be the binder. Why? What is the difference between the two apparently uniform arguments?

- (22) (a) We talked about Mary to Peter.
 (b) We talked to Peter about Mary.
 (c) We talked to Peter about himself.
 (d) *We talked about Peter to himself.

My analysis is based on the equivalence of the following sentences (the (a) version is semantically prior to the (b) version, and vice versa):

- (31) (a) Peter talked to John about Mary.
 (b) Peter and John talked about Mary.

I think that the difference between the two versions is just what is predicted by my theory: the absolute content of the two versions is more or less the same, while *John's* role in the conversation seems to be interpreted (by the speaker) as being more important in the (b) version where *John* is expressed as a subject. Thus I argue that the difference in meaning just comes from the difference in the relative content of the ASs. **Reciprocal verb formation** is a special way of the shuffle of relative roles in this approach: a non-central argument occupies a central relative position without replacing the argument that has borne that position.

In accordance with the spirit of my absolute roles, if two arguments in an AS version are marked with the same central case,³⁴ then they must be assigned the

³³ We can examine the problem also “in Hungarian” parallel with the English version (Wilkins 1988) because the judgment on the sentences are the same (and the whole argumentation in what follows is true for the Hungarian equivalents):

- (22) (e) Beszélgettünk Péterrel magáról.
 we.talked Peter-with self-3sg-about
 (f) *Beszélgettünk Péterről magával.
 we.talked Peter-about self-3sg-with

³⁴ That is, both are expressed, say, as a subject (or as an object)...

same absolute role because this particular AS version is to be regarded as an evidence for the fact that neither of them precedes the other in a chain of influence.³⁵

This principle has an interesting consequence, formulated below:

- (32) CLAIM: Suppose *u* and *v* are two AS versions of the same family, and both include arguments *p* and *q*. Then it is excluded that in AS *u*, *p* and *q* are expressed as subject and object, respectively, whereas in AS *v*, *p* and *q* are both expressed as either subject or object.³⁶

Now we are already in a position to point out the distinction between the argument marked with *to* and that marked with *about*. None of these arguments bear a relative role so the relative subrule of the Reflexivization Rule is irrelevant now. As for the absolute roles, the argument marked with *to* bears the same absolute role as the subject (namely, -1), while the other PP cannot be associated with any absolute role because there is no AS version where this argument is expressed as a central argument. It is plausible then to say that the argument marked with *to* precedes the argument marked with *about* according to the absolute order:

- (33) (a) [Peter and John]_[both, -1] talked about Mary_[ø, ø].
 (b) Peter_[both, -1] talked to John_[ø, -1] about Mary_[ø, ø].
 (c) #We talked to Peter_[ø, -1] about himself_[ø, ø].

³⁵ Details in footnote 154 in Alberti (1993).

³⁶ The claim says that only one of the symmetrical arguments is permitted to be marked with a central case if they are marked differently. Usually the one argument is a subject or object, and the other is a *with* or *to* object. For the sake of clarity, let us analyze the following ASs:

- (i) Péter és Mari csókolódtak.
 Peter and Mary kissed.one.another
 'Peter and Mary kissed one another'
 (ii) Péter csókolódzott Marival / *Marit.
 Peter kissed.one.another Mary-with / Mary-acc
 'Peter and Mary kissed one another'
 (iii) Péter megcsókolta Marit.
 Peter perf-kissed Mary-acc
 'Peter kissed Mary'
 (iv) *Péter és Mari megcsókolta.
 Peter and Mary perf-kissed

Clearly, the (i)/(ii) pair meets the claim: the arguments that occur in symmetrical central syntactic positions in an AS version cannot occur in two distinct central positions in another AS version. If two arguments occupy two distinct central positions (iii), then they cannot be expressed as symmetrical arguments in another AS version (iv). It is to be noted that (iii) is not semantically prior to (i) or (ii) because Peter's (Agent+Patient) role in (i) and (ii) does not correspond to either Peter's (Agent) role or Mary's (Patient) role in (iii). Hence, the AS version in (iii) does not belong to the family of (i) or (ii).

The following example illustrates another type of reflexive constructions where only the absolute subrule of the Reflexivization Rule is relevant:

- (34) (a) #Péter_[stp, -1] írt egy jellemzést magáról_[ø, ø].
 Peter wrote a characterization-acc self-3sg-about
 'Peter has written a characterization about himself'
- (b) #Írtattam Péterrel_[ø, -1] egy jellemzést magáról_[ø, ø].
 I.write-cause-Past Peter-with a characterization-acc self-3sg-about
 'I have made Peter write a characterization about himself'
- (c) *Írtattam Péterről_[ø, ø] egy jellemzést magával_[ø, ø].
 I.write-cause-Past Peter-about a characterization-acc self-3sg-with

The (a) version demonstrates that the 'writer' is assigned an absolute role –1 while the theme receives an absolute role in neither AS version. In (b–c) the writer occupies a non-central argument position as well as the theme but the absolute reflexive subrule selects it to be the binder because it, but not the theme, has an absolute role.

2.3.4. The rule concerning absolute positions irrelevant

The following example demonstrates that if the absolute roles of two arguments are judged to be the same on the basis of the fact that the verb may undergo reciprocal verb formation, that is, the absolute subrule of the Reflexivization Rule is irrelevant, then the relative subrule will determine the binder, not surprisingly:

- (35) (a) Összekevertem [a bort és a vizet]_[endp, 0].
 I.mixed the wine-acc and the water-acc
 'I mixed the wine and the water.'
- (b) Összekevertem a bort_[endp, 0] a vízzel_[ø, 0].
 I.mixed the wine-acc the water-with
- (c) #Összekevertem a folyadékokat_[endp, 0] egymással_[ø, 0].
 I.mixed the liquids-acc each.other-with
 'I mixed the liquids with each other.'
- (d) *Összekevertem a folyadékokkal_[ø, 0] egymást_[endp, 0].
 I.mixed the liquids-with each.other-acc

2.4. Comparison of the reflexivization subrules

I would like to summarize here the observations demonstrated in the previous subsection in order to elucidate the relation between the two subrules of the Reflexivization Rule and to point out the influence of the Availability Principle.

In certain reflexive constructions both subrules select the same argument to be the binder (they are 'in accordance'): (18, 19, 20b, 26a, 29a, 34a, 30a). In other cases one of the subrules is irrelevant in the sense that it permits a particular reflexive construction as well as its inverse at the same time. The other subrule selects the binder but the resulting reflexive construction will satisfy the irrelevant subrule, too: (33c, 34b, 35c).

Thus in every case mentioned in the previous paragraph both subrules are satisfied. The sentences are all entirely acceptable indeed. Moreover, they are marked with #, which means that the corresponding inverse reflexive constructions are entirely unacceptable.

Let us turn to the cases where the two subrules of the Reflexivization Rule are in conflict in the sense that one subrule unambiguously selects a particular argument to be the binder while the other subrule unambiguously selects another argument. That is, neither subrule is irrelevant. The Availability Principle predicts some kind of preference of the subrule concerning relative features to the subrule concerning absolute features. In certain cases this preference presents itself in a strict sense. Out of a reflexive construction and its inverse, the one that meets the relative subrule is acceptable while the other one is entirely unacceptable (#): (27, 20a, 30c³⁷). In other cases the reflexive construction selected by the relative subrule is acceptable (28a, 29b) but its inverse is also more or less acceptable (!: 28b; ?: 29c).

The following table shows the relation between the Reflexivization Rule and the degree of acceptability of different reflexive construction types:

abs. subrule rel. subrule	satisfied	irrelevant	violated
satisfied	#	#	# ! (?)
irrelevant	#		*
violated	! ? *	*	*

As is predicted by the Availability Principle, there is a slight asymmetry between the influence of the two subrules on acceptability of reflexive constructions. I am sure that quantitative examinations would exhibit that, in a great majority of the cases (or types) where the two subrules are in conflict, the relative sub-

³⁷ (30c) is a bit exceptional. This sentence is undoubtedly clumsy (?) but it is the only not entirely unacceptable reflexive construction that represents the intended coreferential relation between certain arguments of this AS version of *dob* 'throw'.

rule unambiguously determines the reflexive construction (#).³⁸ This table also shows the asymmetry: there is no * in the right upper corner and there is no # in the left lower corner.

The wide variety of degrees of acceptability in these two corners, however, verifies that an elaborated analysis of lexical-semantic criteria of binding relations requires a double argument hierarchy indeed.

3. Summary

I would like to sum up the main purposes that this article is intended to serve.

The beginning point is that traditional, semantically contentful, thematic roles (e.g. Agent, Patient, Experiencer) are unavoidably vague. Boundaries of their meaning content are not clear-cut and their determination is always uncertain. Consequently, every grammatical principle, rule or constraint involving reference to thematic roles has a decreased explanatory power.

These phenomena have led me to the conclusion that we need roles whose content is clear-cut, and hence more abstract. The content of the roles demonstrated in this article is nothing else but **polarity** (+/–) and two kinds of (partial) **order** (relative and absolute hierarchy of arguments). My principles, rules and constraints involve reference only to these abstract features. I regard it as an undoubtedly advantageous property of my theory in comparison with traditional thematic theories. Some questions should be answered, of course:

I. How can my abstract roles be determined?

II. What is the intuition behind them?

III. In what sense can I call the theory based on my roles a 'thematic theory'?

IV. Why do I think that my theory can be a substitute of full value for traditional thematic theories?

► I. This article does not include the entire definitions and algorithms required (but see Alberti 1994 and Chapter 2 of Alberti 1997). In spite of this I hope that the details and examples mentioned suffice to convince the reader that my methods are based on syntactic, morphological and logical phenomena and human intuitions

³⁸ Another kind of asymmetry may result from scrutinizing particular relative roles. For instance, the argument that occupies the most "valuable" relative role in an AS version (both stp. and endp., or only-stp.), that is, the subject in English or Hungarian, must always be selected to be the binder, without respect to its absolute role. As could be seen, the only case where an acceptable reflexive construction violates the relative subrule is the one where the coreferring arguments have a dative and an endpoint relative role (28). Their relation is determined by a peripheral (Hungarian-specific) principle.

that make possible a sufficient extent of the determination of my abstract roles. Otherwise, the determination of roles and their capacity for describing 'thematic' phenomena can be regarded as two independent questions. Calculability of roles is itself a favourable property of a system and it is an independent requirement that roles should bear less rich and vague semantic content.

› II. Well-defined concepts also require clear background intuitions. These intuitions do not substitute for definitions but they suggest that the formal system based on definitions will 'work' and describe real phenomena indeed.

Polarity (+/–) is a two-valued evaluation of agentivity. **Absolute order** between arguments reflects influence exertion between participants of situations described by verbs (AS families). **Relative order** is assigned to a single AS version and expresses the speaker's relative perspective on a situation. The intuition behind the separation of absolute roles and relative roles corresponds to that behind Dowty's (1991) separation of event-dependent and speaker-dependent features of thematic roles. The relation of these intuitions to the defined concepts is that the latter are 'grammaticalized' correspondents of the former. If an AS version describes a situation where the polarity and order of participants are straightforward to speakers, then they coincide with the 'grammatical' argument polarity and order. Otherwise, these 'grammatical' features provide a possible interpretation of a situation out of several variants, or describe nothing real (as grammatical gender often does, for instance).

› III. I regard the theory introduced in this article as a 'thematic theory' on the basis that I would like to account for the same grammatical phenomena as thematic theories usually intend to account for. As definitions and theorems of traditional thematic theories do not constitute 'theories' in a formal (mathematical) sense (see e.g. Partee *et al.* 1990), I cannot provide a more exact definition of this equivalence either. What I can do is re-formulate traditional theories' rules, principles and constraints that have proved successful in describing the relevant lexical-semantic problems.

› IV. This program has been carried out in two fairly informal first sketches of the theory (Alberti 1988, 1992–93), in my dissertation (Alberti 1993), in articles on passivization (Alberti 1994; 1996a, b), in this article, and in a book (Alberti 1997). I think that such a wide range of lexical-semantic phenomena has been described (in this article, for instance, in the area of binding problems) that it cannot be regarded as an accident that my system could be applied in certain areas.

My general hypothesis is that an abstract double role system like this provides the level of lexical-semantic representation just relevant to the description of 'grammatical facts'. The level of traditional thematic roles seems too rich. That is why their boundaries are so obscure, which has resulted in a very limited applica-

tion of thematic roles in several theories of grammar. In transformational generative theories (Chomsky 1981; 1995; Williams 1994; 1995), for instance, their (semantic) content is practically entirely ignored ('bare' theta theory).

I hope that this article will serve as a step towards the creation of a sufficiently exact and grammatically relevant level of lexical-semantic description.

References

- Alberti, G. 1988. Tau modell (a természetes nyelv egy függvényszerkezetes modellje) [Model Tau: a natural language representation by means of functions]. In: Műhelymunkák a nyelvészet és társtudományai köréből [Working Papers of the Research Institute for Linguistics, Budapest] 4: 3–39.
- Alberti, G. 1992–93. Hatáslánc [Causal chains]. In: Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 93: 137–59.
- Alberti, G. 1993. Model Tau: a formal theory of thematic roles. Dissertation at the Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.
- Alberti, G. 1994. Model Tau: a formal theory of thematic roles. In: Bánréti, Z. (ed.): Papers in the theory of grammar, 184–235. Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.
- Alberti, G. 1996a. Passzivizálási művelet a magyarban [Passivization in Hungarian]. In: Maleczki, M.–Büky, L. (eds): Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány 37: 7–46.
- Alberti, G. 1996b. Passivization in Hungarian. Paper read at the 3rd International Conference on Hungarian. Published 1998. In: Kenesei, I.–de Groot, C. (eds): Approaches to Hungarian 6: 103–21. JATE, Szeged.
- Alberti, G. 1997. Argument selection. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.
- Anderson, S. R. 1977. Comments on the paper by Wasow. In: Culicover, P.–Wasow, T.–Akmajian, A. (eds): Formal syntax. 361–77. Academic Press, New York.
- Baker, M. 1983. Objects, themes and lexical rules in Italian. In: Levin, L.–Rappaport, M.–Zaenen, A. (eds): Papers in Lexical-Functional Grammar, 1–45. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington IN.
- Bresnan, J. 1982. (ed.): The mental representation of grammatical relations. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Bresnan, J.–Kanerva, J. 1989. Locative inversion in Chichewa: a case study of factorization in grammar. In: Linguistic Inquiry 20: 1–50.
- Bresnan, J.–Moshi, L. 1990. Object asymmetries in comparative Bantu syntax. In: Linguistic Inquiry 21: 147–85.
- Burzio, L. 1981. Intransitive verbs and Italian auxiliaries. Ph. D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.
- Carrier-Duncan, J. 1985. Linking of thematic roles in derivational word formation. In: Linguistic Inquiry 16: 1–34.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. Lectures on government and binding. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. The minimalist program. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Dowty, D. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. In: Language 67: 547–619.
- É. Kiss, K. 1987. Configurationality in Hungarian (Studies in natural language and linguistic theory). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, and Reidel, Dordrecht.

- É. Kiss, K. 1992. Az egyszerű mondat szerkezete [Structure of the simple sentence]. In: Kiefer, F. (ed.): *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan. I. Mondattan* [A structural Hungarian grammar. I. Syntax]. 79–177. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Fillmore, C.J. 1968. The case for case. In: Bach, E. – Harms, R.T. (eds): *Universals in linguistic theory*, 1–88. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Grimshaw, J. 1990. *Argument structures*. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Gruber, J.S. 1965. *Studies in lexical relations*. Ph. D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.
- Jackendoff, R. 1972. *X-bar-syntax: a study of phrase structure*. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Jackendoff, R. 1987. The status of thematic relations in linguistic theory. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 18: 369–411.
- Kamp, H. – Rossdeutscher, A. 1994. Remarks on lexical structure and DRS construction. In: *Theoretical Linguistics* 20: 97–165.
- Keenan, E. 1984. Semantic correlates of the ergative / absolutive distinction. In: *Linguistics* 22: 197–223.
- Komlósy, A. 1992. Régensek és vonzatok [Predicators and arguments]. In: Kiefer, F. (ed.): *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan. I. Mondattan* [A structural Hungarian grammar. I. Syntax]. 299–527. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Levin, B. – Rappaport, M. 1988. What to do with theta-roles? In: Wilkins, W. (ed.): *Syntax and semantics* 21: Thematic relations, 7–36. Academic Press, San Diego.
- Neidle, C. 1982. *The role of case in Russian syntax*. Ph. D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.
- Nichigauchi, T. 1984. Control and the thematic domain. In: *Language* 60: 215–60.
- Partee, B.H. – ter Meulen, A.G.B. – Wall, R.E. 1990. *Mathematical methods in linguistics*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Perlmutter, D. 1978. The unaccusative hypothesis and multiattachment: Italian evidence. Paper presented to the Harvard Linguistics Circle, May 9.
- Pesetzky, D. 1982. *Paths and categories*. Ph. D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge MA.
- Szabolcsi, A. 1992. *A birtokos szerkezet és az egzisztenciális mondat* [The possessive construction and the existential sentence]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Wilkins, W. 1988. Thematic structure and reflexivization. In: Wilkins, W. (ed.): *Syntax and semantics* 21: Thematic relations. 191–213. Academic Press, San Diego.
- Williams, E. 1994. *Thematic structure in syntax*. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Williams, E. 1995. Theta Theory. In: Webelhuth, G. (ed.): *Government and Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program. Principles and parameters in syntactic theory*, 99–124. Basil Blackwell, Cambridge MA.

Address of the author: Gábor Alberti
 Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem
 7624 Pécs, Ifjúság útja 6.
 e-mail: albi@btk.jpte.hu

THE SPEAKER AS OBSERVER: RUSSIAN COLOR VERBS IN *-sja* AND DEIXIS*

ALINA ISRAELI

Abstract

The article examines color verbs in *-sja* and their non-*sja* counterparts (such as *belet'sja* and *belet'*). The data analysis reveals that the color verbs in *-sja* represent a deictic feature of "distance" between the speaker/narrator (P^S) and the described object (P^n_c). Color verbs (both with and without *-sja*) may be used in existential as well as descriptive statements, with VS and SV word order respectively. The analysis of examples with human P^n_c demonstrates that the object is perceived as a silhouette. All of these findings, however, even though they are part of the competence of native speakers of Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR), represent the state of the past. In CSR, preference is given to the non-*sja* counterparts of the color verbs.

1. Preliminary remarks

A number of *-sja* verbs are defined in dictionaries¹ as having the same meaning as their non-*sja* counterparts. These verbs can be divided into two groups: those that are related to adjectives of color, and those that are not. This article will examine the former group.

According to the dictionaries, the group of verbs related to adjectives of color (they all mean 'to appear, to be seen by the color') includes the following:

<i>alet'sja</i>	'scarlet'	<i>belet'sja</i>	'white'
<i>černet'sja</i>	'black'	<i>krasnet'sja</i>	'red'
<i>pestret'sja</i>	'motley'	<i>rdet'sja</i>	'crimson'
<i>sinet'sja</i>	'blue'	<i>zelenet'sja</i>	'green'
<i>želtet'sja</i>	'yellow'		

* I would like to thank Valentina Zaitseva for her comments and suggestions.

¹ See Akademija Nauk SSSR (1950-1965; 1958), and Ožegov (1988).

If we compare these verbs with their non-*sja* counterparts, we will notice that the non-*sja* verb has several meanings, while the -*sja* verb has only one: 'to appear, to show, to stand out with its color'. This is the only meaning in which the verbs with and without -*sja* are synonymous, and this is the only meaning of non-*sja* verbs that will be examined here.

2. Distance and indistinctness

Janko-Trinickaja (1961, 60–81; 1962, 225–40) compares examples in which *černet'* and *černet'sja* both express the meaning "vyjavlenie priznaka cveta" (Janko-Trinickaja 1961, 66). The two sets of examples from which she draws her conclusions are presented in (1) – (3) vs. (4) – (6):

- (1) Vokrug vysokogo čela, Kak tuči, lokony **černejut**. (Puškin: Poltava)
'Around his high forehead, his curls are black, like storm clouds.'
- (2) Usnuv pod beregom reki, **černejut** utki, kak komki. (N. Nekrasov: Nesčastnye)
'Fallen asleep under the bank of the river, there are black ducks, like lumps of earth.'
- (3) Po mšistym topkim beregam **černeli** izby zdes' i tam, Prijut ubogogo čuxonca... (Puškin: Mednyj vsadnik)
'Along the mossy, swampy beaches, there were black huts here and there, the refuge of a wretched Finn.'
- (4) Posmotrite, doktor; vidite li vy, na skale napravo **černejutsja** tri figury? (Lermontov: Geroj našego vremeni)
'Look, doctor, do you see that on the rock at the right there are three black figures (three figures seen as black)?'
- (5) Xolm, pokrytyj pelenoju snega; na ego veršine **černeljsja** kamennyj krest. (Lermontov: Geroj našego vremeni)
'A hill covered by a blanket of snow; on its top there is a black stone cross.'
- (6) Morozno. Ravniny belejut pod snegom, **černeetsja** les vpered. (N. Nekrasov: Moroz Krasnyj nos)
'It's frosty. The plains are white under the snow, there is a black forest ahead.'

Janko-Trinickaja's conclusion is as follows: the non-*sja* verb has a wider meaning of manifestation/expression of the color, expressing either a steady feature (as in (1)), or just a feature without any reference to its nature (as in (2)), or a feature expressed less steadily and less firmly (as in (3)). Its -*sja* counterpart has only one meaning: the feature expressed less steadily and less firmly (as in (4) – (6)).² In other words, -*sja* color verbs represent a semantic subset of non-*sja* color verbs with only one possible meaning: non-distinct expression of the color.

Following Janko-Trinickaja, Rozental' (1974) and Švedova *et al.* (1980) draw the same conclusion. Rozental' explicitly refers to her article. Gerritsen (1990, 41) writes: "the two differences mentioned [by Šaxmatov and Aksakov] are interrelated: with *V* the clearness of the manifestation of the color points to a lasting property, with *Vsja* the vagueness points to a property conditioned by circumstances (like distance, foggy weather, etc.)."

Indeed, if we examine Janko-Trinickaja's examples with *-sja* more closely, there is a substantial distance between the speaker (or "position" of the narrator) and the described object. In the first example of this group, sentence (4), the three figures are up on the rock. In addition, the distance is emphasized by the apparent difficulty of the addressee seeing the object:

(4) vidite li vy, na skale napravo černejsja tri figury?

'do you see that on the rock at the right there are three black figures (three figures seen as black)?'

Similarly, in the second example, sentence (5), the object *kamennyj krest* is high up on the hill. And in the third, sentence (6), the narrator is separated from the forest ahead by a snow-covered plain. So it is clear how Janko-Trinickaja drew her intuitive conclusion. The meaning of the *-sja* verbs is 'non-distinct', because it is 'distant'.

This 'distant' meaning was attributed much earlier to the color verbs with *-sja* by Černyšev (1915, 282):

Bez *-sja* oni [rassmatrivaemye glagoly] označajut postepennoe usvoenie kakogo-libo kačestva... formy s *-sja* pokazyvajut to čto predstavljaetsja našemu zreniju **izdali**³... Odnako čti značeniya davno smešivajutsja. Govorim: *Posmotrite, čto tam izdali černeet* (ili *černeetsja*). I u avtorov naxodim: *Beleet parus odinokij*. Lermontov (vmesto *beleetsja*). – *Prjamo pered nami*... *želtelo ovsjanoe pole*. Turgenev (vmesto *želtelos*).

² As Janko-Trinickaja (1961, 66-67) states, "Iz sopostavlenija dannyx primerov možno ustanovit', čto nevozvratnyj glagol imeet bolee širokoe značenie vyjavlenija dannogo priznaka voobščee, oboznačaja v odnix slučajax priznak, pojavljajuščijsja četko (lokony černejut), v drugix slučajax – priznak bez ukazanija na xarakter ego projavlenija (černejut utki) i v tret'ix – priznak, pojavljajuščijsja mence četko i mence stojko (černeli izby). Sopostavimyj že vozvratnyj glagol bednee ètimi tonkimi semantičeskimi ottenkami, oboznačaja tol'ko odin priznak, pojavljajuščijsja mence četko i mence stojko (černejsja figury, černelsja krest, černeetsja les)."

³ Emphasis added.

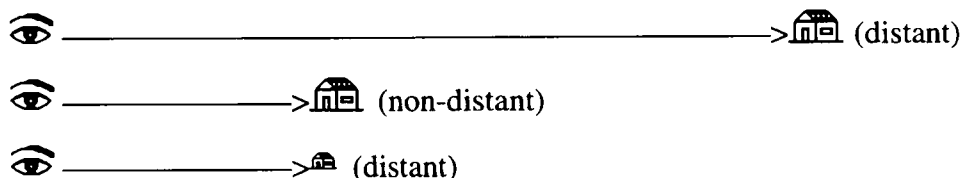
I have collected in all thirty-nine literary examples with *-sja* color verbs; thirty-two of them have the explicitly 'distant' meaning, that is, the object described is explicitly well-removed from the narrator, such as in the following examples, as well as in (24) – (26) and (30) – (33) below:

- (7) ... **pestrejutsja** vdali vse bogatstva Rossii. (V. Sollogub: Tarantas)
'... there in the distance are all the motley riches of Russia.'
- (8) Solnce ešče ne pokazyvalos', no legkie oblaka **rdelis'** na vostoce. (Zagoskin: Askol'dova mogila)
'The sun had not been out yet, but light clouds were crimson in the East.'
- (9) Čto tam **sineetsja**? Kak izdali uznat'?.. Byt' možet les, byt' možet tuči... (F. Glinka: Smert' Fignera)
'What's that blue thing over there? How can one know from afar?.. Maybe a forest, maybe dark clouds...'
- (10) Skol'ko ni vgljadyvalsja Rostov v ètu tumannuju dal', on ničego ne videl: to **serelos'**, to budto **černelos'** čto-to. (L. Tolstoj: Vojna i mir)
'No matter how much Rostov looked into the foggy distance, he could not see anything; there was something grey or maybe black.'

And so on. The use of a *-sja* verb instead of its non-*sja* counterpart in order to express the distance from the speaker/narrator (P^S) to the object / participant of the narrated event (P^N) constitutes a case of **place deixis**, as defined by Fillmore (1975, 16): "place deixis has to do with linguistic expression of the speaker's perception of his position in three-dimensional space." In this case, it is the speaker's perception of the distance from the described object. Sometimes this can be translated as a difficulty of perception.

However, the perceived distance cannot be measured in absolute terms or units, since human perception of distance depends on the size of the object described. Figure 1 illustrates the concept of relative distance. What is perceived as non-distant for a larger object can be perceived as distant for a much smaller object.

Fig. 1.



The following examples illustrate this fact:

- (11) [Ivan Ivanovič], k neskazannomu udivljeniju svoemu, uvidel čto-to **krasnevšeesja** v kalitke. Èto byl krasnyj obšlag gorodničego. (Gogol': Povest' o tom kak possorilis' Ivan Ivanovič i Ivan Nikiforovič)
'[Ivan Ivanovič], to his unutterable surprise, saw something red at the garden gate. It was the police captain's red cuff.'

In this example, the object at first cannot be identified. From the second sentence we see why: it is too small to be clearly visible even though the distance is not great, and in addition the gate presents an obstruction to its view.

In the next example, just as in the previous one, there is a larger obstruction in addition to the smallness of the colored object described:

- (12) ... okolo kryl'ca meždu kamnjami **zelenelas'** mšistaja travka. (L. Tolstoj: Junost')
'... near the porch between the stones, there was green mossy grass.'

There are altogether four such examples among those which I have collected.

One other example can be considered 'distant' on a different basis, however:

- (13) Golodnaja kuma Lisa zalezla v sad, V nem vinogradu kisti **rdelis'**. (Krylov: Lisica i Vinograd)
'The hungry Fox got into the garden; in it there were crimson (ripe) bunches of grapes.'

If we examine the plot line of this fable, we notice that even though the Fox could see the grapes well, she **could not reach** them and consequently decided that the grapes were no good and were not worth her efforts. The position of the Pⁿ is perceived as well-removed and can be considered 'distant'.

In all of the other examples given above, the object may be characterized as "difficult to see", due to distance. Consequently, thirty-seven out of thirty-nine examples can be characterized as 'distant', and 'distant' should be considered the meaning of *-sja* when it is attached to color verbs. The remaining two examples, (49) and (56), will be accounted for later.

3. Existential vs. descriptive use; the object as silhouette

As Gerritsen (1990, 41) following Bulygina (1982) points out, "with color verbs an observer is always present on the scene..." Indeed, the constructions with color verbs presuppose a speaker/ observer (P^{s/o}) of a certain object. The speaker always assumes the point of view of the observer even if speaker ≠ observer. Thus, the necessary ele-

ments of a statement are Speaker / Observer ($P^{s/o}$) and Colored Object (P^n_c). Yet, neither the speaker nor the addressee (P^s_2) can be that Colored Object, that is,

$$P^{s/o} \neq P^n_c; P^s_2 \neq P^n_c.$$

In other words, sentences with any other than third person form are impossible, even though grammatical forms exist and their formation poses no problem:

- (14) *Ja belejus', černejus' / beleju, černeju etc.

'I am seen as white, black, etc.'

- (15) *Vy sineetes' / sineete etc.

'You are seen as blue, etc.'

On the other hand, as Schenker⁴ pointed out, sentences such as (16a) are also incorrect. And so are sentences without *-sja* (cf. (16b)):

- (16) (a) *Moj brat černeetsja.

'My brother is seen as black.'

- (b) *Moj brat černeet.

'My brother is seen as black.'

One of the reasons for this is that *-sja* and non-*sja* verbs of color belong to the existential type of verbs. The existential quality of non-*sja* verbs of color was already discussed by Arutjunova and Širjaev (1983, 117–8). Their discussion can be extended for the *-sja* verbs of color, since these represent a semantic subset of non-*sja* color verbs.

Let us examine their examples:

- (17) Na gazonax **zeleneet trava**.

'The grass is green on the lawns.'

- (18) Pod lučami zaxodjaščego solnca **belejut kolokol'ni**, blestjat kresty cerkvej. (V. Veresaev)

'Under the rays of the setting sun, the bell-towers are white and the crosses of the churches shine.'

- (19) Za školjo široko **belela voda** mestnoj Ricy v golyx glinistyx beregax. (E. Nosov)

'Behind the school there was the white water of the local Rica within bare clay banks'

- (20) Okolo rodnika **zeleneet** korotkaja, barxatnaja **travka**. (I. Turgenev)

'Near the spring there was short velvety green grass.'

⁴ Personal communication, March 6, 1991.

- (21) *Prjamo pred nami, na drugom beregu, želtelo ovsjanoe pole.* (I. Turgenev)
 'Directly in front of us, on the other shore, there was a yellow rye field.'
 (22) *Na lužajkax, meždu širokimi kustami, alela zemljanika.* (I. Turgenev)
 'On the lawns between the wide bushes, there were scarlet wild strawberries.'
 (23) *V razvod'jax meždu nimi [tučami] sinelo nebo.* (E. Nosov)
 'In the breaks between them [the dark clouds] there was blue sky.'

What is common to all of these sentences is the word order: VS, the subject always follows the predicate, which indicates that the subject (or the predicate plus subject) represents "new" information, the rheme of the utterance (cf., for example, Barxudarov 1975, 113–4). In all of the above examples, the existential quality of the color verb takes primacy over its descriptive quality.

We find the same sentence structure with *-sja* color verbs, that is, the subject follows the verb, in the examples (4) – (6) given by Janko-Trinickaja, and in the following additional examples:

- (24) *Množestvo nizen'kix domikov... mel'kali iz-za derev, a dal'se sinelis' zubčatoju stenoj gory.* (Lermontov: *Geroj našego vremeni*)
 'A multitude of short houses... were flashing behind the trees, and farther away there were blue mountains like a cogged wall.'
 (25) *... dal'nij bereg Kryma... končaetsja utesom, na veršine koego beleetsja majačnaja bašnja...* (Lermontov: *Geroj našego vremeni*)
 '... the far coast of Crimea... ends in a cliff, on the top of which there is a white lighthouse...'
 (26) *... okolo kryl'ca meždu kamnjami zelenelas' mšistaja travka.* (L. Tolstoj: *Junost'*)
 '... near the porch between the stones, there was green mossy grass.'

In all of the above examples, the *-sja* color verbs have the existential quality, thus introducing the subjects.

However, there may be situations where SV word order is possible. In all of the following non-*sja* examples, the existential quality of the verb remains while the descriptive quality is more prominent:

- (27) *Molodye eli nežno zeleneli pušistymi molodymi pobegami.* (Tolstoj: *Vojna i mir*)
 'The fluffy young sprouts of the young fir trees looked tenderly green.'
 (28) *Ja vernulsja iz Arkony, gde polja ot krovi rdejut.* (A.K. Tolstoj: *Borivoj*)
 'I returned from Arkona, where the fields are crimson from blood.'
 (29) *Doroga sploš' černela grjaz'ju i sverkala lužami.* (Saltykov-Ščedrin: *Gospoda Golovlevy*)
 'The road everywhere was black from dirt and shiny from puddles.'

Of all the examples collected with non-*sja* color verbs about three-quarters represent the existential quality of the color verb.

SV examples can also be found among the *-sja* color verbs:

- (30) Solnce ešče ne pokazyvalos', no legkie **oblaka rdelis'** na vostoce. (Zagoskin: Askol'dova mogila)
'The sun had not been out yet, but the light clouds were crimson in the East.'
- (31) **Mesjac** stal nad rekoj, čut' **krasneetsja**. (Polonskij: Zimnjaja pesnja rusalok)
'The moon stood over the river, faintly red.'
- (32) **Sady** kak ostrova **zelenejutsja** sredi toščej ravniny. (Griboedov: Putevyje zapiski)
'The gardens, like islands, are green amidst barren plains.'
- (33) **Skirdy želtelis'** tam i tam. (Jazykov: Trigorskoe)
'Yellow haystacks stood here and there.'

Of all the examples collected with *-sja* color verbs about two-thirds represent existential use of the *-sja* color verb.

In order to examine the limitations imposed by the existential feature of the color verbs and to find out how sentences (16b) and (16a) can be changed in order to become acceptable and what their possible contexts could be, let us consider the following examples:

- (34) (a) Ja vxožu v komnatu. ***Moj brat černeet** v okne.
'I enter the room. My brother appears black in the window.'

Since the existence (or rather the presence) of "my brother" is not introduced in the first of the two sentences, the nonexistential use of the color verb is impossible.

- (34) (b) Ja vxožu v komnatu. ***V okne černeet moj brat**.
'I enter the room. In the window there is my brother seen as black.'

Sentence (34b) is incorrect because the color verbs do not just describe objects but describe them as they appear to the observer: the brother himself is not of black color (or white color, depending on the time of day and where the light is coming from); it is his silhouette that appears black to the observer.

- (34) (c) Ja vxožu v komnatu. ***Figura moego brata černeet** v okne.
'I enter the room. The figure of my brother appears black in the window.'

Sentence (34c) is incorrect for the same reason as (34a). The only possible sentence is the one presented in (34d):

- (34) (d) Ja vxožu v komnatu. V okne **černeet figura moego brata**.

'I enter the room. In the window there appears the black figure of my brother.'

Extending the same possibilities onto the *-sja* verbs, we find the following:

- (35) (a) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal'. ***Moj brat černeetsja** na gorizonte.

'I look into the distance. My brother appears black on the horizon.'

- (b) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal'. ***Figura moego brata černeetsja** na gorizonte.

'I look into the distance. The figure of my brother appears black on the horizon.'

- (c) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal'. ***Na gorizonte černeetsja moj brat**.

'I look into the distance. On the horizon there appears my brother (seen as black).'

- (d) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal'. Na gorizonte **černeetsja figura moego brata**.

'I look into the distance. On the horizon there is the black figure of my brother.'

The only acceptable example is (35d) with VS word order and a physical description of exactly what appears to the viewer.

Let us examine the case when the existence (presence) of the brother is introduced in the first of the two sentences:

- (36) (a) Ja vxožu v komnatu i vižu brata. ***V okne černeet moj brat /on**.

'I enter the room and see my brother. There in the window is my brother / he (seen as black).'

- (b) Ja vxožu v komnatu i vižu brata. ***V okne černeet figura moego brata /ego figura**.

'I enter the room and see my brother. In the window there is the black figure of my brother / his black figure.'

Examples (36a) – (36b) are incorrect because in both cases the second sentence is existential, while the first sentence has already introduced "the brother". In other words, the VS order is not acceptable, because both sentences introduce the same rheme.

Let us examine the SV order sentences:

- (36) (c) Ja vxožu v komnatu i vižu brata. ***On černeet v okne**.

'I enter the room and see my brother. He appears black in the window.'

- (d) Ja vxožu v komnatu i vižu brata. **Ego figura černeet v okne**.

'I enter the room and see my brother. His figure appears black in the window.'

Sentence (36c) is incorrect for the same reason that (36b) is incorrect. Sentence (36d), on the other hand, which adds the description of the perceived sight, is correct.

Let us examine the analogous change to the sentences with *-sja* verbs:

- (37) (a) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal' i vižu brata. *Na gorizonte **černeetsja moj brat /on**.
 'I look into the distance and see my brother. On the horizon there is my brother /he seen as black.'
 (b) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal' i vižu brata. *Na gorizonte **černeetsja figura moego brata /ego figura**.
 'I look into the distance and see my brother. On the horizon there is the black figure of my brother /his black figure.'

Sentences (37a) – (37b) are incorrect for the same reasons as (36a) – (36b).

- (37) (c) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal' i vižu brata. ***Moj brat / on černeetsja** na gorizonte.
 'I look into the distance and see my brother. My brother / he appears black on the horizon.'
 (d) Ja vgljadyvajus' v dal' i vižu brata. **Ego figura černeetsja** na gorizonte.
 'I look into the distance and see my brother. His figure appears black on the horizon.'

The outcome of sentences (37c) – (37d) is parallel to that of sentences (36c) – (36d). The main difference is that the element of "distance" has to be explicitly introduced in order to make the *-sja* sentences plausible.

I would like to emphasize the fact that in all of the correct sentences ((34d), (35d), (36d), and (37d)), as well as in Janko-Trinickaja's example (4), the human object is described as a shape, a silhouette that appears black to the observer.

4. Confusion

If we consider the primary meaning of color verbs with *-sja* to be 'seen from a distance', the usage of color verbs with and without *-sja* indeed does get confused, as Černyšev pointed out. For example, we find the following nearly identical quotes from Puškin:

- (38) Vdrug ja uvidel čto-to černoje. "Èj, jamščik! – zakričal ja, – smotri: čto tam takoe **černeetsja**?"
 Jamščik stal vsmatrivat'sja. (Puškin: Kapitanskaja dočka)
 'All of a sudden I saw something black. "Hey, coachman," I shouted, "look, what is that black thing over there?"' The coachman began to look into the distance.'
 (39) Nakonec v storone **čto-to stalo černet'**. Vladimir povorotil tuda. Približajas', uvidel on rošču. (Puškin: Metel')
 'Finally something black appeared to the side. Vladimir turned towards it. Coming closer he saw a grove.'

In both cases the object is indistinct—*čto-to*; in both cases the object is far away and hard to see. One would expect *černet'sja* in both cases.

Or compare these two examples:

- (40) **Vdali belelis'** kamennye gory... (Karamzin: Ostrov Borngol'm)
'In the distance there were white stone mountains. . .'
(41) **Vdali želteli** pesčanye boka gor, a na nix sinel les. (Gončarov: Obryv)
'In the distance there were yellow sand slopes of mountains, and on top of them was a blue forest.'

In these two examples, the distance is expressed the same way—*vdali*, the object described is the same—*gory*, and the syntactic constructions are identical. Given the distance, in both cases *-sja* verbs should have been used, while in actuality we find the *-sja* construction only in the older text.

Černyšev (1915) cites two examples of confusion of uses of *-sja* and non-*-sja* verbs:

- (42) **Beleet** parus odinokij. (Lermontov: Parus)
'There shimmers a lone white sail.'
(43) **Prjamo pered nami... želtelo** ovsjanoe pole.
'Right in front of us... there was a yellow field of oats.'

In (42), Černyšev was indeed correct: the 'distant' *-sja* verb should have been used ("Beleet parus odinokij **V tumane morja** golubom"). In (43), the object is not far away (*prjamo pered nami*), and what is more important, it covers a vast space. In all of the collected examples referring to a vast space, only non-*-sja* verbs of color are used; nowhere do we find a *-sja* verb:

- (6) Morozno. **Ravniny belejut** pod snegom, **černeetsja** les vpered. (N. Nekrasov: Moroz Krasnyj nos)
'It's frosty. The plains are white under the snow, there is a black forest ahead.'
(44) **Vdali šumit** dremučij bor, **belejut** snežnye **ravniny**. (Ryleev: Vojnarovskij)
'In the distance the pine forest rustles, there are snowy white plains.'
(45) **Step'** veselo **pestreet** cvetami. (Kuprin: V nedrax zemli)
'The steppe is merrily bright with flowers.'
(46) Ja vernulsja iz Arkony, gde **polja** ot krovi **rdejut**. (A. K. Tolstoj: Borivoj)
'I returned from Arkona, where the fields are crimson with blood.'
(47) I **polja** uže rezko **černejut** pašnjami i jarko **zelenejut** ozimjami. (Bunin: Antonovskie jabloki)
'And the fields are already distinctively black from plowing and green from winter crops.'

The following sentence from Prišvin is the perfect example of the distinction:

- (48) Ves' okean golubeet, i černejutsja na golubom raznye skaly. (M. Prišvin: Žen'sen')
 'The whole ocean is blue, and there are various black rocks on the blue background.'

In (6), the vast plains *belejut* and the forest *černeetsja*. An identical situation is found in (48): the vast ocean *golubeet*, and the rocks *černejutsja*. When the feature of distance is in direct competition with the feature of vastness (sentences (6), (44) and (48)), the vastness takes precedence and the *-sja* verb cannot be used. The reason vast spaces cannot acquire *-sja* is because they have no shape, so to speak, no silhouette.⁵

So it is fair to say that Černyšev himself also fell prey to a similar confusion, only his is hypercorrection: he attributes to a vast space the feature of distance, which is not attested by the linguistic data. As Černyšev himself pointed out in 1915, the use of color verbs with *-sja* and without it has been confused for a long time. His own mistake is a case in point of how far the confusion had already progressed in his time. To reiterate: *-sja* color verbs convey a 'distant' meaning, not the meaning of vastness of the described object.

This confusion is further illustrated by Peškovskij (1956, 119), who wrote:

Meždu *beleet* i *beleetsja* v sočetanijax *tam čto-to beleet* i *tam čto-to beleetsja* my ne oščuščaem počti nikakoj raznicy. Poskol'ku ona oščuščaetsja, èto dolžno proisxodit', konečno, pod vlijanjem asociacij s predyduščimi gruppami glagolov (osobenno s 4-j).

The latter group of verbs includes *kusaetsja*, *ljagaetsja*, *bodaetsja*, *brykaetsja*, *kljuetsja*, *deretsja*, *branitsja*, *rugaetsja*, and so on, the verbs that in my classification (Israeli 1997, 109–25) belong to a group called "aggressive".

To further illustrate the confusion of interchangeable use of *-sja* and non-*sja* color verbs, let us examine some excerpts from a poem by I.S. Nikitin written in 1854. They are particularly important because a line from this poem is quoted in all dictionaries of the Russian language, in all Academy Grammars and in all of Rozental's handbooks (for example, 1985, 224) as an example of the proper use of the *-sja* color verbs. This is one of the unaccounted-for examples:

- (49) Želteetsja med v neokrašennoj čaške. (Nikitin: Kupec na pčel'i)
 'There is yellow honey in an unpainted cup.'

⁵ I owe this remark to Valentina Zaitseva.

Here is what precedes that example:

- (50) Izba odinokaja v pole stoit.
 Vkrug ul'ev vetlovij pleten'. Za izboju
 Na tolstyx stolbax obvetšalij naves;
 Pravee vorota s odnoj vereeju,
 A dalee pole, doroga i les;
 I kak xorošo èto pole! Vot grečka
 Mež rož'ju vysokoj i spelym ovsom
Beleetsja jarko, što mlečnaja rečka;
 Vot steletsja proso zelenym kovrom,
 Sklonjajasja k počve gustymi kistjami;
 'A lonely hut in the field stood.
 Around beehives there is a wattle-fence. Behind the hut
 On thick poles there is a decrepit shed;
 To the right there is a gate with one post,
 And further the field, road, and forest;
 And how good is that field! Here is the buckwheat
 Between the high rye and the ripe oats
 Brightly **white**, like a river of milk;
 Here spreads out millet in a green carpet,
 Thick stalks leaning toward the soil'
- (51) S nim rjadom **želteet** oves zolotoj,
 Krasivo kačaja svoimi kudrjami;
 'Next to it there are **yellow**, golden oats,
 Their curls beautifully swaying'

This long excerpt on the one hand shows that the object in question (*grečka*), the one described as *belet'sja*, is quite removed from the point of view of the speaker, but is bright. On the other hand, the object more or less next to it (*vot grečka... vot proso... s nim rjadom*) is described by a verb without *-sja*—*želteet*.

Another excerpt from the same poem only emphasizes the problem further:

- (52) Bliz pčel'nika, v pole, pod ten'ju rakity,
 S kupcom i svatami pčelinec sidit,

 I prosed' **beleet** v ego volosax;

Pred nimi, na belo razostlanno trjapke,
 Vedro derevjannoe s kvasom stoit,
 'Near the bee garden, in the field, under the shadow of a broom tree,
 With a buyer and brokers the beekeeper sits,

.....
 And streaks of grey hair are snow **white** in his hair;

.....
 In front of them, on a spread out white rag,
 There is a wooden bucket of kvas'

(53) *Želteetsja* med v neokrašennoj čaške

I černogo xleba krajuxa ležit.
 'There is **yellow** honey in an unpainted cup
 And a hunk of black bread.'

As far as may be judged, the position of the narrator seems to be removed, yet the verbs with and without *-sja* are used interchangeably to describe adjacent objects.

This is a poem where every syllable counts, and Nikitin used the longer forms of Instrumental interchangeably with the shorter forms (or *-sja* vs. *-s'* after a vowel) in order to preserve the meter (*s odnoj vereēju; molisja, položisja, ostalasja, sklonjajasja* vs. *podbočenjas', nagnuvšis'*). He appears to do the same with the color verbs. On the basis of the previous analysis, one would expect the reverse use in the last example, that is, *med želteet* and *prosed' beleetsja*, since it is much harder to see a few streaks of grey hair against a background of nongrey hair. Therefore, (49) should be cited as an example of confusion and hypercorrection, rather than an example of the proper use of the *-sja* color verbs.

In reference to one of these nine verbs, namely *pestret'sja*, all dictionaries unanimously apply the label "ustar. i prostoreč." (obsolete and substandard). One can discern a movement in the same direction with respect to other color verbs in *-sja*. Out of all thirty-nine examples with *-sja*, only six are from twentieth century prose, while there are nineteen examples without *-sja* from contemporary sources that have 'distant' meaning.

It comes as no surprise then that in a book published in 1983, Arutjunova and Širjaev discuss "«cvetovye» glagoly (glagoly tipa *belet'*...)," (117–8) without even mentioning their *-sja* counterparts.

To further test this hypothesis, I conducted the following experiment: native speakers (none of them linguists) were offered a list of sentences with *-sja* and were asked to cross *-sja* out whenever its use was impossible. The results were far from unanimous, and in addition individual uncertainty and confusion were present in almost all native speakers. The first questionnaire consisted of twenty-nine sen-

tences. It immediately became clear that after the fifteenth or eighteenth sentence, the subjects lost intuition. Some of them did not cross out *golubelis'* or the impersonal *zelenelos'*, which are not attested by dictionaries or standard grammar sources, even though they had previously crossed out most of the other *-sja*'s, in the examples that were straight from the dictionaries. Or they placed question marks by the verb in question or on the margin.

The second questionnaire was only fifteen sentences long, which prevented the subjects from getting tired. However, the results were still quite varied. What some native speakers considered correct was identified by others as incorrect. This means that at the present time there is no consensus on where it is proper to use a color *-sja* verb, although the native speakers overwhelmingly preferred the forms without *-sja*. Thus, color *-sja* verbs are part of the competence but not the performance of native speakers of contemporary Russian.

For those native speakers born after 1945, the choice was clear: they consistently avoided the *-sja* verbs. As Janko-Trinickaja (1961, 67) stated, it is always possible to replace a *-sja* verb with a non-*-sja* counterpart. What we observed in the earlier nineteenth century examples was that at first authors and linguists, speakers of Russian, were confusing the use of the *-sja* and non-*-sja* color verbs, usually choosing the non-*-sja* variants. Thus, the semantic field of *-sja* verbs became a subset of non-*-sja* verbs, creating an absolute synonymy for this subset, and absolute synonyms "if they exist at all... are extremely uncommon.... if the relationship were to occur, it would be unstable.... one would expect that one of the items would fall into obsolescence, or that a difference in semantic function would develop" (Cruse 1986, 270). For speakers (and writers) of CSR, the trend is not to use the color *-sja* verbs at all.

This disappearing trend is supported by the fact that although there are nine color verbs with *-sja* or without it, there are seventeen color verbs that do not have a *-sja* counterpart:

bagrjanet'	'blood-red'	bagrovet'	'blood-red'
blednet'	'pale'	buret'	'brown'
golubet'	'light blue'	koričnevet'	'brown'
lilovet'	'lilac'	rjabet'	'spotted'
rozovet'	'pink'	rumjanet'	'red (for skin)'
ruset'	'blond'	ryžet'	'red (as hair)'
ržavet'	'rust'	sivet'	'bluish grey'
sedet'	'grey (as hair)'	sizet'	'dove-colored' (warm grey)
zolotet'	'gold'		

Janko-Trinickaja's (1961, 68) conclusions are ambiguous: on the one hand, she emphasizes the regularity and productivity of this group despite their numeric and lexical limitation; on the other hand, she acknowledges "that the reflexive verbs of similar semantics in the literary prose are sometimes formed according to a different model directly from adjectives":

- (54) Vse govorjat Glazki prostuški. Krov'ju gorjat, **Rozovjatsja** uški. (P. Aldaxin: Duèl')
'Everyone says she has the eyes of a simple girl. They burn with blood, her ears are turning (??seen as) pink.'
- (55) Utro pasmurnoe, nebo sploš' seroe, a potom vse svetleet, svetleet, **jasnitsja**, kak budto spjaščij posle tjaželogo sna glaza otkryvaet i raduetsja: to byl son... (Prišvin: Glaza zemli)
'An overcast morning, the sky is grey all over, but then keeps getting lighter, lighter, clearer, as if a sleeping person after a heavy sleep opens his eyes and rejoices: it was a dream...'

She goes on to say that

Semantically here there should not have been any reflexive verbs since the first example has the meaning of definiteness and the second of change of quality; in other words the reflexive verbs here are synonyms to nonreflexive verbs with the suffix *-e/-ej*: *rozovejut*, *jasneet*, compare: "*Ščeki rozoveli. Vetrom odnosilo kudri zolotye na čele vysokom*" (D. Kedrin: Perevody).

In other words, in (54) and (55), *-sja* verbs (from the point of view of normative grammar) are strictly speaking used incorrectly, or else they can be labeled neologisms, whose deviation from the norm is a stylistic device used by the authors.

This brings us to the last color *-sja* literary example:

- (56) V babuškinom sadu **krasnelis'** skorospelye jabloki, nazrevala ešče ne zorennaja drozdami višnja, starye boka doma prikryvala siren', dlja togo vplotnuju i približennaja k stenam, čtoby skryt' ix drjaxlost'. (L. Fedorova: Dikij poselok)
'One could see red fast-ripening apples in grandmother's orchard, cherries that were not ruined by blackbirds were ripening, the old sides of the house were covered by lilac, which was moved close to the walls in order to hide their decrepit state.'

This example should be compared with another one by the same author:

- (57) Nina smuščenno ulybalas'. Ee ot duši pozabavila èta scenka s gusjami. Te, napugannye kljukoj, beleli teper' daleko v stepi. (L. Fedorova: Ofelija)
'Nina was smiling with embarrassment. The scene with the geese wholeheartedly amused her. These, scared by the crutch, were now (seen as) white spots far away in the steppe.'

These two examples seem to contradict the premise. However, if we consider that according to Cruse (1986, 270) a new semantic function should develop, we should look for such a function. I suggest that this function is not purely semantic but stylistic: it signals the lower register, as in (56), together with other elements of the sentence: *nazrevala* instead of *sozrevala*, and *zorennaja* from *zorit'* which is marked in dictionaries as "pros-torečie"—substandard. On the other hand, the language in (57) is very literary.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be said that the color verbs in *-sja* represent a deictic feature of "distance" between the speaker/narrator (P^S) and the described object (P^N). However, all of these findings, even though they are part of the competence of native speakers of CSR, represent the state of the past. In CSR preference is given to the non-*sja* counterparts of the color verbs. The formation of new color verbs in *-sja* follows the pattern of the de-causative verbs, which have no non-*sja* counterparts.

References

- Akademija Nauk SSSR. 1950–1965. Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka [Dictionary of the contemporary Russian literary language]. Moscow.
- Akademija Nauk SSSR. 1958. Slovar' russkogo jazyka [Dictionary of the Russian language]. Moscow.
- Arutjunova, N.D. Širjaev, E.N. 1983. Russkoe predloženie. Bytijnij tip [The Russian sentence: the existential type]. Russkij jazyk, Moscow.
- Barxudarov, L.S. 1975. Jazyk i perevod [Language and translation]. Meždunarodnye otnošenija, Moscow.
- Bulygina, T.V. 1982. K postroeniju tipologii predikatov v russkom jazyke [Toward the construction of a typology of predicates in Russian]. In: Selivestrova, O.N. (ed.): Semantičeskie tipy predikatov [Semantic types of predicates], 7–85. Nauka, Moscow.
- Cruse, D.A. 1986. Lexical semantics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Černyšev, V. 1915. Pravil'nost' i čistota russkoj reči. Opyt russkoj stilističeskoj grammatiki [Correctness and purity in Russian speech: Research in Russian stylistic grammar]. Vyp. 2 – Časti reči, Petrograd.
- Fillmore, C.J. 1975. Santa Cruz lectures on deixis. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- Gerritsen, N. 1990. Russian reflexive verbs. In search of unity in diversity. Rodopi, Amsterdam – Atlanta.
- Israeli, A. 1997. Semantics and pragmatics of the 'reflexive' verbs in Russian. Verlag Otto Sagner, Munich.
- Janko-Trinickaja, N.A. 1961. Sinonimičeskie glagoly tipa *belet'* – *belet'sja*, *xvastat'* – *xvastat'sja* [Synonymous verbs of the type *belet'* – *belet'sja* and *xvastat'* – *xvastat'sja*]. In: Voprosy kul'tury reči 3: 60–81.

- Janko-Trinickaja, N.A. 1962. Vozvratnye glagoly v sovremennom russkom jazyke [Reflexive verbs in contemporary Russian]. Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow.
- Ožegov, S.I. 1988. Slovar' russkogo jazyka [Dictionary of the Russian language]. Russkij jazyk, Moscow.
- Peškovskij, A.M. 1956. Russkij sintaksis v naučnom osveščanii [Russian syntax in a scholarly light]. Prosveščenie, Moscow.
- Rozental', D.Ė. 1974. Praktičeskaja stilistika russkogo jazyka [Practical Russian stylistics]. Vysšaja škola, Moscow.
- Rozental', D.Ė. 1985. Spravočnik po pravopisaniju i literaturnoj pravke [Handbook of orthography and editing]. Kniga, Moscow.
- Švedova, N.J. *et al.* (eds) 1980. Russkaja grammatika [Russian grammar]. 2 vols. Nauka, Moscow.

Address of the author: Department of Language and Foreign Studies
American University
4400 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington D.C. 20016
USA
e-mail: aisrael@american.edu

LINGUISTICS SELF-APPLIED: A CASE STUDY

ANDRÁS KERTÉSZ

Abstract

Due to the decline of the Analytical Philosophy of Science empirical disciplines may be treated not only as the *objects* but also as the *means* of metascientific reflection. The paper investigates to what extent and in what way this general idea of 'science self-applied' put forward by Quine manifests itself with respect to generative linguistics. Firstly, it is shown that the 'self-application' of the modularity hypothesis, which is the basic assumption of generative linguistics, yields the central thesis of a *modular philosophy of science* which may provide us with powerful means in tackling central problems of the philosophy of science. Secondly, the workability of the framework thus obtained is exemplified by applying it to generative linguistics itself. The analysis proves that the *specific* properties of two types of explanation in generative grammar can be traced back to the parametrization relation between the *universal* principles of the 'conceptual' and the 'motivational' module of behaviour.

1. Introduction¹

In the seventies and early eighties metascientific investigations into the nature of linguistic inquiry were in the centre of interest. That now they are 'out', is, among many other factors, due to **the general decline of the Analytical Philosophy of Science**. There is no denying that although the latter dominated the scene for decades, its deficiencies became too obvious and its crisis led to developments in the philosophy of science which call for its radical replacement by a completely new perspective. However, although so far no other approach has been able to take over its role as a kind of 'paradigm', the renewal of metascientific thought is not entirely hopeless, because a couple of **ordinary empirical disciplines** strive to replace the Analytical Philosophy of Science. One of the most serious candidates is **cognitive science** whose rapid development seems to have led to the establishment of a new 'cognitive science of science'.

¹ The present paper is the revised version of a preprint which appeared as Kertész (1997). My research was supported by OTKA T019805 and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The ideas put forward here are partly discussed also in Kertész (1993b). Throughout this study relevant concepts used in a preexplicative sense or as part of object-language will be put within single quotation marks.

A characteristic and by no means marginal part of linguistics is considered to be one of the subdisciplines of cognitive science.² Therefore, if cognitive science in general is expected to yield a new philosophy of science, we may legitimately ask the question: in what way and to what extent can linguistics, as a genuine subdiscipline of cognitive science, contribute to new developments in the philosophy of science? Should we be able to give a more or less satisfactory answer to this question, the relationship between metascience and linguistics may be focussed on again, although in a manner different from the situation in the seventies and eighties: linguistics may be not only the **object**, but also the **means** of the philosophy of science.

Nevertheless, this possibility leads to serious consequences right at the outset. For the 'cognitive science of science' which linguistics may be part of is something which Quine called "science self-applied": "The key consideration is rejection of the ideal of a first philosophy, somehow prior to science. **Epistemology, for me, is only science self-applied**" (Quine 1969, 293; emphasis added).

This means the following: whereas the Analytical Philosophy of Science counted as a kind of 'super-science' or 'first philosophy' whose task was the evaluation and justification of the results of inquiry on the basis of the alleged *a priori* principles of rationality, the 'cognitive science of science' should apply the very same methods which its object of investigation, that is, empirical objectscientific theories use. Consequently, the subdisciplines of cognitive science may apply their own means on the metascientific level so as to describe and explain how themselves, as objectscientific theories, proceed.³

The purpose of the present paper is to draw the conclusions which this background leads to with respect to the status of **generative linguistics**. On the one hand I shall argue that certain basic assumptions currently discussed in theoretical linguistics conforming to the generative tradition may provide the philosopher of science with powerful means by the help of which he or she may tackle some of the central problems of the philosophy of science. As recent controversies show,⁴ one of the central issues of present day philosophy of science is the question of **what kind of rela-**

² See for example Gardner (1985), Eckhardt (1993) for a discussion of the role which linguistics plays as a subdiscipline of cognitive science.

³ It is important to remark that in contemporary epistemology and philosophy of science this kind of reflexivity characterizes not only the 'cognitive science of science', but also other approaches, for example the sociology of knowledge which is reflexive with respect to sociology in the very same way. See e.g. the famous four tenets of Bloor's Strong Programme for the sociology of knowledge in Bloor (1976, 4–5).

⁴ See, for example, the debate between the proponents of artificial intelligence research and the sociologists of knowledge which took place in vols. 19(1989)–22(1992) of *Social Studies of Science* and a series of related publications. Kertész (1993b) is devoted to a detailed analysis of the debate.

tionship there is between the 'conceptual' and 'social' factors of scientific knowledge.⁵ Consequently, the feasibility of a linguistically motivated philosophy of science may be proved by its capability of giving an appropriate answer to this question.

On the other hand, taking the idea of 'science self-applied' seriously—and, given present attempts at the renewal of the philosophy of science, we **must** take it seriously—I shall illustrate it **by applying the generative linguistically motivated metascientific framework mentioned above to the analysis of generative linguistic inquiry itself.**⁶

Thus, in sum, the present paper focuses on the following tasks:

- (A) (a) **A modular philosophy of science** motivated by current assumptions of generative linguistics will be developed.

⁵ To emphasize the significance of the debate, it is worth illustrating the deepness of the antagonism between those who claim the primacy of the cognitive aspects and those maintaining that of the social factors. For example, a prominent sociologist goes as far as to require a ten-year moratorium on cognitive studies of science:

"Any study of mathematics, calculations, theories and forms in general should [...] look at how observers move in space and time, how the mobility, stability and combinability of inscriptions are enhanced, how the networks are extended, how all the informations [sic] are tied together in a cascade of re-representation, and if, by some extraordinary chance, there is something still unaccounted for, **then and only then, look for special cognitive abilities. What I propose here, as a seventh rule of method, is in effect a moratorium on cognitive explanations of science and technology! I would be tempted to propose a ten-year moratorium.**" (Latour 1987, 246–247; emphasis added)

In turn, Slezak evaluates Bloor's Strong Programme for the sociology of knowledge in particular and sociological theories of knowledge in general in the light of artificial intelligence research like this:

"Although decisive refutations are rare in science, I suggest that this work [artificial intelligence research] has a significance for the strong programme somewhat like the alleged impact of Wohler's synthetic urea on the doctrine of vitalism: **pursuing the original research programme any further is seen to be pointless.**" (Slezak 1989, 570; emphasis added)

The alleged deepness of this antagonism is spelled out in a pointed way by T. Nickles who concludes that "there does not seem to be room in a single universe" (Nickles 1989, 243) for both those who maintain the primacy of humans as members of society and those concerned with our cognitive capacities, which tie us to nature in the sense of cognitive science.

⁶ That the object of the case study is generative linguistics, is not the result of an arbitrary decision. In the debate between cognitionists and sociologists mentioned earlier the example of generative linguistics played an important role. Slezak, in criticizing Bloor's Strong Programme for the sociology of knowledge from the point of view of artificial intelligence, takes Chomsky's work as an example and asks a series of rhetorical questions:

"To what social causes can the detailed content of Chomsky's transformational grammar be attributed? Has the radical shift in Chomsky's theoretical views been as a result of changed social circumstances?" (Slezak 1989, 587)

(See also Fuller (1993) on the evaluation of the role generative linguistics played in this controversy.) Answering Slezak's challenge seems to provide a good opportunity to test the workability of any approach which claims to take account both of the 'cognitive' and the 'social' aspects of scientific knowledge in a proper way.

- (b) This modular philosophy of science will immediately yield a general answer to the question of what kind of relationship there is between the 'conceptual' and 'social' aspects of scientific knowledge.
- (c) The feasibility of the solution will be illustrated by delivering a metascientific case study on explanation in generative linguistics itself. The case study will show how and to what extent the structure of explanations in generative grammar is determined by social and conceptual factors.⁷

My line of argumentation, then, will be as follows. In section 2 one of the central hypotheses of generative linguistics, i.e. the **modularity hypothesis** which states that knowledge of language is organized in a modular manner will be reviewed along with its consequences. It will be shown that the modularity hypothesis can be "self-applied" in a very straightforward way in that it leads to the assumption of **the modular organization of scientific behaviour**. This thesis, together with some basic concepts related to that of 'modularity', yields the research strategy of a 'modular philosophy of science' which will be outlined in section 3. Section 4 is devoted to the application of this strategy to capturing the differences between two types of explanation in generative linguistics. It will be shown that the peculiarities of grammatical explanations rest on the relationship between what are commonly called 'social' and 'cognitive' factors of scientific knowledge and that this relationship is to be explicated in terms of the 'parametrization relation' between universal principles of behaviour belonging to two different modules. Finally, section 5 is a short summary of the results.

2. Modularity

The current status of Chomsky's approach to grammar is based on the **modularity hypothesis**:

(MH) Knowledge of language is organized in a modular manner.

However, the scope of the modularity hypothesis is not necessarily restricted to the structure of the mind or to language or any other part of cognition, but—in its most general form—may be extended to **the whole of human cognitive behaviour**. A recent formulation of this extension is this:

⁷ Kertész (1993a) is another case study, although not on a syntactic, but on a pragmatic approach, which discusses problems raised by the interplay of the conceptual and social determinants of linguistic inquiry.

"All human behaviour is essentially organized in a modular fashion. The structure formation that underlies a behaviour instance V is the joint product of relatively autonomous, functionally interacting systems and subsystems." (Lang 1989, 266; emphasis added)

Let this generalization of (MH) be called the **generalized modularity hypothesis (GMH)** to be rendered as follows:

- (GMH) (a) The whole of human cognitive behaviour consists of relatively autonomous systems and subsystems which may be called 'modules'.
 (b) Instances of cognitive behaviour are determined by the interaction of the modules.

Before examining the relationship between (GMH) and the idea of "science self-applied", it is in order to characterize briefly and informally some basic concepts connected to (MH) and (GMH).

Firstly, modules are not systems of external states of affairs, but they are the representations of states of affairs in the human mind and constitute, accordingly, **cognitive systems**.

Secondly, at present there is very little evidence at our disposal for identifying the modules of human behaviour. Nevertheless, Bierwisch (1981), Bierwisch–Lang (1989), Grewendorf *et al.* (1987), Lang *et al.* (1991), etc. assume that the following may be **candidates** for particular **modules**:

- (CM) (a) The **motoric module** governs the functioning of human organs and is responsible, for instance, for the articulation of sounds, for gestures, for mimicry, etc.
 (b) The **module of perception** underlies processes of human perception and comprises submodules like that of vision, hearing, etc.
 (c) The **conceptual module** structures the mental representations of human experience.
 (d) The **module of social relations** comprises at least the following two submodules:
 – the **submodule of social interactions**, and
 the **motivational submodule** which organizes the objectives, interests and intentions of individuals and groups of individuals.
 (e) The **grammatical module** consists of the phonological and the morphosyntactic aspects of communication.

Thirdly, modules in general consist of **universal principles** which determine **rules** and these rules, in turn, determine **representations**. **Instances of behaviour** consist of sets of representations.

Fourthly, by definition every module is **relatively autonomous**. This means that, on the one hand, every module rests on independent regularities which cannot

be derived from those of another module. On the other hand, this autonomy is relative because each module can interact with another. The relative autonomy of modules is articulated, among others, in the fact that the universal principles which they contain are associated with **free parameters**. In this sense, universals are underdetermined, because usually (but not always) they contain at least one element—that is, a variable or a parameter—whose value is not specified at the outset. The important claim is that the value of a parameter P_1 associated with a universal principle UP_1 in the module M_1 may depend on the value of a parameter P_2 associated with a principle UP_2 belonging to another module M_2 . This relation between UP_1 and UP_2 is called the **parametrization relation**.

These notions lead to two important findings. The first is that a particular rule is nothing but a principle whose parameter has been fixed at a certain value. **If the parameter is fixed at different values in different cases, then we get different rules.** The rules which govern the particular fields of behaviour differ from each other only in the value of the parameter which the universal principles underlying them are associated with.

The second consequence is that the values of the parameters which in fact yield specific rules depend on the values of parameters belonging to another module and therefore, a rule R_1 belonging to a module M_1 is not simply determined by the principles of this module M_1 only, but **results from the parametrization relation** between at least two universal principles UP_1 and UP_2 belonging to two different modules M_1 and M_2 , respectively. Thus the essential double-facedness of the specific domains of human behaviour is manifested in the fact that, on the one hand, each domain—however it may be delimited—is determined by universal principles which underlie **all** the other domains as well; on the other hand, those properties which are **specific** to a particular domain and which distinguish it from the others are the outcome of the interaction of the principles and this interaction manifests itself in the parametrization relation. Moreover, since instances of behaviour are sets of representations and these representations are determined by rules, it also follows that the specific properties of instances of behaviour arise from the parametrization relation between the principles of different modules.

Having introduced some of the basic concepts it is in order to ask the question **how this modular framework may be self-applied** in the Quinean sense. As an answer, a very simple argument—which nonetheless leads to far-reaching consequences—presents itself. In particular, there is no denying that scientific knowledge is part of human cognitive behaviour. If, however, scientific knowledge is part of human cognitive behaviour and the latter is organized in a modular manner, then scientific knowledge must also be organized modularly. I shall label this conclusion **the metascientific modularity hypothesis (MMH)**:

- (MMH) (a) Scientific behaviour rests on relatively autonomous systems and subsystems which may be called 'modules'.
 (b) Instances of scientific behaviour are determined by the interaction of these 'modules'.

The first observation that presents itself now is that (GMH) and (MMH) yield different levels of modularity. The first level is that of **non-scientific** behaviour, which constitutes the subject matter of objectscientific investigations. I shall call the subsystems of this level **N-modules**. Next, there is the level of **scientific** behaviour, to be labelled **K-modules**. However, there are at least two kinds of scientific behaviour, namely, **object- and metascientific inquiry**; the former will be denoted by the concept of **KO-module**, the latter by that of **KM-module**. Figure 1 illustrates these relationships:

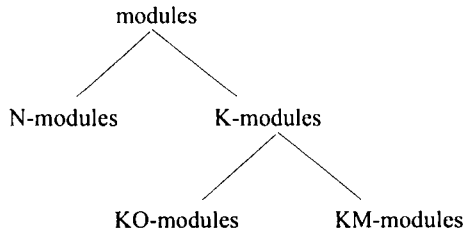


Fig. 1
Relationships among modules

The second immediate consequence of (MMH) is that all the concepts introduced above with respect to (GMH) apply to scientific behaviour as well. So as to make later conclusions more understandable, it is useful to summarize this in the form of the following corollaries:

- (MMH1) K-modules and, in particular, KO- and KM-modules, are not systems of external states of affairs, but they are the representations of external states of affairs in the human mind and constitute, accordingly, **cognitive systems**.
 (MMH2) (CM)(a)–(c) are candidates for KO- and KM-modules.
 (MMH3)(a) KO- and KM-modules consist of **universal KO/KM-principles** which determine **KO/KM-rules** and these rules, in turn, determine **KO/KM-representations**.
 (b) Instances of KO/KM-behaviour consist of sets of representations.
 (MMH4) A universal KO/KM-principle UP_1 belonging to a K-module M_1 is **parametrized with respect to** (or is a **parametrization of**) a universal KO/KM-principle UP_2 belonging to

a KO/KM-module M_2 if and only if the value of the free KO/KM-parameter P_1 associated with UP_1 depends on the value of the KO/KM-parameter P_2 associated with UP_2 .⁸

A third aspect concerns the question: which of the possible KO-modules referred to under (MMH2) correspond to what have generally been called the 'cognitive' and the 'social' factors of scientific knowledge, respectively? Given the list, the only candidate which roughly covers the phenomena called 'cognitive', 'psychological' etc. by different approaches is the conceptual KO-module; therefore, we explicate the term 'system of cognitive/psychological/mental etc. factors' as 'the **conceptual KO-module**.' The obvious candidate for explicating 'the system of social factors' is the social KO-module characterized under (CM)(d). Nevertheless, it consists of two submodules which are not of equal importance with respect to scientific knowledge. Namely, though in the literature on the sociology of knowledge it is far from clear what is actually meant by 'social', most approaches tend to restrict social factors to **social interests**; see e.g. the very influential work Bloor (1976). Consequently, within a modular framework it is reasonable to concentrate primarily on **the relationship between the conceptual and the motivational KO-module**. How can this relationship be explicated? The key to the answer is the concept of parametrization which is at the heart of possible interactions between modules in general. Then, the assumption that social factors contribute significantly to scientific knowledge means that they do so by the value of a parameter. Thus, from (MMH4) we obtain the thesis which makes the present modular approach appear to be a kind of **integrated philosophy of science** in that it is capable of capturing the interaction of the motivational (i.e. one subdomain of the social) and the conceptual aspects of scientific knowledge:

- (IPS) The universal KO-principles of the conceptual KO-module underlying scientific knowledge are parametrized by the universal KO-principles of the motivational KO-module.

By way of summarizing what has been said so far, we may conclude that (MMH) is the basis of a modular philosophy of science which has been motivated by a corresponding thesis put forward in generative linguistics. If we apply (MMH) to the investigation of scientific knowledge achieved in generative linguistics, we obtain

⁸ The precise meaning of the verb 'depend' in these claims is to be left open. In fact, it may differ from case to case. One extreme is that the value of P_1 is identical with the value of P_2 . The other extreme is that the value of P_2 merely indirectly implies a set of properties which may set the parameter P_1 . Between the two extremes there is a large range of possibilities. Later on we shall illustrate how the idea of parametrization works in the case of scientific knowledge.

a specific manifestation of the idea of “science self-applied”. Then, what we have to examine is the interaction of KO-modules underlying generative linguistic inquiry along the lines of the empirical hypothesis (IPS). Before showing how such an analysis can be carried out, let us overview the main steps of the research strategy of a modular philosophy of science.

3. The research strategy

(MMH) and its consequences discussed in the previous section straightforwardly yield the problems into which the question of the relationship between the motivational and the conceptual factors of knowledge has to be subdivided in a modular philosophy of science. These sub-problems are as follows:

- (1) (a) Let us assume that a certain philosopher of science (or a group of philosophers of science) aims at KM-describing and KM-explaining instances of KO-behaviour in a given domain *DO*. Let us identify such a KO-instance with a particular objectscientific theory TO_i . We also know from (MMH3) that instances of KO-behaviour consist of representations *R* the elements of which are determined by the KO-rules and KO-principles of different KO-modules. Since (MMH2) suggests a tentative list of these KO-modules, we may assume that the behaviour instance TO_i consists, for example, of a conceptual, a grammatical, a motivational etc. KO-representation. It is these KO-representations which can be KM-described and KM-explained, and one can arrive at the rendering of the behaviour instance TO_i only through capturing them.⁹ Accordingly, **the explananda of KM-explanations** (i.e. of meta-scientific explanations of instances of objectscientific inquiry) **are descriptions of KO-representations**. In the light of our central problem we must assume that what has to be KM-explained is the conceptual representation C_i of TO_i . Thus, the task to be carried out in the course of the first step is the identification of the KM-explanandum. In the present case this boils down to formulating the question: **Why has the KO-instance of behaviour TO_i the conceptual representation C_i ?** It is this question whose answer the application of a modular philosophy of science should yield in the end.

⁹ This means that a theory is treated as an instance of behavior which consists, among other things, of a conceptual, a grammatical, an interactional and a motivational KO-representation. All of these aspects are decisive in the constitution of theories, and it is these particular KO-representations which require KM-description and/or -explanation. KM-explanations of KO-theories will therefore differ according to the particular choice of the kind of KO-representation to be KM-explained. For example, the KM-explanation of the conceptual KO-representation of TO_i will naturally be very different from the KM-explanation of its motivational representation.

- (b) We know from (MMH)(b) that instances of KO-behaviour are determined by the interaction of KO-modules. Therefore, the question arises, the interplay of **which KO modules** underlies C_i ? On the basis of (IPS) we have to assume that it is the **conceptual and the motivational KO-module** that determine C_i .
- (c) It is also clear that both of these KO-modules consist of universal KO-principles which are motivated independently of each other. Therefore, the next question to be answered is **which universal conceptual and motivational KO-principles can be revealed**. Let us assume that our philosopher of science has found a conceptual principle P_C and a motivational principle P_M .
- (d) In accordance with (MMH4) we know that the interaction of KO-modules is primarily, although not exclusively, manifested in the parametrization relation between the KO-principles of the corresponding KO-modules. Therefore, the next step must consist in solving the problem of **which parameters can be associated with the principles** that have been detected under (1c), i.e., P_C and P_M .¹⁰ As a possible solution one may have obtained a conceptual parameter Pp_C and a motivational one Pp_M .
- (e) Now, it has to be discovered **which values the free KO-parameters are set at**. In accordance with (IPS) the main assumption is that the conceptual KO-principle P_C has been parametrized by the motivational principle P_M which means, in other words, that the value of the KO-parameter Pp_C associated with P_C has been fixed in a way that it depends on the value of the KO-parameter Pp_M associated with P_M . Revealing the value of the KO-parameters and thus revealing the parametrization relation between P_C and P_M will yield the **KM-explanans** of the KM-explanation we are after.
- (f) We know that, in accordance with (MMH3) and (MMH4), if the free KO-parameters of a given universal KO-principle have been fixed, then a KO-rule is obtained. Accordingly, the next question to be answered on the basis of having carried out step (1e) is which conceptual rule can be obtained by fixing the parameter Pp_C . Let us, for the sake of simplicity, assume that Pp_M was set at the value a and this value was transferred to Pp_C . Then we get a conceptual rule R_C whose constituents are identical with those of P_C except that instead of the open KO-parameter Pp_C , the value a occurs. This rule is one of those which are assumed to govern KO-behaviour in the domain DO .
- (g) Finally, R_C yields the representation C_i immediately. Consequently, the main task has been solved and a KM-explanation for the conceptual aspect of the KO-instance of behaviour TO_i has been proposed.

¹⁰ In Kertész (1991) I argued for the assumption that, as regards the universal KO-principles of the conceptual KO-module, it is the **context** which plays the role of an open KO-parameter. Furthermore, I also assumed that with the different motivational KO-principles there are at least three KO-parameters associated: social interests, the degree of the inner organization of a group and the strength of group boundaries are candidates for motivational KO-parameters.

Now we may turn to applying this strategy to achieve a metascientific explanation of the way conceptual and motivational factors interact in shaping the content of objectscientific explanations in generative grammar.

4. Case study: Explanation in generative linguistics¹¹

As is well known, there are considerable differences between Chomsky's Standard Theory of Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1957; 1965) and the Government-Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981; 1986). The differences are, among other things, evidenced by the structure of the KO-explanations,¹² that is, that of objectscientific explanations whose objective is to explain the structure of natural language sentences. They affect both the **KO-explananda** and the **KO-explanantia** of grammatical KO-explanations. The core of these differences is that whereas the Government-Binding Theory accepts one particular rendering of the modularity hypothesis which says that knowledge of language is organized in a modular fashion, nothing like this was maintained in the Standard Theory. The consequences, then, are straightforward. Firstly, as regards the KO-explananda, in the case of the Standard Theory they are to be identified with strings consisting of constituents. As opposed to this, Government-Binding Theory presumes that what has to be KO-explained is

¹¹ To avoid confusion, it is in order to clarify the concepts to be used, although their meaning is the immediate result of the conceptual differentiations introduced earlier. In general, all the entities with the prefix 'N' are phenomena of natural language, those with the prefix 'KO' are objectscientific and lastly, those indicated by 'KM' are metascientific phenomena. In particular, I assume that a linguist LI observes instances of linguistic behaviour—for example, utterances—which I call **N-instances**. N-instances consist of **N-representations**, which he/she describes by the help of the means at his/her disposal. The **descriptions of N-representations are the KO-explananda** of KO-explanations, that is, those phenomena which an objectscientific theory, in particular, a grammatical theory aims at. In the case of rule-oriented explanations **the KO-explanans is the description of certain N-rules** which are rules of linguistic behaviour. In the case of principle-oriented explanations **the KO-explanans is the description of N-principles and N-parameters** (i.e. that of N-universals and N-parameters of language). A **KO-explanation, then, consists of a KO-explanandum and a KO-explanans related to each other in some way**. Now, if we assume that PS is a philosopher of science who observes objectscientific behaviour, then such a KO-explanation counts for him as a **KO-instance**. Consequently, a KO-explanation as a KO-instance consists of KO-representations. The **description of one of these KO-representations of a KO-explanation is the KM-explanandum**, that is that kind of entity which should be explained by a philosopher of science. Since we assume that KO-behaviour is modularly organized, **the KM-explanandum must involve the descriptions of KO-principles and KO-parameters underlying the KO-explanation given**. Finally, **a KM-explanation is made up of a KM-explanandum and a KM-explanans related to one another**.

¹² KO-explanations are explanations to be obtained on the level of KO-modules, that is objectscientific inquiry as represented by the versions of generative grammar at issue.

in fact a set of representations (i.e. **N-representations** in our terminology) such as 'phonetic form', 'logical form', 'S-structure' and 'D-structure'. Secondly, also the type of the KO-explanans differs in the two cases. The Standard Theory sets out to find N-rules which KO-explain particular phenomena. For instance, if a linguist wants to KO-explain the structure of a passive sentence in English, then he/she has to find an **N-rule which is specific** to this phenomenon, i.e. a passive transformation. In contrast with this, as an immediate consequence of the modularity hypothesis, Government-Binding Theory is expected to deliver a very different kind of KO-explanans. In particular, there are assumed to be no construction-specific N-rules which are responsible for the structure of certain constructions like the passive, but rather, the KO-explanation is obtained by uncovering universal **N-principles** of language together with the free **N-parameters** associated with them. Once the N-parameters are fixed, one obtains either the N-rules of a particular language or the N-representations themselves which one wanted to KO-explain. Nevertheless, neither the N-universals nor the language-specific N-rules are construction-specific; in Government-Binding Theory there is nothing like an N-rule of passive constructions.¹³ As we see, the most interesting rendering of the differences between the two types of explanation is that whereas those of the Standard Theory are **rule-oriented**, the KO-explanations of the Theory of Government and Binding are **principle-oriented**.¹⁴ Now, it is important to realize that the difference between rule-oriented and principle-oriented KO-explanations indicates, among other things, also a **difference between the content of the two theories**. For, on the one hand, what the Standard Theory is about, is, in accordance with its rule-oriented strategy of KO-explaining linguistic phenomena, a set of assumptions concerning construction-specific N-rules of, say, English: rules like 'passive-transformation' and the like. On the other hand, Government-Binding Theory says that it is not true that there exists an N-rule to be called 'passive transformation'. Rather, the pecu-

¹³ "In a principles-and-parameters-theory, in contrast, there are general principles of language [...], and there is the specification of parameters [...]. There is nothing else. [...] Constructions, in the traditional sense, may be simply an artifact, perhaps useful for descriptive taxonomy, but nothing more. If this proves to be correct, traditional grammatical constructions are on a par with such notions as terrestrial animal or large molecule, but are not natural kinds. There is no passive construction, interrogative construction, etc. Rather, the properties of the relevant expressions follow from the interaction of language invariant principles, with parameters set." (Chomsky 1992, 24)

¹⁴ A clear differentiation between rule-oriented and principle-oriented explanations in generative grammar, along with a careful analysis of the historical and social context in which they have been developed, is given by Newmeyer (1992). Moreover, for the sake of simplicity I shall omit the prefix 'N' when speaking about these two kinds of KO-explanations, because it will be always clear from the context that 'rule-oriented' and 'principle-oriented' mean 'N-rule-oriented' and 'N-principle-oriented', respectively.

liarities of passive sentences result from the interplay of certain universal N-principles of language; although the latter yield language specific N-rules, these are, in turn, not construction-specific. We see that, due to the difference between rule-oriented and principle-oriented KO-explanations, the Standard Theory and Government-Binding Theory deliver **very different empirical hypotheses** concerning the regularities which are supposed to underlie a native speaker's knowledge of language. Although in the controversy between the proponents of the 'cognitive science of science' and those of the sociology of knowledge it is far from clear what is meant by 'content',¹⁵ intuitively it is plausible to maintain that if two theories consist of different empirical hypotheses about the segment of the world which they have to investigate, then they differ in content.

Summing up what has been said so far, the following claims have been made: (i) The KO-explanations of the Standard Theory are rule-oriented and those of Government-Binding Theory are principle-oriented; (ii) As a result of this, the content of the two theories must also be different. Given this, the question for us is how a modular philosophy of science can propose a metascientific explanation—i.e. a KM-explanation—for the fact that the content of the Standard Theory differs from the content of Government-Binding Theory.

In the sense of step (1a) let us assume that a philosopher of science PS has observed two instances of KO-behaviour x and y . x is a KO-explanation put forward by a representative of the Standard Theory and is, accordingly, rule-oriented. y is a principle-oriented KO-explanation proposed within the framework of Government-Binding Theory. PS presumes, then, that both instances of behaviour correspond to a set of KO-representations such as the conceptual, the motivational, and the grammatical. He/she describes these representations by the help of a certain formalism whose details do not matter now and chooses the description of the conceptual representation C_x of x and the description of the conceptual representation C_y of y as the KM-explananda which he/she should KM-explain.¹⁶ The question, then, is, why x has the conceptual representation C_x and why y has the conceptual representation C_y .

According to steps (1b) and (1c) this question can be answered by revealing the KO-principles and KO-parameters of at least the conceptual and the motiva-

¹⁵ See the discussion between Nola (1992) and Bloor (1992); cf. also Kertész (1993b).

¹⁶ Of course, the question arises what such KM-descriptions of the conceptual representations of KO-explanations look like. I cannot go into a detailed discussion here, because this is not what the present case study is intended to illustrate. Nevertheless, an answer, along with more detailed case studies, is to be found in Kertész (1991).

tional KO-module. Therefore, the next problem to be solved is what universal conceptual and motivational KO-principles may be responsible for C_x and C_y .

As regards possible conceptual KO-principles, elsewhere I argued at length for the assumption that in the case of scientific theory formation in general, one version of the **relevance principle** is valid (Kertész 1991). The idea of the relevance principle goes back to Sperber–Wilson (1986) but should be slightly modified if applied to scientific explanations. In particular, I suggested the following rendering of the relevance principle as a universal of KO-behaviour:

- (P1) Every KO-explanation is put forward in a context ct under the assumption of its maximal relevance.

A proof of this KO-principle would be beside the point now.¹⁷ If we hypothetically assume the plausibility of (P1), then, what in the present case matters is merely how it may lead to a possible KM-explanation of C_x and C_y . Since we have presupposed that conceptual KO-principles interact with motivational, in order to answer this question the philosopher of science PS must set out to find a KO-principle of the motivational KO-module. He/she may obtain a possible KO-principle by trying to reconstruct Bloor's considerations concerning **models**. The following quotation should serve as a point of departure:

"It is implicit in the very idea that the patterns of objects which are within the reach of our experience can function as models. For consider how models work and what happens when one piece of behaviour is modelled on another. The result is precisely to detach the derivative behaviour from that on which it is modelled. Think here of the carpet weavers. A weaver picks up the way that the pattern goes by watching and working with others. He can then function autonomously and apply and reapply the technique to new cases. He could, for example, set out to weave a carpet bigger than he had ever seen anyone weave before, but need only have learned and practiced on small ones." (Bloor 1976, 90)

One claim which this quotation makes is that 'models' are always connected to material objects embedded in a certain situation. Another is that, once a given set of properties of such objects are selected as 'models', the latter can be extended to new situations which are not immediately experienced. This role of models raises three questions. Firstly, what are 'models'? Secondly, if such models are, according to Bloor, tied to specific situations, material objects or persons, how can they be

¹⁷ Let it be sufficient to refer to Kertész (1991) for further considerations.

transferred to new situations? And thirdly, what does the choice of a given 'model' depend on?

As regards the first question, Bloor does not define his concept of 'model'. But if we try to reconstruct the main tenets of his approach within the motivational KM-module of a modular philosophy of science, then we should interpret 'models' roughly in the sense of 'mental models' as characterized, for example, in several writings of Johnson-Laird and Bierwisch (see Johnson-Laird 1980; 1983, Bierwisch 1981); nevertheless, the details do not matter here. Anyway, if in a modular philosophy of science it is legitimate to explicate Bloor's concept of 'model' as 'mental model', then it has at least the following two aspects:

(a) Mental models are results of the fact that humans get in touch with their material environment and represent mentally the experiences gained thereby.

(b) Mental models are the conceptual representations of situations which one experiences and rest both on sensory and inferential information. In particular, the mental models of material objects are their **conceptual representations**.

However superficial these remarks are, now we may consider the second and third question mentioned above. Bloor's answer to the second question is that it is metaphors and analogies which transfer 'models' originally connected with material objects to situations which are not immediately experienced. But, if we explicate 'models' as 'mental models', then this means that there must be **conceptual operations** which govern metaphorization and the use of analogies. Therefore, it is these conceptual operations which serve the extension of 'models' to new situations.¹⁸

As regards the third question, Bloor's 'models' are closely connected to material objects embedded in situations in which the members of a scientific community act. A material object obviously has many properties which are conceptually represented in the mind. Not all, but only some of these conceptual representations can function as 'models' (i.e. 'mental models') in our sense. Now, what Bloor also maintains is that the choice of these models is governed by **social interests**. In a modular framework social interests, whatever they may be, belong to the motivational KO-module. This means, in our terminology, that, on the one hand, the extension of 'models' to new situations is a conceptual process governed by **conceptual KO-principles**, but, on the other hand, the choice of the initial model (which is extended in such a way) rests on KO-principles belonging to the **motivational KO-module**. Which properties of a given object should be chosen as 'model' and be extended to new situations depends on what counts as important, useful etc. in a given

¹⁸ Hesse (1988) gives an overview of mechanisms which, in the context of metaphorization and analogy formation in science, should be treated as conceptual operations.

society. In what follows I shall call those conceptual KO-representations of objects which are the starting points for conceptually determined metaphorical and analogical extensions **I-models** ('initial models'). I-models are, however, conceptual representations of certain properties of material objects. Therefore, I shall call **I-properties** those properties of objects whose conceptual KO-representation functions as an I-model. Then, Bloor's claim that the choice of models is governed by social interests, leads in our framework to the following assumption:

(P2) Social interests select I-properties.

Since in Bloor's theory the corresponding thesis is accorded general validity, we should assume that (P2) is a **universal principle of the motivational KO-module**.

These considerations show that the tenets of Bloor's 'Strong Programme' for the sociology of knowledge can be reconstructed in a modular philosophy of science. The result of such a reconstruction yields the theses of the motivational sub-theory of a modular philosophy of science which is a KM-theory of the social aspects of scientific knowledge. **This motivational sub-theory should be then integrated with the conceptual sub-theory** which contains, among other things, descriptions of conceptual KO-principles such as (P1). But such an integration will be possible only if not only the universal KO-principles of the conceptual and the motivational K-module are described by the corresponding sub-theories, but also the free KO-parameters associated with the principles. Therefore, the next question is what these KO-parameters are (see step (1d)).

In the case of (P1) the open KO-parameter is the context *ct*. The reason is simple: the context (conceived of as a conceptual entity) is always a **variable** whose value may change from case to case.¹⁹ (P2) contains a free variable as well: namely, **social interests**. Although in the literature on the sociology of knowledge it is far from being clear what count as social interests, it goes without saying that interests are not constant in so far as they are exposed to changes and vary considerably. Having identified the KO-parameters associated with the two KO-principles, we must find out next—along the lines of step (1c)—how they are fixed.

According to (IPS) the main empirical KM-hypothesis is that the crucial KO-principle of the conceptual KO-module, that is in our case (P1), is a parametrization of one KO-principle of the motivational KO-module which is, in the present case, (P2). Therefore, we must assume that the value of the conceptual KO-parameter *ct* depends on the value of the motivational KO-parameter 'social interest'.

¹⁹ See also Kertész (1991) on the assumption that in conceptual principles the context functions as a free parameter.

Accordingly, the question is, which social interests governed research in the Standard Theory and in Government-Binding Theory, respectively.

Metascientific considerations carried out, among others, by Riley (1987) and Forrai (1987) clearly show that the two theories follow different interests which, however, are not difficult to identify.²⁰ Forrai and Riley argue independently that the primary interest which guides research in the Standard Theory is 'systematic description of grammar'. Let me label this particular value of the interest parameter of the KO-principle (P2) as p . In contrast with this, in Government-Binding Theory the value of the interest parameter is 'strong restriction of grammar'; let this be denoted by q .

At first sight, the interests at issue appear to be 'cognitive interests' and this, if true, would trivialize our analysis. However, this is not the case, because they are essentially social in nature. For example, 'systematic description of grammar' reflects the fight of the early generativists to develop a linguistic theory which meets the highest standards of 'scientificness' which only the natural sciences were assumed to claim. The fulfillment of these standards is, of course, closely connected with authority, social position and power, which are the paradigm cases of social interests in the sense of Bloor (1976). Therefore, 'systematic description of grammar' should be seen as an abbreviation of 'gaining authority, power and position by developing a grammatical theory which meets the highest standards of scientific quality exhibited by the well-developed natural sciences'. That this is a justified assumption is nicely documented in Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*. Likewise, 'strong restriction of grammar' is an abbreviation of 'gaining authority, power and position by developing a grammatical theory which meets the highest standards of scientific quality exhibited by the well-developed natural sciences'. The difference between them is partly due to the fact that the standards of high-quality scientific work seem to have been changed, as a result of the course which the cognitive revolution took.

Consequently, we have a motivational KO-principle, namely (P2) and two values, i.e. p and q , at which the KO-parameter in (P2) can be fixed. Due to (1c), the possible values of the conceptual KO-parameter ct must depend on p and q . Therefore, ct may have two values, namely, ct_p and ct_q .²¹ Now, it is well-known that in the Standard

²⁰ See, by way of illustration, Riley on this point. After comparing the theoretical terms of the Standard Theory with those of Government-Binding Theory, she comes to the following conclusion:

"[...] researchers working within each theory have been guided by different priorities and goals, and these in turn are reflected in the jargon associated with each theory." (Riley 1987, 178).

²¹ We know that all constituents of KO-modules are treated as mental representations and this facilitates the interaction between them. Therefore, there is nothing awkward in assuming that the value of a motivational parameter is adopted in some way or another by a conceptual parameter, because there is no qualitative difference between the two values—both are represented in the mind.

Theory Chomsky interprets ‘systematicity’, in the sense of Goodman, as ‘simplicity’. This evidently leads to the result that in the case of the Standard Theory giving the context-parameter ct the value ct_p yields the following **KO-rule of research**:

(R_{ST}) KO-explanations are determined under the assumption of their maximal simplicity.

Conversely, in Government-Binding Theory setting the context-parameter associated with (P1) yields a **KO-rule** like this:

(R_{GB}) KO-explanations are determined under the assumption of their maximal restrictiveness.

Accordingly, step (1f) has been carried out. What remains now, is to derive the conceptual representation C_x of the instance of scientific behaviour x and the conceptual representation C_y of y . As is commonplace, (R_{ST}) is the primary criterion of evaluating KO-explanations in the Standard Theory resulting in rule-oriented KO-explanations and (R_{GB}), in turn, serves as evaluating KO-explanations in Government-Binding Theory leading to principle-oriented KO-explanations. Thus, (R_{ST}) and (R_{GB}) immediately yield C_x and C_y , respectively. Consequently, **we have put forward a KM-explanation for the difference** between C_x and C_y . The two KM-explanations say:

(E_{ST}) x is a rule-oriented KO-explanation, because its conceptual KO-representation C_x is determined by the KO-rule (R_{ST}). (R_{ST}), in turn, results from the parametrization-relation between the universal KO-principle (P1) of the conceptual and the universal KO-principle (P2) of the motivational KO-module. This parametrization relation consists in the fact that the free parameter ct associated with (P1) was set at the value p whose origin is (P2).

(E_{GB}) y is a principle-oriented KO-explanation, because its conceptual KO-representation C_y is determined by the KO-rule (R_{GB}). (R_{GB}), in turn, results from the parametrization-relation between the universal KO-principle (P1) of the conceptual and the universal KO-principle (P2) of the motivational KO-module. This parametrization relation consists in the fact that the free parameter ct associated with (P1) was set at the value q whose origin is (P2).

Though, due to the programmatic nature of the present considerations, this case study dispenses with many minor details which could have rendered it more precise, it still shows that the outcome is exactly what we expected: we revealed **two KO-universals** of research, two KO-rules of research which are specific to two different stages in the development of generative grammar, and we thus obtained metascientific knowledge about why certain **instances of objectscientific behaviour** have the conceptual KO-representation they have.

5. Concluding remarks

The aim of this paper has been to show the following:

(i) A modular philosophy of science is, at least to a certain extent, capable of accounting for the interaction of the 'cognitive' and 'social' factors determining scientific knowledge.

(ii) Consequently, the seemingly antagonistic nature of the relationship between cognitivist and sociological approaches in the philosophy of science can be resolved.

(iii) The idea of "science self-applied" is a fruitful one in that it led to (i) and (ii). It can be turned into relatively detailed analyses yielding metascientific explanations of instances of objectscientific knowledge as exemplified by the above case study on generative grammar.

(iv) Consequently, **the scope of theoretical linguistics in which (MMH) is after all rooted can be extended to certain areas of the philosophy of science.** This is in accordance with the assumption that the subdisciplines of cognitive science can contribute to capturing major epistemological problems.

Nevertheless, the question under what precise conditions the idea of a modular philosophy of science can be developed into a sufficiently general, comprehensive theory accounting for all the richness of instances of scientific behaviour, is still open.

References

- Bierwisch, M. 1981. Die Integration autonomer Systeme. Überlegungen zur kognitiven Linguistik, Manuscript, Berlin.
- Bierwisch, M. 1983. Studies in the psychology of language. Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin.
- Bierwisch, M.–Lang, E. (eds) 1989. Dimensional adjectives: Grammatical structure and conceptual interpretation. Springer, Berlin/Heidelberg/New York.
- Bloor, D. 1976. Knowledge and social imagery. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Bloor, D. 1992. Ordinary human inference as material for the sociology of knowledge. In: *Social Studies of Science* 21: 129–139.
- Chomsky, N. 1957. Syntactic structures. Mouton, The Hague.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. Aspects of the theory of syntax. The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. Lectures on government and binding. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, N. 1986. Knowledge of language: its nature, origin and use. Praeger, New York.
- Chomsky, N. 1987. Barriers. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, N. 1992. Linguistics and adjacent fields: a personal view. In: Kasher, A. (ed.): *The Chomskyan turn*, 3–25. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Davidson, D.–Hintikka, J. (eds) 1969. Words and objections: Essays on the work of W.V. Quine. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Eckhardt, B. von 1993. What is cognitive science? The MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Forrai, G. 1987. The role of metaphor in the birth of generative grammar. In: *Doxa* 9: 49–56.

- Fuller, S. 1993. Philosophy, rhetoric and the end of knowledge: The coming of science and technology studies. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Fuller, S. – De Mey, M. – Shinn, T. – Woolgar, S. (eds) 1989. The cognitive turn: Sociological and psychological perspectives on science. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Gardner, H. 1985. The mind's new science: A history of the cognitive revolution. Basic Books, New York.
- Grewendorf, G. – Hamm, F. – Sternefeld, W. 1987. Sprachliches Wissen. Eine Einführung in moderne Theorien der grammatischen Beschreibung. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt/M.
- Helman, D.H. (ed.) 1988. Analogical reasoning. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Hesse, M. 1988. Theory, family resemblances and analogy. In: Helman, D.H. (ed.): Analogical reasoning 317–340.
- Johnson-Laird, P.N. 1980. Mental models in cognitive science. In: Cognitive Science 4: 71–115.
- Johnson-Laird, P.N. 1983. Mental models. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kasher, A. (ed.) 1992. The Chomskyan turn. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Kertész, A. 1991. Die Modularität der Wissenschaft. Konzeptuelle und soziale Prinzipien linguistischer Erkenntnis. Vieweg, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden.
- Kertész, A. 1993a. On the legitimation of metapragmatics: A case study in the epistemology of linguistics. In: Semiotica 95: 45–61.
- Kertész, A. 1993b. Artificial intelligence and the sociology of knowledge. Prolegomena to an integrated philosophy of science. Peter Lang, Frankfurt a. M./Bern/New York/Paris.
- Kertész, A. 1997. Linguistics self-applied: A case study. In: Sprachtheorie und germanistische Linguistik 6: 41–60.
- Lang, E. 1989. The semantics of dimensional designation of spatial objects. In: Bierwisch, M. – Lang, E. (eds.): Dimensional adjectives, 263–407. Springer, Berlin.
- Lang, E. – Carstensen, K.-U. – Simmons, G. 1991. Modelling spatial knowledge on a linguistic basis: Theory – prototype – integration. Springer, Berlin/Heidelberg/New York.
- Latour, B. 1987. Science in action. Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA.
- Newmeyer, F.J. 1992. Rules and principles in the historical development of generative syntax'. In: Kasher, A. (ed.): The Chomskyan turn, 200–30. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Nickles, T. 1989. Integrating the science studies disciplines. In: Fuller *et al.* (eds): The cognitive turn, 225–56. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Nola, R. 1992. Ordinary human inference as the refutation of the strong programme. In: Social Studies of Science 21: 107–129.
- Quine, W.V.O. 1969. Reply to Smart. In: Davidson, D. – Hintikka, J. (eds): Words and objections, 292–94. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Riley, K. 1987. The metalanguage of transformational syntax: Relations between jargon and theory. In: Semiotica 67: 173–94.
- Slezak, P. 1989. Scientific discovery by computer as empirical refutation of the Strong Programme. In: Social Studies of Science 19: 563–600.
- Sperber, D. – Wilson, D. 1986. Relevance: communication and cognition. Blackwell, Oxford.

Address of the author: András Kertész
 Department of German Linguistics
 Lajos Kossuth University
 Pf. 47.
 H-4010 Debrecen, Hungary
 e-mail: akertesz@tigris.klte.hu

PROBLEME DER WORTARTKLASSIFIZIERUNG IN DER UNGARISCHEN GEGENWARTSSPRACHE

BORBÁLA KESZLER

Abstract

The study surveys the criteria that are usually taken into account (either one by one or together) by European grammars in classifying parts of speech. They are the following: (a) the meaning of the word concerned, (b) its morphological behaviour, and (c) its function in the sentence (where the latter relates to the function of the word as a sentence constituent on the one hand and to what complements it can take on the other).

This study takes into consideration the three criteria together and, accordingly, it classifies Hungarian words into three large part-of-speech categories. (1) The basic parts of speech (noun, adjective, numeral, adverb, and pronoun). Their characteristic features are that they have an autosemantic meaning (except pronouns whose meaning is indirect denotative), they can be suffixed (except adverbs which can be suffixed with limitations only), they can be a sentence constituent independently. — (2) Function words. (A) Suffix-like function words, i.e., ones taking part in morphological structures (copula-like auxiliary verbs and auxiliary verbals, auxiliary verbs used in conjugational paradigms, postpositions, the word *mint* 'as' endowing adverbial function, adjectival postpositions, verbal prefixes). (B) Function words not taking part in morphological structures (conjunction, particle, article, negative particle). Function words are characterized by having relational or communicative, pragmatic meaning, they cannot be suffixed and cannot be used as a sentence constituent independently. — (3) Words used as a sentence (interjections, interactional words used as a sentence, modal words, onomatopoeic words used as a sentence). Their peculiarities are that they have only pragmatic or modal meaning, they cannot be suffixed, cannot function as a sentence constituent, but they are independent inarticulate sentences and can be interjected.

The classification of parts of speech raises several questions. For example, the adequacy of some traditional part-of-speech categories is widely queried in the literature. This involves e.g., numerals and — according to some experts — pronouns, too. Hungarian grammars have not included some other groups of words in the system of parts of speech so far, for instance, auxiliary verbals, quasi-auxiliaries (e.g. *kezd* 'begin to', *szokott* 'do usually', *talál* 'happen to'), particles (which can be defined best by comparing them with the adverbs and modal words), and so-called functional verbs or verbs with unsubstantial meaning, e.g. (*kölcsön*) *vesz* 'borrow', (*engedélyt*) *ad* 'grant permission', (*gyanúba*) *fog* 'throw suspicion', etc.).

Although the classification outlined in this paper has been prepared on the basis of a consistent application of the classificational criteria listed, it does not intend to solve the problems of classification in every single case, sometimes it merely undertakes to present the broad outlines of the problem.

1. In den Wortartklassifizierungen werden im allgemeinen drei Gesichtspunkte berücksichtigt: die Bedeutung, die morphologischen Charakteristika sowie die Satzgliedfunktion des Wortes (vgl. Temesi 1970, 195–9; Velcsov 1968, 13–4; Flämig 1977, 39–52; Helbig 1977, 90–118; Švedova *et al.* 1982, 457; Erben 1972, 57–62; Heidolp *et al.* 1981, 490–2; Berrár 1982, 23–32; Bußmann 1983, 586; Engel 1988, 17–8; Jung 1980, 165; Švedova–Lopatin 1989, 146; Lewandowski 1990, 1250). Unter morphologischen Charakteristika werden einerseits die Eigenschaften des Wortstammes, andererseits seine Suffigierbarkeit verstanden. Die Satzgliedfunktion hat gleichfalls Doppelcharakter. Sie bezieht sich einerseits auf die Satzgliedfunktion im engeren Sinne, d. h., was für eine Satzgliedrolle dem Wort zukommt, andererseits auf seine Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten.

Es würde aber zu weit führen, darzustellen, welcher/welche von den drei erwähnten Gesichtspunkten im Laufe der Zeit zur Geltung gebracht wurde/wurden. Im großen und ganzen läßt sich feststellen, daß zu Anfang des Jahrhunderts von den obigen Kriterien die Bedeutung am wichtigsten war (unter dem Einfluß von Wundt und Brøndal); später wurden alle drei Gesichtspunkte gleichzeitig angewandt (einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter dieses Prinzips war H. Paul). Obwohl von den meisten Grammatikern auch noch heute die gleichzeitige Anwendung aller drei Gesichtspunkte für richtig gehalten wird, wird in der neueren grammatischen Literatur größerer Wert auf die syntaktischen und zum Teil auf die morphologischen Charakteristika gelegt. Die Anwendbarkeit des Gesichtspunktes der Suffigierbarkeit wird trotzdem von vielen bestritten: sie weisen darauf hin, daß die sogenannten lexikalisch inhaltvollen Wörter (Verb, Substantiv, Adjektiv, Zahlwort) nur in bestimmten Sprachen (Deutsch, Ungarisch) über ein typisch für die Wortart charakteristisches Flexionssystem verfügen. In anderen Sprachen läßt sich kaum von Substantivdeklinatation sprechen (Englisch, Französisch), oder es gibt gar keine Adjektivdeklinatation (z. B. im Englischen); und es gibt Sprachen, in denen die Flexion vollkommen unbekannt ist (z. B. im Chinesischen). Die Verben, die Substantive und die Adjektive lassen sich jedoch voneinander unterscheiden (Hentschel–Weidt 1990, 15, 246). All das macht uns darauf aufmerksam, daß die Wortartklassifizierung nicht in jeder Sprache nach den gleichen Regeln vorzunehmen ist.

Es liegt vielleicht an der dargestellten Unsicherheit, daß die englische Grammatik von Quirk und Greenbaum (1977, 18–21) die Wortartklassifizierung nach anderen Prinzipien durchführt: das Hauptprinzip ist, ob die Wortklasse durch weitere Mitglieder vermehrt werden kann. Dementsprechend werden offene und geschlossene Wortklassen voneinander unterschieden. Zu den offenen Wortklassen gehören: das Substantiv, das Adjektiv, das Adverb und das Verb; Wortklassen geschlossenen Systems sind: das Demonstrativum (teils Artikel, teils De-

monstrativpronomen), das Pronomen, die Präposition, die Interjektion und die Konjunktion (vgl. auch Eisenberg 1989, 34).

2. Obwohl die Grammatiken „System der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache“ (Tompá 1970a) und „Die ungarische Gegenwartssprache“ (Bencédy *et al.* 1968) die dreiseitige Betrachtungsweise akzeptieren, werden die drei Gesichtspunkte im Klassifizierungssystem der Arbeiten nicht vollständig zur Geltung gebracht (das Modalwort und das Verbalpräfix gehören zu den Adverbien; der Infinitiv wird den Substantiven, die Partizipien und die Verbadverbien werden den Adjektiven, bzw. den Adverbien zugerechnet; die Pronominaladverbien werden unter den Adverbien erwähnt usw.).

Jolán Berrár (1982, 23–32) ist die erste, die bei der Wortartklassifizierung die Bedeutung, die Morphologie und die Satzgliedfunktion des Wortes nicht nur betont, sondern auch konsequent berücksichtigt; dementsprechend unterscheidet sie drei große Wortartgruppen. (1) Grundwortarten (Verb, Substantiv, Adjektiv, Zahlwort, Adverb), die selbständig als Satzglied auftreten, flektierbar und lexikalisch von inhaltsvoller Bedeutung sind. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören eigentlich auch noch die Pronomina, die sich von den Grundwortarten nur dadurch unterscheiden, daß sie lexikalisch von inhaltsloser Bedeutung sind; der Infinitiv, die Partizipien und die Verbadverbien, die die Eigenschaften mehrerer Grundwortarten aufweisen, sich aber keiner von ihnen eindeutig zurechnen lassen. (2) Verhältniswörter (Verbalpräfixe, Artikel, Postpositionen, Hilfsverben, Modalwörter, Konjunktionen), die nicht selbständig als Satzglied auftreten, unflektierbar (die Hilfsverben gelten hier als Ausnahmen) und lexikalisch von inhaltsloser Bedeutung sind. (3) Interjektionen, die nie als Satzglieder auftreten, aber Gliedsatzwert haben, unflektierbar und lexikalisch von inhaltsloser Bedeutung sind, aber Emotion und Willen ausdrücken.

Genauso konsequent werden die drei Gesichtspunkte in der sich auf die Systematisierung von Berrár stützenden Klassifizierung von Rácz (1985, 263) und Keszler (1992; 1995) verwendet.

3. Auch die hier vorliegende Wortartklassifizierung beruht auf den traditionellen drei Gesichtspunkten. Außer ihnen gedenke ich aber noch einen vierten in die Analyse einzubeziehen: den Gesichtspunkt der textgrammatischen Funktion (obwohl seine Anwendung mit vollständiger Konsequenz noch auszuarbeiten ist).

Die **Grundwortarten** sind selbständige Satzteile, sie können erweitert werden, sie sind suffigierbar, ihre Bedeutung ist eine „autosemantische Bedeutung“ (d. h. eine vom Kontext unabhängige, selbständige, inhaltsvolle Bedeutung). Grundwortarten: das Verb, das Substantiv, das Adjektiv, das Numerale (?), die nur beschränkt suffigierbaren Adverbien sowie die infiniten Verben mit Übergangs-

I. GRUNDWORTARTEN		
<p>A) selbständige Satzglieder, aber kaum ergänzbar</p> <p>B) suffigierbar, aber mit Ableitungssuffixen kombinieren sie sich nur manchmal</p> <p>C) ihre Bedeutung ist indirekt, denotativ</p> <p>D) sie haben wichtige textgrammatische Funktion</p> <p>substantivisches Pronomen: <i>én</i> 'ich', <i>engem</i> 'mich', <i>magát</i> 'sich', <i>ez</i> 'dieser', <i>ki?</i> 'wer?', <i>ami</i> 'was', <i>bárki</i> 'wer auch immer', <i>valami</i> 'irgendwas'</p> <p>adjektivisches Pronomen: <i>olyan</i> 'solcher', <i>melyik?</i> 'welcher?', <i>amekkora</i> 'wie groß', <i>mindenfőle</i> 'allerlei', <i>némely</i> 'manche'</p> <p>numeralisches Pronomen: <i>ennyi</i> 'so viel', <i>hány?</i> 'wieviel?', <i>ahány</i> 'wieviel', <i>semennyi</i> 'nichts', <i>néhány</i> 'manche'</p> <p>B) nur begrenzt suffigierbar</p> <p>adverbiale Pronomina: <i>itt</i> 'hier', <i>amikor</i> 'als, wenn', <i>akárhogy</i> 'irgendwie'</p> <p>Die substantivischen, adjektivischen und adverbialen Pronomina sind Grundwortarten ersetzende Wortarten</p>	<p>A) selbständige Satzglieder, können erweitert werden</p> <p>B) suffigierbar</p> <p>C) „autosemantische Bedeutung“ (vom Kontext unabhängige, selbständige, inhaltssvolle Bedeutung)</p> <p>Verb: <i>megy</i> 'gehen', <i>kinyitlik</i> 'sich öffnen', <i>van</i> 'sein'</p> <p>Substantiv: <i>asztal</i> 'der Tisch', <i>sárkány</i> 'der Drache', <i>futás</i> 'das Laufen', <i>szépség</i> 'die Schönheit'</p> <p>Adjektiv: <i>piros</i> 'rot', <i>okos</i> 'klug', <i>nagy</i> 'groß'</p> <p>Zahlwort: <i>három</i> 'drei', <i>harmadik</i> 'dritt-', <i>sok</i> 'viel'</p> <p>B) nur begrenzt suffigierbar</p> <p>die Adverbien: <i>reggel</i> 'am Morgen', <i>rögvest</i> 'sofort', <i>egyéül</i> 'allein'</p>	<p>A) selbständige Satzglieder, können erweitert werden</p> <p>B) suffigierbar</p> <p>C) „autosemantische Bedeutung“ (vom Kontext unabhängige, selbständige, inhaltssvolle Bedeutung)</p> <p>Infinitiv: <i>tanulni</i> 'lernen', <i>lehullani</i> 'herabfallen'</p> <p>Partizipien: <i>futó</i> 'laufend', <i>tanult</i> 'gelernt', <i>megírandó</i> 'zu schreibend'</p> <p>Verbadverbien: <i>írva</i> 'schreibend'</p> <p>Die infiniten Verben sind Wörter mit Übergangswortart-charakter</p>

leere, inhaltslose
Funktionsverben:
tanácsot ad 'Rat geben',
ítéletet hoz 'Urteil fällen'

II. VERHÄLTNISWÖRTER

A) selbständig kein Satzglied, nicht ergänzbar

B) im allgemeinen nicht suffigierbar

C), D) ihre Bedeutung ist entweder Verhältnisbedeutung oder kommunikativ-pragmatische Bedeutung

in Konstruktionen morphologischer Natur

die **kopulaartigen Hilfsverben, Hilfspartizipien der zusammengesetzten Satzteile**: *van* 'sein', *volt* 'war', *lesz* 'werden', *marad* 'bleiben', *műlik* 'vergehen', *lenni* 'sein', *lévén, való, levő* (unübersetzbar)

im Wert eines grammatischen Zeichens auftretend: in den zusammengesetzten Verbformen: das **Hilfsverb fog** 'werden'; das **verbale Hilfswort volna** 'wäre'

flexionssuffixwertig: die **Postposition**: *mellett* 'neben', *alatt* 'unter' und das **Adverbiale konstruierende mint** 'als'

das **Postposition-Adjektiv**: (*ház*) *melletti* 'der neben dem Haus stehende', (*pad*) *alatti* 'der unter der Bank liegende'

die **Verbalpräfixe**: *megnéz* 'sich ansehen', *befűz* 'einfügen', *kijár* 'ausgehen'

weitere (eventuell) **Hilfsverben**: *kezd* 'anfangen', *szokott* 'pflegen', *talál* 'etw. zufällig tun' usw.

in Konstruktionen nichtmorphologischer Natur

Konjunktionen (semantische und syntaktische Fügteile): *és* 'und', *s* 'und', *de* 'aber', *tehát* 'also', *hogy* 'daß', *mert* 'denn', *bár* 'obwohl'

Partikeln

- a) Abtönungspartikeln: Mit *is* kell tennem? 'Was soll ich *eigentlich* tun?', Tud *egyáltalán* japánul? 'Können Sie *überhaupt* japanisch?', Tudom *ám*, hogy mi történt! 'Ich weiß *aber*, was geschah!'
b) Rangierpartikeln: *alig* 'kaum', *talán* 'vielleicht', *jó* 'gut', *közel* 'beinahe', *majdnem* 'fast'
c) Fokuspartikeln: *csak* 'nur', *csakis* 'nur', *csupán* 'bloß', *leginkább* 'am meisten', *egyedül* 'allein', *főképp* 'vorwiegend', *kizárólag* 'ausschließlich'
d) den Satztyp bezeichnende Partikeln: *bár* 'doch', *csak* 'nur', *bárcsak* 'doch, nur', *-e* 'ob', *ugye* 'nicht wahr?', *vajon* 'ob'

der **Artikel**: *a* 'der, die, das', *egy* 'ein', *ő*

Negationswörter: *ne, nem* 'nicht'

III. SATZÄQUIVALENTE

A) selbständig keine Satzglieder, nicht ergänzbar, sondern sich sogar von der Satzeinheit ab; selbständige monoreme Sätze

B) nicht suffigierbar

C), D) besitzen nur pragmatische oder modale Bedeutung

Interjektionen

óh! 'oh', *brrr!* 'brrr!', *au!* 'au!', *eh!* 'ch!', *ah!* 'ah!', *haha!* 'haha!', *pfuj!* 'pfui!', *jaj!* 'ai!'

interaktionale Satzäquivalente

csau 'tschüß', *pá* 'tschüß', *agyő* 'adieu'

űhűm 'hm', *igen* 'ja', *nos* 'na'

hohó! 'hoho!', *psz!* 'pssst!', *ejnye!* 'aber!', *dehogyis!* 'aber nicht doch!', *hopp!* 'hops!', *sicc!* 'husch!', *hogyisne!* 'warum nicht gar!', *hajrá!* 'vorwärts!', *hoci!* 'her!'

im! 'hiermit!', *lám!* 'sichst du!'

Modalwörter

talán 'vielleicht', *valószínűleg* 'wahrscheinlich', *esetleg* 'eventuell', *nyilván* 'offensichtlich'

lautnachahmende Satzäquivalente

miau 'miau', *mee* 'mee', *reccs* 'ratsch', *puff* 'hups'

wortartcharakter (Infinitiv, Verbaladjektiv und Partizip). Zu den Grundwortarten gehören auch die Grundwortarten ersetzenden Wörter, also die Pronomina. Diese sind selbständige Satzteile, können beschränkt erweitert werden, sind deklinierbar, doch treten Ableitungssuffixe nur ausnahmsweise zu ihnen; ihre Bedeutung ist indirekt denotativ. Sie haben eine wichtige syntaktische Funktion. Die Pronomina können substantivische, adjektivische numeralische (?) und adverbiale Pronomina sein.

Die **Verhältniswörter** können selbständig keine Satzteile sein, können nicht erweitert und im allgemeinen nicht suffigiert werden; ihre Bedeutung ist entweder eine Verhältnis- oder eine kommunikativ-pragmatische Bedeutung. Es gibt unter den Verhältniswörtern solche, die in morphologischen Konstruktionen vorkommen; zu ihnen gehören die Kopulae zusammengesetzter Satzteile: Hilfsverben, Hilfspartizipien und sonstige Hilfsörter (*van* 'sein', *volt* 'war', *lesz* 'werden', *marad* 'bleiben', *múlik* 'vergehen', *lenni* 'sein', *lévén*, *való*, *volta* [unübersetzbar]), die Hilfsörter des Verbparadigmas (das Hilfsverb *fog* 'werden'; das verbale Hilfswort *volna* 'wäre'), die Postpositionen (*mellett* 'neben', *alatt* 'unter'), das Adverbiale konstruierende *mint* 'als', das Postposition-Adjektiv (*alatti* 'unter'), die modalen, aspektualen und pragmatischen Hilfsverben (*tetszik* 'gefallen, scheinen', *szokott* 'pflegen', *talál* 'etw. zufällig tun') und die Verbalpräfixe (*megnéz* 'sich ansehen', *befűz* 'einfädeln', *kijár* 'ausgehen'). Zu einer anderen Gruppe von Verhältniswörtern gehören solche Wörter, die in Konstruktionen nichtmorphologischer Natur vorkommen. Dies können semantische und syntaktische Verbindungselemente wie die Konjunktionen sein (*és* 'und', *hogy* 'daß'); Partikeln mit kommunikativ-pragmatischer Funktion (*egyáltalán* 'überhaupt', *csak* 'nur', *bár* 'doch', *se*, *sem* 'auch nicht'); sowie Artikel (*a* 'der, die, das', *egy* 'ein') und Negationswörter (*ne*, *nem* 'nicht').

Die dritte große Wortartgruppe soll (mangels eines besseren Ausdrucks) **Satzäquivalente** genannt werden. Die Satzäquivalente können keine Satzteile sein, können nicht erweitert werden und sondern sich im allgemeinen von der Satzeinheit ab. Sie können selbständige monoreme Sätze sein. Sie sind nicht suffigierbar. Sie haben pragmatische oder modale oder logische Bedeutung. Zu den Satzäquivalenten gehören die Interjektionen, die interaktionellen Satzäquivalente, die Modalwörter und die lautnachahmende Satzäquivalente.

4. Die Klassifizierung der Wörter in Wortarten wirft zahllose **Probleme** auf, von denen die folgenden am typischsten sind.

4.1. Von den 70er Jahren an taucht sowohl in der ausländischen als auch in der ungarischen Fachliteratur die Ansicht auf, daß die **Zahlwörter** keine selbständige Wortart bilden, sondern nur als Subkategorie der Adjektive, als „adjective numeral“ gelten (vgl. Spears 1975, 6; Berrár 1967, 204; Ágoston 1993).

Diejenigen Wissenschaftler, die dieser Ansicht waren, haben sich darauf bezogen, daß das Zahlwort einen Akzidenzbegriff zum Ausdruck bringt, ebenso wie das Adjektiv. Während aber das Adjektiv einen qualitativen Akzidenzbegriff ausdrückt, handelt es sich beim Zahlwort um einen quantitativen Akzidenzbegriff. Einer weniger akzeptierten Ansicht nach gehören alle komparierbaren Wortarten: das Adjektiv, das Zahlwort und das Adverb zu einer großen Wortklasse (Erben 1980, 57–62).

Eine dritte, heute immer mehr akzeptierte Auffassung besagt, daß es überflüssig ist, eine Sonderkategorie für die Zahlwörter zu schaffen; ihre Wortklasse sondert sich nämlich nur nach semantischen Gesichtspunkten ab (Flämig 1977, 39–52; Helbig 1977, 102–3; Helbig–Buscha 1977, 22–3; Heidolp *et al.* 1981, 492, 495, 604; Bußmann 1983, 354–5; Quirk–Greenbaum 1977, 18; Engel 1988, 18; Jung 1988, 167; Lewandowski 1990, 125; Ulrich 1987, 124; aber vgl. Hentschel–Weydt 1987, 124). Dementsprechend gehören zu dieser Wortklasse Substantive (*kettő* ‘die Zwei’, *negyed* ‘das Viertel’, *század* ‘das Hundertstel’), Adjektive (*két* ‘zwei’, *harmadik* ‘dritt-’, *számtalan* ‘zahllos’), Adverbien (*sokszor* ‘vielmal’) und Pronomina (*sok* ‘viel’, *kevés* ‘wenig’). Wie man von Zahlwörtern spricht, genauso wäre es möglich, von eigenschafts-, zustands-, zeit-, orts-, oder negationsbezeichnenden Wörtern zu sprechen. Wörter, die einen Zustand bezeichnen, sind z. B.: *szenved* ‘leiden’, *betegeskedik* ‘kränkeln’, *ülve* ‘sitzend’, *állva* ‘stehend’, *fáradtság* ‘die Müdigkeit’, *szomorúság* ‘die Traurigkeit’, *beteg* ‘krank’, *szomorú* ‘traurig’, *fáradt* ‘müde’. Wörter, die den Ort bezeichnen, sind: *park* ‘der Park’, *liget* ‘der Hain’, *terem* ‘der Raum’, *szélső* ‘äußere’, *oldalsó* ‘seitlich’, *messze* ‘weit’, *közel* ‘nah’, *távol* ‘weit’ usw. Auch sie werden nur von der Bedeutung verbunden; vom Gesichtspunkt der Wortartzugehörigkeit aus entsteht ein vielfarbiges Bild: unter ihnen gibt es Verben, Partizipien, Substantive, Adjektive, Adverbien und Pronomina. Die negationsbezeichnenden Elemente sind: interaktionelle Satzäquivalente: *Nem* ‘nein’; Negationswörter: *nem*, *ne* ‘nicht’; Partikeln: *se*, *sem* ‘auch nicht’; Pronomina: *senki* ‘niemand’, *semmi* ‘nichts’, *sehol* ‘nirgends’, *semmikor* ‘nie’; Konjunktionen: *sem*, *sem* ‘weder – noch’, *nemcsak*, *hanem is* ‘nicht nur, sondern auch’; Modalwörter: *semmiképpen* ‘keinesfalls’, *majdhogynem* ‘beinahe’; sogar Deprivationssuffixe: *szabálytalan* ‘unregelmäßig’, *barátságtalan* ‘unfreundlich’.

Einige Verfasser beziehen sich auf die morphologischen Eigentümlichkeiten der Zahlwörter, wenn sie die Rechtfertigung der Kategorie betonen. Die Bildung der Ordinal- und der Bruchzahlen ist tatsächlich speziell (z. B. *harmadik* ‘dritt-’, *negyedik* ‘viert-’; *harmad* ‘drittel’, *negyed* ‘viertel’), und es gibt auch Relationssuffixe, die meistens nur zu Zahlwörtern hinzutreten, z. B. *-szor*, *-szer*, *-ször* ‘-mal’ oder zum Teil auch *-kor* ‘um’.

In Wirklichkeit gibt es aber auch andere Wörter mit spezieller Bildungsart, z. B. die Adjektive mit den Ableitungssuffixen *-i*, *-nyi* oder *-t(e)len*, *-t(a)lan* (z. B.: *budapesti* 'Budapester', *városi* 'städtisch'; *maroknyi* 'eine Handvoll'; *fogatlan* 'zahnlos') usw., und auch die oben erwähnten Relationsuffixe lassen sich mit Wörtern anderer Wortart kombinieren, wenn diese Wörter die Quantität oder die Reihenfolge bezeichnen. Bei der Suffigierung scheint also die Bedeutung wesentlicher zu sein als der sog. Wortartcharakter, z. B.: *ötször* 'fünfmal', *tízszer* 'zehnmal', *ötödéször* 'das fünfte Mal', *századszor* 'das hundertste Mal', *egynegyedszer* 'einviertelmal', *kétötödéször* 'zweifünftelmal'; *számtalanszor* 'unzähligemal', *tömérekszer* 'enorm vielmal'; *csomósor* 'ungeheuer vielmal'; *sokszor* 'vielmal', *kevésszer* 'wenigemal'; *néhányszor* 'einigemal', *valahányszor* 'so oftmal', *mennyiszer* 'wievielmal'. — *Ötkor* 'um fünf', *tízor* 'um zehn', *negyedkor* 'um viertel', *háromnegyedkor* 'um dreiviertel' (aber *tizedkor* 'um zehntel' oder *ötödkor* 'um fünftel' existiert nicht mehr!), *ebédkor* 'beim Mittagessen', *étkezéskor* 'beim Speisen', *vacsorakor* 'beim Abendessen' usw.

4.2. Einige Wissenschaftler (Helbig–Buscha 1977, 22–3; Flämig 1977, 39–52; Heidolp *et al.* 1981, 496) vertreten auch in bezug auf die **Pronomina** die Meinung, daß sie nicht eindeutig als selbständige Wortart betrachtet werden können, da sie sich von den Substantiven nur hinsichtlich ihrer Bedeutung unterscheiden. Ihre Bedeutung ist nicht inhaltsvoll, sondern leer, d. h. deiktisch (zum Thema „Deixis“ vgl. Bencze 1993, 41–9). — Die Pronomina können aber allein nichts designieren, sie lassen sich nur durch die Situation, die Fortsetzung oder die Konsequenz interpretieren, als konnexionelle Anweisungen (vgl. Kocsány 1994, 345). Aufgrund dessen betrachtet Ulrich (1987, 62) die Pronomina als Verhältnswörter.

Es ist wiederum interessant, wie die englische Grammatik von Quirk und Greenbaum (1977) die Pronomina darstellt. Pronomen nennt diese Grammatik nur die substantivischen Pronomina, die weiteren (also die adjektivischen und die numeralischen) Pronomina bezeichnet sie als Determinanten. Eine ähnliche Auffassung spiegelt sich in der russischen akademischen Grammatik sowie in der französischen Grammatik von Grevisse. Unter Pronomen verstehen sie nur die substantivischen Pronomina.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen Ansichten ist es unbedingt angebracht, die Pronomina als selbständige Wortartkategorie zu betrachten. Diese Auffassung unterstützen nicht nur semantische, sondern auch morphologische und syntaktische Argumente. Die Pronomina verfügen nämlich zweifelsohne über mehrere gemeinsame morphologische sowie syntaktische Eigentümlichkeiten: mit Ableitungssuffixen lassen sie sich meistens nicht kombinieren, sie sind nicht komparierbar, und sie unterscheiden sich auch hinsichtlich ihrer Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten von den

Substantiven und Adjektiven: die Ergänzbarekeit der Pronomina ist nämlich in hohem Maße begrenzt (vgl. Laczkó-Keszler 1994, 101–2).

Im Zusammenhang mit den Pronomina tauchen auch weitere Probleme auf.

Aufgrund der semantischen Analyse entsteht ein widersprüchliches Bild. Wenn man von der Definition ausgeht, daß das Pronomen Substantive, Adjektive, Zahlwörter und Adverbien vertritt, stellt sich heraus, daß dies nicht für jede Untergruppe charakteristisch ist: so gilt es für die erste und die zweite Person des Personalpronomens gar nicht, nur für seine dritte Person (die dritte Person bezieht sich aber nicht unbedingt auf ein Lebewesen) usw. — Es gibt aber Pronomina, die nicht ein Wort vertreten, sondern auf einen ganzen Satz oder Textteil verweisen. — Mit der Stellvertreterfunktion sind natürlich auch andere Probleme verbunden. Wenn das Pronomen mit allen Wörtern mit stellvertretender Funktion identisch ist, dann können der Kategorie der Pronomina nicht nur die traditionell als Pronomina betrachteten Wörter zugerechnet werden. Daraus ergibt sich, daß einige Wissenschaftler alle Wörter, die nur aus der Situation interpretierbar sind, d. h., die nicht benennen, sondern nur bezeichnen, verweisen oder repräsentieren, als Pronomen, Prowort, Proelement betrachten, z. B. *csinál* ‘tun, machen’, *tesz* ‘tun, machen’, *izé* ‘das Ding’, *dolog* ‘das Ding’, *most* ‘jetzt’, *annakidején* ‘damals’, *ma* ‘heute’, *ember* ‘der Mensch’, *világ* ‘die Welt’ usw. (vgl. Helbig 1977, 103–5; Heidolp *et al.* 1981, 496; 632–5). Auf diese Weise wären die Wörter *ember* ‘der Mensch’ und *világ* ‘die Welt’ in den Fällen, wo sie — der Terminologie der traditionellen Grammatiken nach — als Ausdrucksform des Allgemeinsubjekts gelten, auch im Ungarischen als Pronomina, Prowörter zu interpretieren, z.B.: *Nézzé meg az ember!* ‘Da soll *man* einmal sehen!’, *Azt hinné az ember: élő tilalomfa* ‘*Man* würde glauben, er ist ein lebendiger Warnungspfehl’ (zitiert aus dem Toldi Aranys) (Rácz 1968, 114) usw. Diese Vorstellung kann auch dadurch bestätigt werden, daß die Wörter *ember* ‘der Mensch’ und *világ* ‘die Welt’ im Satz nicht nur als Allgemeinsubjekt auftreten können; sie können auch andere syntaktische Funktionen ausüben, in denen das Allgemeinpronomen zu gebrauchen ist, z. B.: *Ilyen körülmények között az embernek (mindenkinek) elmegy a kedve az élettől* is ‘Diese Umstände können *einem* sogar die Lebenslust nehmen’; *Könnyen megtörténhet az emberrel (mindenkivel), hogy...* ‘Es kann *einem* leicht passieren, daß...’. Das Wort *ember* ‘der Mensch’ kann aber manchmal auch ein Indefinitpronomen, sogar ein Personalpronomen vertreten: *Ha az emberrel (valakivel, velem, velünk) udvariatlanok, természetes, hogy nem kapnak segítséget.* ‘Wenn sie *einem* (*jemandem, mir, uns*) gegenüber unfreundlich sind, wird ihnen natürlich keine Hilfe geleistet’. *Az ember (én vagy mi) százszor meggondolja, hogy...* ‘*Man* (*ich oder wir*) überlegt sich hundertmal, ob...’.

Die Existenz der **Proverben** wurde bis jetzt auch nicht in aller Ausführlichkeit klargelegt. Wie bekannt, betrachtet Jolán Berrár — nach László Kubinyi — (1977, 408–19) die Verbindung eines Demonstrativpronomens und eines inhaltslosen Verbs als Proverb (*úgy csinál* ‘er tut/macht so’, *az történt* ‘das passierte’, *azt csinálja* ‘er tut/macht so/das’); diese Verbindung kann zum Korrelat eines Prädikatsatzes werden; z. B.: *Ő azt csinálja, hogy sose arra felel, amit kérdeznek tőle.* ‘Er macht es so, daß er nie die Frage beantwortet, die ihm gestellt wird.’

4.3. Bemerkenswert ist es, daß der **Infinitiv** und die **Partizipien** in den europäischen Grammatiken nie als selbständige Wortartkategorie behandelt, sondern zusammen mit dem Verb dargestellt werden. Das läßt sich wahrscheinlich damit erklären, daß der Infinitiv und die Partizipien im Konjugationssystem der indoeuropäischen Sprachen wesentlich wichtiger sind als im Ungarischen. Im Gegensatz zu anderen europäischen Sprachen scheint aber die Satzgliedfunktion des Infinitivs und der Partizipien im Ungarischen dominanter zu sein.

4.4. Die Kategorie der Verhältniswörter bereitet noch mehr Schwierigkeiten. Die Wissenschaftler sind sich darüber vollkommen einig, welche Charakteristika die Verhältniswörter aufweisen: selbständig können sie nicht als Satzglieder auftreten, sie sind nicht ergänzbar, nicht suffigierbar; sie haben eine Verhältnis- oder Modal- bzw. eine kommunikativ-pragmatische Mehrbedeutung.

Wie aus der Tabelle hervorging, gibt es zwei klar unterschiedene Kategorien von Verhältniswörtern: Verhältniswörter in Konstruktionen morphologischer Natur (**4.4.1.**) und Verhältniswörter in Konstruktionen nichtmorphologischer Natur (**4.4.2.**).

4.4.1. Charakteristisch für die Verhältniswörter in Konstruktionen morphologischer Natur ist, daß sie eigentlich Suffixwert, also eine mit dem Ableitungssuffix, Zeichen oder Flexionssuffix identische Funktion haben.

a) Als **ableitungssuffixwertig** sind die **kopulaartigen Hilfsverben** zu betrachten, also die konjugierten Formen der mit dem nominalen Teil des zusammengesetzten Prädikats in Verbindung tretenden Verben *van* ‘sein’, *volt* ‘war’, *lesz* ‘werden’, *marad* ‘bleiben’, *elmúlik* ‘vergehen’ sind von Ableitungssuffixwert. Diese Hilfsverben haben die Funktion, das Subjekt mit dem Prädikat so zu verbinden, daß sie dabei den nominalen Teil in ein Verb verwandeln, z. B.: *Már két hónapja beteg volt* ‘Er war schon seit zwei Monaten krank’; *Péter mindig becsületes maradt* ‘Peter blieb immer ehrlich’ usw.

Genauso ableitungssuffixwertig sind der **Hilfsinfinitiv**, das **Hilfsverbadverb** und die **Hilfspartizipien** der zusammengesetzten Satzglieder (z. B.: *Jó szegény,*

becsületes *ember lenni* 'Es ist gut, ein armer und ehrlicher *Mensch zu sein*'; *Beteg lévő* nem ment el 'Da er krank war, ging er nicht weg'; Az idő szeles volta senkit sem zavart 'Es störte niemanden, daß das Wetter windig war'. Zu diesem Thema vgl. Rácz (1968, 232); Keszler (1977, 458, 487); Lengyel (1994, 10).

b) Im Wert eines grammatischen Zeichens kommen das **Hilfsverb** *fog* 'werden', das das ausgestorbene Futurzeichen ersetzt, sowie das **verbale Hilfswort** *volna* 'wäre' vor, z. B.: Tanulni *fogok*. 'Ich werde lernen.' Szívesen elmentem *volna*. 'Ich wäre gern mitgegangen.'

c) **Relationssuffixwertig** sind die **Postposition** und das **Adverbiale konstruierende** *mint* 'als' (z. B.: A kutya az asztal *alatt* hevert 'Der Hund lag unter dem Tisch'; Péter *mint* nevelő dolgozott az intézetben 'Peter arbeitete als Erzieher im Internat'; Az alma édesebb, *mint* a körte 'Der Apfel ist süßer, als die Birne' (zum Thema vgl. Kelemen 1955, 16; Keszler 1995, 302).¹

d) Der vierten, sog. **Übergangsgruppe** der Verhältniswörter in Konstruktionen morphologischer Natur wurden das **Postposition-Adjektiv** (*ház mellett*; z. B. der neben dem Haus stehende), das **Verbalpräfix** und die anderen **Hilfsverben** zugerechnet.

Ich bin — ähnlich Berrár — der Meinung, daß auch die **Verbalpräfixe** Ableitungssuffixwert haben; die Beurteilung der Frage ist trotzdem nicht unumstritten: beim Verbpaar *ír : megír* 'schreiben : etwas fertigschreiben' könnte es nämlich die Funktion des Suffixes von einem perfektiven Verb haben (das aber im Ungarischen gar nicht existiert); in den Verben *bemegy* 'hineingehen', *föláll* 'aufstehen' scheint es aber eher die Funktion einer Konstituente in einer Zusammensetzung aufzuweisen. Hadumod Bußmann (1983, 431) nennt die Verbalpräfixe Präfixoide, Halbpräfixe, präfixartige Elemente.

Die eventuellen weiteren **Hilfsverben** haben auch Übergangscharakter.

Die Frage, ob im Ungarischen — ähnlich wie in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen — außer den „traditionellen“ Hilfsverben noch weitere Hilfsverben existieren, wurde schon mehrmals angedeutet (vgl. Keszler 1977, 484; Ágoston 1993, 220; Molnár 1993, 221–5). Wahrscheinlich gibt es welche. Ich möchte diese Vermutung durch einige Beispiele veranschaulichen, ohne auf die Problematik diesmal ausführlich einzugehen. In den folgenden Sätzen: Sajnos nem *tud* meleg lenni 'Leider kann das Wetter nicht warm sein'; Péter este *szokott* tanulni 'Peter pflegt abends zu lernen'; Még meg *talállak* ütni 'Ich werde dich zufällig noch

¹ In den deutschen Grammatiken werden die ähnliche Funktion aufweisenden Wörter *als* und *wie* nicht eindeutig beurteilt. Einige behandeln sie als Präpositionen, andere als Konjunktionen (wobei sie sich darauf beziehen, daß es nicht üblich ist, daß eine Präposition den Nominativ regiert); wieder andere behaupten, daß sie als Vergleichspartikeln zu interpretieren sind.

schlagen' dürften die Verben von Hilfsverbcharakter sein. Das Verb *szokott* 'pflegen' dürfte einem Iterativsuffix entsprechen; das *talál* (hier) 'man tut etwas zufällig' kann aber nur durch ein selbständiges Wort ersetzt werden (vgl. *Vigyázz, mert még véletlenül megütlek* 'Sei vorsichtig/Benimm dich, sonst werde ich dich zufällig schlagen'). Der Hilfsverbcharakter der erwähnten Verben sowie einiger hier nicht genannter ähnlicher Elemente muß aber noch bewiesen werden.²

Nach den Hilfsverben wenden wir uns der Gruppe der **Funktionsverben** zu. Diese Verben wurden zwischen die Grundwortarten und die Verhältniswörter eingeordnet, sie gelten als semantisch leer, inhaltslos. Sie lassen sich dadurch charakterisieren, daß sie mit einem Nomen kombiniert auftreten, das mit einem Relationssuffix versehen ist; ihre selbständige Bedeutung ist unwesentlich, beinahe hilfsverbartig. Im Gefüge bringt das Nomen den Kern der Bedeutung zum Ausdruck, das Funktionsverb hat nur die grammatische Funktion des Verbs zu tragen; manchmal drückt es auch den Beginn der Handlung oder Perfektivität aus. Die Problematik der Funktionsverben wurde in der ungarischen Literatur bisher nicht erörtert, hinsichtlich des Deutschen wurde sie aber schon ausführlich dargelegt (vgl. Helbig–Buscha 1977, 74–1; Helbig 1979, 273–85; Engel 1988, 407–9, 869; Hentschel–Weydt 1990, 78–80; Bußmann 1983, 155 usw.). Bei uns kann man von den Funktionsverbgefügen nur im Handbuch der Sprachpflege (Grétsy–Kovalovszky 1980) lesen; da werden sie als „sich spreizende Ausdrücke“ erwähnt und auch vom Gesichtspunkt ihrer Sprachrichtigkeit her behandelt (vgl. I, 115–9, 187–9; II, 1007–15, 1017–21 usw.); Sziklai (1986, 268–73) befaßte sich mit der Problematik gleichfalls in einer interessanten Abhandlung und schlug statt der Bezeichnung negativen Inhalts (*terpeszkedő kifejezés* 'sich spreizender Ausdruck') einen neuen, neutralen Terminus vor: sie nennt diese Gefüge umschreibende

² Einzelne Verfasser rechnen hierzu noch die Artikel, da diese auch über ableitungssuffix- und zeichenartige Eigenschaften verfügen. Berrár ist der Ansicht, daß sie ableitungssuffixartig sind (ebd., 23); sie argumentiert, sie veränderten die Wortbedeutung hinsichtlich Definitheit–Indefinitheit. Zweifelsohne verfügen aber die Artikel über Eigenarten, die sie mit den grammatischen Zeichen verbinden: sie legen den Wortcharakter fest, z. B.: *szép* 'schön' (Adj.), *a szép* 'der/die/das Schöne' (Subst.); *zöld* 'grün' (Adj.), *a zöld* 'der/die/das Grüne' (Subst.). (Vgl. noch die deutschen Beispiele *laufen* : *das Laufen*.) Der Artikel kann im Deutschen auch den Numerus und den Kasus bezeichnen: *das Fenster* (Sg.) – *die Fenster* (Pl.); *der Tisch* (Nom.) – *den Tisch* (Akk.). Unabhängig davon ob die Artikel ableitungssuffixartig sind oder sich in der Rolle des grammatischen Zeichens befinden, besitzen sie einen Suffixwert. Dies bestätigt auch die Tatsache, daß der Artikel in einigen Sprachen – suffixartig – dem Wort nachgestellt wird, z. B. bulgarisch: *книгата* 'das Buch'; rumänisch: *studentul* 'der Student' (Conrad 1988, 31; Bußmann 1983, 43), schwedisch: *hund* 'Hund', *hundén* 'der Hund' (Hentschel–Weydt 1990, 202); arabisch: *kitbun* 'ein Buch' (Lizanec–Horváth–Tokan 1986, 200–1). Eine wesentliche Komponente im Übergangscharakter der Artikel bedeutet die textkohäsionelle Funktion, die ihnen durch ihre Anapher- und Katapherfähigkeit zufällt.

Konstruktionen (wodurch sie auch auf die funktionellen Möglichkeiten der Gefüge hinweist).

Obwohl die Problematik der Funktionsverben noch nicht völlig geklärt ist und ihre Abgrenzung von bzw. ihre Übereinstimmung mit den Phraseologismen noch weitere Forschungen braucht, kann man als eins der Hauptcharakteristika erwähnen, daß das Gefüge, in dem sie erscheinen, oft durch ein Verb, das vom nominalen Teil abgeleitet wurde, zu ersetzen ist; in diesen Fällen hat das Funktionsverb ungefähr die Funktion eines Verbableitungssuffixes (z. B.: *kölcsön vesz* 'entleihen' – *kölcsönöz* 'leihen'; *parancsot ad* 'einen Befehl erteilen' – *parancsol* 'befehlen'; *gyanúba fog* 'beargwöhnen' – *gyanúsít* 'verdächtigen'; *kifogást emel* 'Einwand erheben' – *kifogásol* 'einwenden'; *választ ad* 'Antwort geben' – *válaszol* 'antworten'; *hálát ad* 'Dank sagen' – *hálálkodik* 'danken'; *cserébe ad* 'in Tausch geben' – *cserél* 'tauschen'; *engedélyt ad* 'bewilligen' – *engedélyez* 'genehmigen' usw.) und drückt oft die Aktionsart aus (durativ, inchoativ, kausativ) (vgl. Polenz 1987, 172). Diese Aktionsart kann nicht immer durch ein einfaches, vom Stamm des nominalen Teils des Gefüges abgeleitetes Verb wiedergegeben werden.

Manchmal kommt es vor, daß das Funktionsverb einem Adjektivableitungssuffix entspricht, z. B.: *húsz főt számlál* 'es macht zwanzig Personen aus' – *húsz főnyi* 'von zwanzig Personen'; *80 évet számlál* 'er zählt achtzig Jahre' – *80 éves* 'achtzigjährig'; *nem tűr kétséget* 'es unterliegt keinem Zweifel' – *nem kétséges* 'zweifelloos'. Man kann natürlich auch viele Beispiele dafür finden, daß das Funktionsverbgefüge nicht durch ein abgeleitetes Wort wiedergegeben werden kann.

Als weiteres Charakteristikum der Funktionsverbgefüge kann erwähnt werden, daß der nominale Teil in ihnen nicht zu pronominalisieren ist (vgl. Helbig-Buscha 1977, 78). Zwar läßt sich nicht jedes Substantiv pronominalisieren; aber die für die Funktionsverbgefüge charakteristischen Substantive, d. h. die mit den Suffixen *-ás/-és* sowie *-at/-et*, *-alom/-elem* abgeleiteten Substantive sind vorwiegend pronominalisierbar. Nehmen wir einige Beispiele: *Védelmébe vesz* 'jn in Schutz nehmen'; **Abba vesz, hogy...* 'Er nimmt ihn darin, daß...'; in anderen Fällen, in denen ein Vollverb vorhanden ist, läßt sich dagegen das Substantiv *védelem* 'der Schutz' pronominalisieren: *Gondoskodott a védelméről* 'Er sorgte für seinen Schutz'; *Gondoskodott arról, hogy védjék* 'Er sorgte dafür, daß man ihn beschützt'.

Aufgrund dessen ist es mit Sicherheit festzustellen, daß sich die Funktionsverbgefüge von den Gefügen mit einem Vollverb absondern, ihre genaue Abgrenzung aber noch weiter erforscht werden und ausführlicher dargestellt werden muß.

4.4.2. Zur zweiten Gruppe der Verhältniswörter wurden die **Verhältniswörter in Konstruktionen nichtmorphologischer Natur** gerechnet, d. h. die Konjunktionen, die Partikeln, die Artikel und die Negationswörter.

Auf die Problematik der **Konjunktionen** möchte ich diesmal nicht detailliert eingehen, trotzdem deute ich an, daß die koordinierenden Konjunktionen merkwürdigerweise oft durch ein Adverb ersetzt werden können (was bei der neueren Darstellung der Konjunktionen unbedingt zu berücksichtigen ist); z. B.: *majd* 'dann', *aztán* 'dann', *továbbá* 'ferner', *ráadásul* 'noch dazu', *pontosabban* 'genauer gesagt', *hihetőbben* 'glaubhafter', *másként* 'anders', *más szavakkal* 'anders formuliert', *egyszerűbben* 'einfacher' oder kombiniert: *néha...*, *néha* 'hier und da', *olykor...*, *olykor* 'ab und zu', *egyszer...*, *egyszer* 'einmal...', ein andermal', *egyfelől...*, *másfelől* 'einerseits..., andererseits'; *félíg...*, *félíg* 'halb..., halb' (diese letzteren Beispiele sind für die einteilende kopulative Satzverbindung charakteristisch); *egyik oldalról...*, *másfelől* 'einerseits..., andererseits'; *első pillantásra...*, *valójában* 'auf den ersten Blick..., in Wirklichkeit'; *nemrég...*, *most* 'unlängst..., jetzt'; *egyik oldalról...*, *másik oldalról* 'einerseits..., andererseits'; *nem annyira...*, *inkább* 'nicht so sehr... als' usw.

Manchmal können sogar modifizierende Satzpartien konjunktionsartig auftreten, z. B.: *mondhatni* 'man kann sagen'.

Die Bezeichnung **Partikel** wird in der internationalen Fachliteratur in sieben verschiedenen Bedeutungen verwendet (vgl. Bußmann 1983, 371–2), z. B.: Partikeln sind alle unflektierbaren Wörter, folglich auch die Adverbien (vgl. Ulrich 1987, 13); Partikeln sind Modalwörter usw.

Was man unter Partikel im engeren Sinne zu verstehen hat, läßt sich am einfachsten definieren, indem man die Partikeln den Adverbien und den Modalwörtern gegenüberstellt (vgl. Helbig 1988, 23; Heidolp *et al.* 1981, 490–1; Engel 1988, 17–9; Helbig–Buscha 1977, 428–67; Bußmann 1983, 371).

Das Adverb bezeichnet die objektiven Umstände der Handlung oder des Geschehens, es kann selbständig als Satzglied stehen, es beantwortet eine Ergänzungsfrage, ihm kann ein Negationswort vorangehen. Beispiele: *Jól megértette a feladatot* 'Er hat die Aufgabe *gut* verstanden.'; *Hanyatt* fekvő a fűben. 'Er lag *rücklings* im Gras.'

Das Modalwort hat den Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrad der Behauptung zu bezeichnen. Modalwörter gelten als selbständige kommunikative Einheiten, sie sind „Urteile über die Urteile“, also latente Sätze; man kann aus ihnen Hauptsätze konstruieren, sie beantworten eine Entscheidungsfrage, ein Negationswort kann ihnen nur nachgestellt werden, sie sind einfügbar, und im allgemeinen sondern sie sich vom Satz ab (vgl. noch H. Molnár 1968, 67–72). Beispiele: *Valószínűleg* nem

mondom el. 'Wahrscheinlich erzähle ich das nicht.' *Állítólag* nem fog megvárni. 'Angeblich wird er nicht auf dich warten.'

Die Partikeln verfügen über einen geringen Bedeutungsinhalt; einige behaupten, daß sich ihre Bedeutung nur aus der Situation ergibt, sie gelten als pragmatisch-kommunikative Indikatoren, im allgemeinen beziehen sie sich auf ein Wort, selbständig können sie nicht als Satzglied auftreten, sie können wegbleiben, ohne daß die Satzkonstruktion verletzt wird, sie beantworten keinerlei Frage, können aber emotionellen Inhalt besitzen (außer den früher zitierten Forschern vgl. noch: Péter 1991, 173–82). Beispiel: *Csupán* a városban voltam. 'Ich war *nur* in der Stadt.'

Innerhalb der Gruppe der Partikeln lassen sich folgende Untergruppen unterscheiden:

(a) **Abtönungspartikeln**

Sie werden in erster Linie in der Umgangssprache, vorwiegend in Dialogen angewandt. Sie verfügen über keine spezielle Bedeutung. Im allgemeinen gehören sie zu gleicher Zeit auch anderen Wortartkategorien an, ihr Gebrauch als Partikel ist nur sekundär. Sie üben eine pragmatische Funktion aus. Sie vermitteln Mehrinformation zur Mitteilung. Sie tönen die Mitteilung ab bzw. legen ihre pragmatische Funktion fest. In den meisten Fällen gelten sie als Reagieren auf die Sprechsituation, sie drücken Erstaunen oder Empörung aus. Ihr Gebrauch ist pragmatisch begrenzt: sie hängen vom Kontakt und der Situation ab, außerdem wird der Gebrauch auch vom Satztyp eingeschränkt. Meistens kommen sie in Aufforderungs-, Ausrufe- sowie in Fragesätzen vor (Helbig 1988, 34–5). Beispiele: *Most már aztán* gyere el! 'Nun sollst du *aber* mitkommen!'; Mit *is* kell tennem; 'Was soll ich *bloß* tun;'; *Hogy hívják tulajdonképpen?* 'Wie heißt er *eigentlich?*'; *De ez* meleg! 'Das ist *aber* heiß!'; *Tulajdonképpen* mit akarsz? 'Was willst du *eigentlich?*'; *De hiszen* ez meleg. 'Das ist *aber doch* heiß'; *De* mit akarsz? 'Was willst du *denn?*'; *Hiszen* te tudsz főzni! 'Du kannst *ja* kochen!'; *Tud ön egyáltalán* japánul? 'Können Sie *eigentlich* japanisch?' Ne *inkább* kocsival vigyem? 'Soll ich Sie *eher* nicht mit dem Auto abholen?'; *Tudom ám*, hogy mi történt! 'Ich weiß *doch*, was geschah!'; *Mondd csak*, mi történt? 'Sag *mal*, was geschah?'; *Csakhogy* megjöttél! 'Endlich bist du gekommen!'; *Elvégre* tudtad! 'Du hast es *schließlich* gewußt!'; *Mondd meg legalább*, hogy mit mondott! 'Sag mir *wenigstens*, was sie gesagt hat!'; *Elmegyek, legfeljebb* zárva lesz. 'Ich gehe hin, *schlimmstenfalls* ist es geschlossen.'; *Tölem ugyan* elmehetsz!; 'Meinetwegen kannst du gehen!'. Weitere Beispiele sind noch: *akár* 'meinetwegen, sogar', *alkalmasint* 'wohl, vermutlich', *bezzeg* 'aber', *csak* 'doch, nur'.

(b) Rangierpartikeln

Sie stehen im allgemeinen vor einem quantitätsbezeichnenden Wort. Nur dasjenige Wort ist erfragbar, auf das sich die Partikel bezieht, also: *Mennyire van tölünk?* 'Wie weit ist es von uns?' *Alig 20 percere.* 'Kaum zwanzig Minuten.' Es kann ihnen kein Negationswort vorangehen. Beispiele: *Cirka 2 méter* 'Zirka zwei Meter'; *Csaknem 2 méter* 'Beinahe zwei Meter'; *Majdnem 2 méter* 'Fast zwei Meter'; *Idestova 2 éve* 'Ungefähr vor zwei Jahren'. Weitere ähnliche Beispiele sind noch: *körülbelül* 'zirka, ungefähr', *közel* 'beinahe, fast', *mindössze* 'insgesamt', *mintegy* 'etwa', *vagy* 'etwa'.

(c) Fokuspartikeln

Sie drücken aus, daß sich die Behauptung auf eine Größe unter anderen bezieht. Sie bezeichnen eine bestimmte Präsupposition. Häufig erscheinen sie in restriktiven Appositionalgefügen sowie in Adverbialgefügen, die eine Einschränkung ausdrücken (z. B.: *a fiúk, különösen Péter* 'die Jungen, besonders Peter'; *szeretek fagyaltot enni, különösen nyáron* 'ich esse gern Eis, besonders im Sommer'). Es kann ihnen kein Negationswort vorangehen. Nur zusammen mit dem Wort, auf das sie sich beziehen, sind sie erfragbar.

Aus der Sprechsituation und dem Satztyp ergibt sich keine Einschränkung (Helbig 1988, 37–40), z. B. *csakis* 'bloß', *épp* 'gerade', *éppen* 'eben', *főként* 'hauptsächlich', *kimondottan* 'ausgesprochen', *kiváltképp* 'insbesondere', *különösen* 'besonders', *leginkább* 'zumeist', *legkevesbé* 'zuwenigst', *lehetőleg* 'möglicherweise', *mindenekelőtt* 'vor allem', *nevezetesen* 'zumal, namentlich', *pontosan* 'genau', *pusztán* 'bloß', *kerek* 'rund' usw.

(d) Die vierte Untergruppe der Partikeln bilden die den **Satztyp bezeichnenden Partikeln** (*bár* 'doch, nur', *bárcsak* 'doch, nur', *csak* 'doch, nur', *-e* 'ob...', *ugye* 'nicht wahr', *mi* 'was, gelt', *vajon* 'ob...').

Zu den **Verhältniswörtern in Konstruktionen nichtmorphologischer Natur** gehören noch die Artikel (s. oben) und die Negationswörter (*nem, ne* 'nicht').

4.5. Auch die Beurteilung der großen Wortartenklasse III, der Satzäquivalente, ist nicht unproblematisch.

Einzig Endre Rácz hat bisher eine solche Wortartengruppe aufgenommen, wobei er zu ihr nur die Interjektionen und Antwortwörter rechnete. Unserer Meinung nach zählen zu den Satzäquivalenten aber außer den Interjektionen auch die interaktionellen Satzäquivalente, die Modalwörter (die, wie erwähnt, nicht direkt in die Satzstruktur gehören, sondern selbständige kommunikative Einheiten, also latente Sätze sind und oftmals ebenfalls als selbständige Sätze benutzt werden) und die lautnachahmenden Satzäquivalente.

A) Sie können selbständig kein Satzglied sein, sie sind nicht ergänzbar

B) Sie sind nicht suffigierbar

C), D) Sie besitzen pragmatische oder modale Bedeutung, sie sind unmittelbare Ausdrucksformen des Sprechaktes (Hentschel–Weydt 1990, 299).

Die Beurteilung der **Interjektionen** bereitet erneut Schwierigkeiten. Einige Grammatiken und Lexika (vgl. Heidolp *et al.* 1981, 491; Ulrich 1987, 80; Bußmann 1983, 216–7) meinen, daß die Satzäquivalente im engen Sinne des Wortes nicht als Wortarten existieren und ihre Problematik eher in der Syntax dargestellt werden sollte. Daß einige das besonders ernst nehmen, zeigt auch die Praxis der Lexikographie. Einige Lexikographiker betrachten die Interjektionen oder zumindest einen Teil von ihnen nicht als selbständiges Stichwort im Wörterbuch (vgl. Hentschel–Weydt 1990, 298). Andere halten die Interjektionen, ebenso wie die Modalwörter, die Präpositionen, die Konjunktionen usw., für Hilfswörter.

Die Interjektionen können als Satzglied nicht auftreten (vgl. Hentschel–Weydt 1990, 297). Selbständig sind sie monoreme Sätze. Ihre lateinische Bezeichnung *interjectio* 'Einfügung' weist darauf hin, daß sie innerhalb des Satzes oder zwischen den Sätzen als Einfügungen vorkommen (295).

Weitere, nicht so prägnante Charakteristika:

Einige von ihnen sind international, z. B. *au!*: es existiert im Ungarischen, im Deutschen, im Holländischen, im Dänischen, im Rumänischen und im Neugriechischen (298).

Im Lautkörper der Interjektionen erscheinen oft Laute, die im Phoneminventar der gegebenen Sprache sonst nicht existieren. Im Italienischen gibt es z.B. die Interjektion *ö*, deren *ö* in der Sprache nicht als Phonem existiert (297).

4.6. Die französische Grammatik von Grevisse (1986, 1581–7) zählt zu den Wortarten auch die **Einführungswörter** als selbständige Kategorie, obwohl die Verfasser darauf hinweisen, daß der Gruppe Wörter unterschiedlichen Typs und unterschiedlicher Herkunft angehören. Die Einführungswörter und -wendungen können hinsichtlich des Wortartcharakters tatsächlich unterschiedlich sein (Adverbien, Konjunktionen, Modalwörter usw.), aber der Wortartcharakter scheint in diesem Fall nicht so wesentlich zu sein. Wesentlicher ist hingegen, daß es sich um lexikalisch-semantische Einheiten, in unterschiedlichem Maße selbständig gewordene Wörter und Wendungen handelt, die das Verhältnis des Satzes zur Wirklichkeit, das expressive Reagieren auf die Behauptung, das Verhältnis des Sprechers zur Mitteilung, die textverbindende Funktion, die Betonung eines Teils oder seine Zusammenfassung einzuführen haben. Die Einführungswörter trennen sich gewissermaßen vom Satz, sie gelten etwa als selbständige prädikative Einheiten innerhalb des Satzes. Beispiele: *Apropó*: *hogy van a kis targoncáslány?*

‘*Apropos:* wie geht es der kleinen Kärnerin?’; *Összegezve:* jól sikerült. ‘*Zusammenfassend:* es ist gut gelungen.’; *Őszintén szólva:* nem tudom. ‘*Ehrlich gesagt:* ich weiß es nicht.’; *Helyesebben:* semmi nem érdekelt. ‘*Genauer gesagt:* nichts interessierte ihn.’; *Mellesleg:* ő is ott volt. ‘*Nebenbei erwähnt:* er war auch dort.’

Aufgrund der erwähnten Eigentümlichkeiten scheint die Problematik der Einführungswörter eher syntaktischen und textlinguistischen als wortart-theoretischen Charakters zu sein.

5. Die skizzierte Zusammenfassung der Wortarten verschafft natürlich kein vollständiges Bild vom Wortartsystem der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache, sie weist aber auf die Probleme hin, die zu lösen und auszuarbeiten sind; sie weist weiterhin auch darauf hin, daß nicht jedes sprachliche Element eindeutig einzuordnen ist. Es ist sehr zutreffend, was Helbig schreibt (1979, 279): Die Methode der sprachlichen Beschreibung dürfe nicht vor ihrem Objekt präferiert werden. Seiner Meinung nach ist es ein typischer Fehler, daß der Linguist nur das beschreibt, wofür seine Methode geeignet ist, d. h., nur diejenigen sprachlichen Elemente werden in die linguistischen Kategorien eingeordnet, die aufgrund der gegebenen Kriterien homogene Klassen bilden. In der sich ständig verändernden, vielfältigen Sprache gibt es aber auch heterogene Kategorien, und deren Grenzen sind nicht eindeutig festzulegen.

Literatur

- Ágoston, M. 1993. A magyar halmaznevek [Die ungarischen Mengennamen]. Forum Könyvkiadó, Újvidék.
- Bencédy, J. – Fábíán, P. – Rácz, E. – Velcsov, M. 1968. A mai magyar nyelv [Die ungarische Gegenwartssprache]. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Bencze, L. 1993. Deixis és referencia [Deixis und Referenz]. In: Kozocsa, S.G. (Hrsg.): Emlékkönyv Fábíán Pál hetvenedik születésnapjára. 41–9. ELTE BTK Mai Magyar Nyelvi Tanszék. Budapest.
- Berrár, J. 1967. Szótörténet [Wortgeschichte]. In: Bárczi, G. – Benkő, L. – Berrár, J. (Hrsg.): A magyar nyelv története [Geschichte der ungarischen Sprache], 193–212. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Berrár, J. 1982. Próbák és problémák a mai magyar nyelv tankönyv új kiadásához [Versuche und Probleme bei der neuen Herausgabe des Lehrbuches „Die Ungarische Gegenwartssprache“]. In: Nyelvtudományi Dolgozatok 33: 7–32.
- Bohusch, O. 1972. Lexikon der grammatischen Terminologie. Verlag Ludwig Auer, Donauwörth.
- Bußmann, H. 1983. Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft. Alfred Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Conrad, R. 1988. Lexikon sprachwissenschaftlicher Termini. VEB Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig.

- Eisenberg, P. 1989. Grundriß der deutschen Grammatik. J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart.
- Engel, U. 1988. Deutsche Grammatik. Julius Groos Verlag, Heidelberg.
- Erben, J. 1972. Deutsche Grammatik. Huber Verlag, München.
- Flämig, W. 1977. Zur grammatischen Klassifizierung des Wortbestandes im Deutschen. In: Beiträge zur Klassifizierung der Wortarten, 39–52. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig.
- Grétsy, L. – Kovalovszky, M. (Hrsg.) 1980. Nyelvművelő kézikönyv [Handbuch der Sprachpflege]. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- Grevisse, M. 1986. Le bon usage. Grammaire française [Der richtige Sprachgebrauch. Französische Grammatik]. Duculot, Paris–Gembloux.
- Heidolp, K.E. *et al.* 1981. Grundzüge einer deutschen Grammatik. Akademie Verlag, Berlin.
- Helbig, G. 1977. Zu einigen Problemen der Wortklassifizierung im Deutschen. In: Helbig, G. (Hrsg.): Beiträge zur Klassifizierung der Wortarten, 90–118. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig.
- Helbig, G. 1979. Probleme der Beschreibung von Funktionsverbgefügen im Deutschen. In: Deutsch als Fremdsprache 5: 273–85.
- Helbig, G. 1988. Lexikon deutscher Partikeln. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig.
- Helbig, G. – Buscha, J. 1977. Deutsche Grammatik. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig.
- Hentschel, E. – Weydt, H. 1990. Handbuch der deutschen Grammatik. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–New York.
- Jung, W. 1988. Grammatik der deutschen Sprache 10. Bibliographisches Institut, Mannheim–Leipzig.
- Kelemen, J. 1955. A szótár néhány nyelvtani vonatkozásáról [Von einigen grammatischen Bezügen des Wörterbuchs]. In: Az MTA Első Osztályának Közleményei 6: 154–74.
- Keszler, B. 1977. Elmélet és gyakorlat viszonya az igenevek mondatbeli szerepének tárgyalásában [Das Verhältnis von Theorie und Praxis in der Behandlung der Satzgliedfunktion der Partizipien]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 104: 481–9.
- Keszler, B. 1992. A mai magyar nyelv szófaji rendszere [Das Wortklassensystem der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache]. In: Emlékkönyv Rácz Endre hetvenedik születésnapjára, 131–9. Budapest.
- Keszler, B. 1995. A mai magyar nyelv szófaji rendszerezésének problémái [Probleme der Wortartklassifizierung in der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 119: 293–308.
- Kocsány, P. 1994. Szöveg és szövegten: olvasmányélmények a szövegnyelvészeti szakirodalmából [Text und Textlinguistik: Erlebnisse aus der textlinguistischen Fachliteratur]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 118: 340–9.
- Kubinyi, L. 1977. Az igei állítmányi mellékmondat kérdéséhez [Zur Frage des Verbalprädikatsatzes]. In: Magyar Nyelv 50: 408–19.
- Kugler, N. 1998. A mondatzók [Die Satzäquivalente]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 122:
- Laczkó, K. – Keszler, B. 1994. A névmási szerkezet [Das pronominale Gefüge]. In: Faluvégi, K. – Keszler, B. – Laczkó, K. (Hrsg.): Magyar leíró nyelvtani segédkönyv. [Hilfsbuch für ungarische deskriptive Grammatik]. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Lengyel, K. 1989. Határozói igeneveink szófajváltásáról [Über den Wortartwechsel der Verbaladverbien]. In: Fejezetek a magyar leíró nyelvtan köréből [Abschnitte aus dem Bereich der ungarischen deskriptiven Grammatik], 181–217. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Lengyel, K. 1994. A nyelvi szintek rendszere [System der sprachlichen Ebenen]. Diskussionsmaterial. Manuskript.
- Lewandowski, T. 1990. Linguistisches Wörterbuch I, II, III. Quelle & Meyer, Heidelberg–Wiesbaden.
- Lizanec P.M. – Horváth K.I. – Tokan G.S. 1986. Bevezetés a nyelvtudományba [Einführung in die Sprachwissenschaft]. Višča Skola, Kiev.

- Mátai, M. 1988. A határozószók helye a szófaji rendszerben [Die Stelle der Adverbien im Wortklassensystem]. In: Magyar Nyelv 84: 31–44.
- H. Molnár, I. 1968. Módosítószók és módosító mondatrészek a mai magyar nyelvben [Modifizierende Wörter und Satzpartien in der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 60.
- Molnár, K. 1993. A magyar segédigék rendszere [System der ungarischen Hilfsverben]. In: Kozocsa, S.G. (Hrsg.): Emlékkönyv Fábián Pál hetvenedik születésnapjára. ELTE BTK Mai Magyar Nyelvi Tanszék, Budapest, 211–5.
- Péter, M. 1991. A nyelvi érzelm kifejezés eszközei és módjai [Mittel und Möglichkeiten des sprachlichen Emotionsausdrucks]. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Polenz, P. 1987. Funktionsverben, Funktionsverbgefüge und Verwandtes. Vorschläge zur satzsemantischen Lexikographie. In: Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik 15: 169–89.
- Rácz, E. 1968. Az alany [Das Subjekt]. In: Bencédy, J. *et al.* (Hrsg.): A mai magyar nyelv [Die ungarische Gegenwartssprache], 230–8. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Rácz, E. 1985. A grammatika szerepe az anyanyelvi nevelésben [Die Rolle der Grammatik in der muttersprachlichen Erziehung]. In: Magyar Nyelv 81: 258–66.
- Švedova, N.J. *et al.* 1982. Russkaja Grammatika I. [Russische Grammatik]. (Autoren: Švedova, N.J., Arutjunova, I.D., Bondarko, A.V., Ivanov, V., Lopatin, V.V., Uluzanov, I.S., Filin, F.P.) Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Moszkva.
- Švedova, N.J. – Lopatin, V.V. (Hrsg.) 1989. Kratkaja russkaja grammatika. Moszkva.
- Spears, R.A. 1991. NTC's Dictionary of Grammar Terminology [NTC Wörterbuch sprachwissenschaftlicher Termini]. National Textbook Company.
- Sziklai, L. 1986. Terpeszkednek vagy körülírnak? [Umschreibung?]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 110: 269–73.
- Quirk, R. – Greenbaum, S. 1977. A University Grammar of English [Englische Universitätsgrammatik]. Longman, London.
- Temesi, M. 1970. A szófajok [Die Wortarten]. In: Tompa, J. (Hrsg.): A mai magyar nyelv rendszere [System der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache] I, 193–269, 281–94. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- Tompá, J. (Hrsg.) 1970a. A mai magyar nyelv rendszere [System der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache] I–II. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- Tompá, J. 1970b. Az alany [Das Subjekt]. In: Tompa, J. (Hrsg.): A mai magyar nyelv rendszere [System der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache] II, 105–17. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- Ulrich, W. 1987. Wörterbuch linguistischer Grundbegriffe. Verlag Ferdinand Hirt, Würzburg.
- Velcsov, M. 1968. A szófajok [Die Wortarten]. In: Bencédy, J. *et al.* (Hrsg.): A mai magyar nyelv [Die ungarische Gegenwartssprache], 9–83. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Weinrich, H. 1993. Textgrammatik der deutschen Sprache. Dudenverlag, Mannheim–Leipzig–Zürich.

Adresse der Verfasserin: Borbála Keszler
 Lehrstuhl der Ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft
 Eötvös-Loránd-Universität
 H-1052 Budapest, Piarista köz 1.
 e-mail: keszlerb@isis.elte.hu

DIE FUNKTIONALEN GRUPPEN UND DIE TYPEN DER BEDEUTUNGSVERÄNDERUNG VON ADVERBIEN BIS ENDE DER EPOCHE DES ALTUNGARISCHEN

MÁRIA D. MÁTAI

Abstract

This paper investigates the adverbial system of Ancient Hungarian, early Old Hungarian, and late Old Hungarian, on the basis of a large corpus. Section 1 describes and characterizes the various types of adverbs (simple ones derived from nominals, nonfinite verb forms, and pronouns, as well as compound adverbs) in various functional groups (local, temporal, etc.), and traces the kinds of alterations they underwent within each period. Section 2 presents the major directions of semantic changes of adverbs (e.g., that of directional meanings and that of syntactic roles) across periods, separating and comparing the peculiarities of each period and of each type of adverb, referring to issues of frequency as well.

In seinem Aufsatz (Kongreßvortrag) „Zur Bedeutungslehre der Temporaladverbien im Ungarischen“ (1974) macht Árpád Sebestyén — anhand der Stichwörter des Wörterbuchs der ungarischen Sprache (ÉrtSz.) — einige wichtige Feststellungen unter anderem über die Chronologie von Temporal- und Lokaladverbien, über den Ursprung von Temporaladverbien usw., sowie über die Bedeutungstypen von Adverbien und über einige Bezüge der Bedeutungsveränderung:

„Obwohl ich noch über keine genaue Zahl der Bedeutungstypen von Adverbien verfüge, kann man jetzt schon sehen, daß unter den in mehreren Funktionen benützten Adverbien neben denen vom Typ Lokal + Temporal auch die vom Typ Lokal + Abstrakt und Temporal + Abstrakt einen großen Teil darstellen werden. In dieser letzteren Gruppe hat die Temporalbestimmung meistens eine zweite Bedeutung im Sinne von Modal-, Zustands- oder Maßbestimmung... Es kann natürlich auch vorkommen, daß nicht die temporale Bedeutung aus der modalen oder anderen abstrakten, adverbialen Bedeutung hervorgeht, sondern genau umgekehrt: es ist die Temporalbestimmung, die eine andere, abstrakte Bedeutung erlangt hat. (Über die gegenseitige Ineinanderverwandlung oder Ausbreitung der Bedeutungstypen habe ich ähnliche Feststellungen machen können, als ich das ungarische Postpositionssystem untersucht habe: Das System der Postpositionen im Ungarischen. Budapest, 1965. 204–9)“ (Sebestyén 1974, 536).

Darüber, welche Elemente sowie Lexemgruppen der ungarischen Gegenwartsprache ich als Adverbien betrachte oder nicht betrachte — in Gegensatz zu den Stichwörtern des ÉrtSz. —, beabsichtige ich bei einer anderen Gelegenheit zu schreiben.

Die Bedeutungsgruppen und die Richtung (und Umfang) der Bedeutungsveränderungen der Adverbien sollten in möglichst vielen Perioden der Sprachgeschichte untersucht werden. Wenn man diese vergleichen würde, könnte man auch bestimmte allgemeine Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Bedeutungsentwicklung besser verstehen. Während der Arbeiten an der Historischen Grammatik der ungarischen Sprache (Benkő 1991–1995) habe ich diese Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Epoche des Urungarischen und des frühen und späten Altungarischen untersucht. Jetzt versuche ich die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung kurz, thesenartig zusammenzufassen. Der große Umfang des sprachlichen Materials erlaubt uns, die Sprachzustände vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts und die der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts zu vergleichen, und die zur Geltung kommenden Tendenzen festzustellen.

Ich werde natürlich für keine der erwähnten Epochen die existierenden Adverbien oder adverbähnlichen Elemente vollständig aufzählen; ich werde nur so viele Beispiele geben, wie es zur Illustration der Bedeutungsgruppen und der Typen der Bedeutungsveränderung unbedingt nötig ist. Aus Platzgründen werde ich auch mit den Daten vorsichtig sein: ich werde nur dann Beispiele mit genauer Quellenangabe zitieren, wenn es für die genauere Festlegung der Bedeutung des fraglichen Adverbs wichtig ist.

Ich werde nicht auf die genauen Umstände der Entstehung der einzelnen Adverbien eingehen, und ich werde auch nicht detailliert diskutieren, warum ich einzelne Elemente als Adverbien, als Elemente die sich gerade in Adverbien verwandeln, als adverbähnliche suffigierte Konstruktionen, sowie als echte oder lose zusammengesetzte Wörter betrachte, da es uns von unserem Hauptthema weit abbringen würde (zu diesen Fragen vgl. Mátai 1988).

Ich gebe jedoch an, mit welchem Adverb-Begriff ich arbeite, also welche Wörter ich als Adverbien betrachte: Das Adverb ist ein suffigiertes oder unsuffigiertes Nomen, Pronomen, Partizip bzw. eine Verbindung von Nomina, Pronomina und sonstigen freien Morphemen, das bzw. die lexikalisiert (d. h. deren morphologischer Aufbau mehr oder weniger verblaßt oder deren Bedeutung „fossilisiert“) ist und in dieser Form, ohne sonstiges Relationselement die Adverbfunktion im Satz übernommen hat.

In der Beschreibung der Typen von Adverbien und deren Bedeutungsveränderungen unterscheide ich zwei Hauptgruppen: die der einfachen und die der zusammengesetzten Adverbien. In der Gruppe der einfachen Adverbien mache ich eine weitere Unterscheidung, d. h. die Wörter, dessen Grundwort ein Nomen (oder

ein Partizip) ist, werden von denen unterschieden, dessen Grundwort ein Pronomen ist. Wir werden sehen, daß es Adverbgruppen (Typen) gibt, für die eine gewisse funktionale Eigenart mehr oder weniger kennzeichnend ist. Um die Verhältnisse dieser drei Gruppen in der urungarischen Epoche zu illustrieren, führe ich hier die quantitativen Daten an, die ich aufgrund des sogenannten Basismaterials der Historischen Grammatik erhalten habe (die qualitativen Resultate und Schlüsse beruhen auf einer weit größeren Text- und Wörterbuchgrundlage):

Adverbtypen	Lexikalische Häufigkeit	Texthäufigkeit	Durchschnittliches Vorkommen eines Wortes
Grundwort: Nomen	125 (40,2 %)	560 (22,3 %)	4,5
Grundwort: Pronomen	96 (30,9 %)	1327 (52,8 %)	13,8
Zusammengesetzt	90 (29,9 %)	634 (24,9 %)	6,9
Adverbien insgesamt	311 (100 %)	2511 (100 %)	8,1

1. Funktionelle Gruppen der Adverbien

1.1. Lokaladverbien

1.1.1. Seit dem Anfang der Epoche des **Urungarischen** existieren in dieser Sprache sowohl Lokaladverbien mit einem Nomen als Grundwort (z. B. *alól* 'von unten', *alatt* 'unter (wo)', *alá* 'unter (wohin)', *kül* ~ *kivül* 'draußen', *kinn* 'draußen', *ki* 'hinaus') als auch aus Pronomina entstandene (z. B. *itt* 'hier', *ott* 'dort', *ide* 'hierher', *oda* 'dorthin', *innen* 'von hier', *onnan* 'von dort', *té* 'hierher', *tova* 'weg', *tél* 'da', *túl* 'jenseits', *há* ~ *hová* 'wohin', *hol* 'wo', *honnan* 'woher'). Zusammengesetzte Adverbien sind wahrscheinlich nur während der Epoche des Urungarischen entstanden (z. B. *ihol* 'hier', *ottogyol* 'dort', *tahát* 'dann'). Der Stamm der aus Nomina abgeleiteten Adverbien ist in den meisten Fällen ein Substantiv von uralter Herkunft, das die wichtigsten Positionen im Raum benennt, und dies vor allem aus dem Blickpunkt des Sprechers. So kommt die Benennung der aktuellen Position, des Lokativs, am häufigsten vor (vgl. Kispál 1938, 4; Balázs 1965, 407; Sebestyén 1967, 536; zur Bedeutung des Lativs vgl. Mikola 1975–1976, 160); gleichzeitig ist die Dreierichtetheit — besonders im Fall von Lokaladverbien — ein charakteristischer Zug. Die Substantiv- und Pronomenstämme

sind in erster Linie mit primären Adverbialsuffixen verschmolzen und haben Richtung und Position gleichzeitig ausgedrückt (deshalb können wir sagen, daß die Lokaladverbien „gleichzeitig auf zwei Bezüge ausgerichtet sind“).

Es ist gut möglich, daß während der Epoche des **frühen Altungarischen** auch die Verschmelzung mit sekundären Adverbialsuffixen schon im Gange war. Es war vielleicht zu dieser Zeit, daß das Adverb *ellenben* ‘gegenüber’ entstand; ein Zeichen dafür ist die Tatsache, daß es in der Epoche des späten Altungarischen in seiner weiterentwickelten Rolle — als Postposition — schon öfter vorkommt, als in seiner ursprünglichen Rolle. Es ist noch Adverb z. B. in: MünchK. 53ra: (zu diesen Abkürzungen vgl. Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen I, S. XXIX–XLVIII) „a centuzio ki *ellenbe* [*adverso*] aluala“. Neben dem schon früher entstandenen *hátúl* ‘hinten/von hinten’ mit einer ablativen, beziehungsweise lokalen Bedeutung entsteht wahrscheinlich in der Epoche des frühen Altungarischen die Form *hátra* ‘nach hinten’, vgl. AporK. 35: *Hatra* (in der Zeit des TA. noch *utu rea* ‘auf den Weg’). — Der größte Teil der zusammengesetzten Adverbien des Urungarischen und frühen Altungarischen ist aus pronominalen Elementen entstanden: KTSz.: „Ihul [‘hier’] uagun“; JókK. 43: „*ydeftoua* [*hinc inde*] ewrÿzuen“; JókK. 53: „Es *mÿkoron* aluala... *Eme* [*ecce*] *ÿewue* hoza ag ellenfeg“; JókK. 74: *ytegyel* : *hic*; SzabV.: *othtolÿal* ‘dort’; Birk.K. 2b: *holott* : *ubi*; usw.

Der Adverbbestand dieser frühen Epoche ist in ständiger Bewegung: er erweitert sich nicht nur durch die verschiedenen Entstehungsweisen (Suffixverschmelzung, Zusammensetzung usw.), sondern er verändert sich auch so, daß einzelne Elemente nicht mehr als Adverbien benützt werden (z. B. *megett* ‘hinten’, *ám* ‘sieh dort’), oder sie treten in eine andere Bedeutungskategorie über (sie werden zu Lokal- oder Modaladverbien usw.). Das letztere trifft für Lokaladverbien besonders zu. Es entstehen viele Adverbien mit einer temporalen und mit anderen abstrakten Bedeutungen aus ihnen: zum Teil vollzieht es sich so, daß sie ganz in die andere Bedeutungskategorie übergehen, z. B. JókK. 41: *legottan* : *statim*; DebrK. 349: „*Legottan* : *mine* [‘sobald’] *kezðne* ... Maria ... Ianos be telec“; 1516: „Eghmafnak ... megh Bochÿaffanak es Inneththowa [‘hiernach’] ... *ÿo* Bekeffegben ... Ellÿenek“ (MNy 52, 369); FestK. 376: „*hanyat* efÿem poklokba“; zum Teil bleibt auch ihre ursprüngliche Funktion erhalten (z. B. *ottan* ‘dort’, ‘sofort’, *rokon* ‘nahe’, ‘bald’: Lokal- und Temporaladverb).

1.1.2. In der Epoche des **späten Altungarischen** ist unter den verschiedenen Typen von Adverbien der der **aus Nomina entstandenen** der reichste und auch bedeutungsmäßig am meisten differenziert. Das späte Altungarische kann die folgenden räumlichen Verhältnisse ausdrücken (mal Ein-, mal Zwei- mal Dreigerichtetheit aufweisend; meistens im Positiv, aber oft auch im Komparativ

und nur selten im Superlativ): *benn* 'drinnen' – *kinn* 'draußen', *fönn* 'oben' – *lent* 'unten' (*alatt* 'darunter' und ähnliches auch mit einbegriffen), *elöl* 'vorn' – *hátul* 'hinten' (dazu zählen auch die von der Art *megöl* 'von hinten', *utól* 'hinten'), *középen* 'in der Mitte' – *oldalt* 'an der Seite' (in dieser Gruppe sind auch *széjjel* 'auseinander', *össze* 'zusammen', *félre* 'beiseite', *külön* 'abgesondert', *körös-körül* 'ringsherum' usw.), *közel* 'nahe' – *messze* 'fern' (vgl. auch *rokon* 'nahe', *el* 'weg', *elébb* 'weiter vorn' usw.), *jelen* 'hier' – *szemben* 'gegenüber' (sowie *ellenben* 'gegenüber'), *haza* 'nach Hause', *keresztül* 'durch' usw. (vgl. Simonyi 1892).

Eine weniger mannigfaltige, aber doch bedeutende Gruppe ist die der **pronominalen Lokaladverbien**. Diese erscheinen in der Rolle von Demonstrativ-, Interrogativ-, unbestimmten oder allgemeinen Pronomen; z. B. *itt* 'hier', *hol?* 'wo?', *ahol* 'wo', *egyebütt* 'anderswo', *mindenütt* 'überall'. Ihre lexikalische Häufigkeit ist kleiner, aber die Texthäufigkeit ist viel größer als die der auf Nomina basierenden. Wenn wir auch noch die zusammengesetzten Adverbien, deren Vorderglied *vala-* 'irgend-' und *se-* 'nirgend-' ist, zu dieser Gruppe zählen (so wie wir es aufgrund der Funktion tun sollten), erhöht sich die lexikalische sowie die Texthäufigkeit der pronominalen Lokaladverbien erheblich.

Der Kreis der **zusammengesetzten Lokaladverbien** ist der kleinste. Ihre Elemente findet man in den meisten Fällen unter den einfachen, das heißt, sie entstehen durch deren Zusammensetzen (z. B. *innen-onnan* 'von hier und dort', *idestova* 'dahin und dorthin', *tétova* 'hierher und hinweg', *otthon* 'zu Hause', *onnatbelöl* 'von innen' usw.).

Die Gruppe der Lokaladverbien wird in der Epoche des späten Altungarischen reicher, aber es gehen auch einige Adverbien verloren. Das passiert nicht nur so, daß einzelne Elemente aussterben, nicht mehr benützt werden, z. B. ca. 1460: *Vicissitudo* : *wyzontagw* (Gl.); JordK. 166: „fem *tee* ['hierher'] fem towa nem te:hethne“; ÉrdyK. 509: „Mykron ywtottak volna *meg* ['zurück'] az őfweenre hol ott egy maft talaltaak *vala meg* allanak“, sondern es gibt auch einzelne Elemente, die — besonders aufgrund der Bedeutung ihres determinierten Gliedes — in eine andere Bedeutungskategorie übergehen: sie werden zu Temporaladverbien oder zu Adverbien mit einer abstrakten Bedeutung. Dieser Vorgang ist schon in schnellem Gange in der Epoche des späten Altungarischen, besonders bei den auf Nomina basierenden Lokaladverbien. Das erklärt sich aus ihrer alten Herkunft sowie aus dem begrifflichen Inhalt ihrer Stämme. Diese Bedeutungsveränderung kann auch so verlaufen, daß auch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Adverbs erhalten bleibt, und die Funktion von der Position innerhalb eines Satzes abhängt: z. B. *rokon* 'nahe/bald', *messze* 'fern/lange', *utól* 'hinterdrein/danach': Lokal- und Temporaladverbiale; *jelennen* 'anwesend/besonders', *alattomban* 'unten/heimtückisch', *együtt* 'zusammen': Lokal- und Modal- bzw. Zustandsadverbiale (z. B. TelK. 23: „mikoron

... Joachim ... *ielönnen* ['da anwesend'] nem volna: kezdé fyrnya"; SzabV.: „Budanak menden wchayaba *Yelennen* ['besonders'] kyralnak odwaraban lathyak Twrwkncpeth ... odwarlany"); *feljebb* 'weiter/mehr nach oben': Lokal- und Gradadverbale (z. B. DöbrK. 376: „baratom: hagi *fell'ebb*"; JordK. 384: „attýat es annýat *fellýeb* zerethý mýnt enghemet" ~ MünchK. 16vb: „...*inkab* zèzèti hognè engemèt"); usw., aber es kommt auch vor, daß es nur in der neuen Bedeutung weiterlebt, oder zumindest wir nur solche Daten haben: z. B. *elèbb* 'früher', *elein* 'am Anfang', *megint* 'wieder': nur Temporaladverbien; *felettébb* 'sehr', *fennent* 'sehr': nur Gradadverbien usw.

Diese Bedeutungsentwicklung ist von kleinerem Umfang bei den Lokaladverbien, deren Grundwort ein Pronomen ist, z. B. *ottan* 'dort/dann', *itt* 'hier/jetzt', *innen* 'von hier/hiernach', *há* ~ *ha* 'wohin/wann': Lokal- und Temporal-; *legottan* 'sofort': nur Temporal-; *arra* 'dafür', *erre* 'hierfür': nur Kausal- oder Finaladverb.

Bei den zusammengesetzten Adverbien findet man die oben erwähnte Bedeutungsveränderung nur in einzelnen Fällen, z. B. *szerén-szerte* 'überall/der Reihe nach': Lokal- und Modaladverb (z. B. ÉrdyK. 617: „cz vylagon zerenzerte ['überall'] ... el yarth"; JordK. 741: mýkozon mýnd *zezen zette* ['der Reihe nach'] megh mondotta vona"). Die Erklärung dieser Tatsache liegt auf der Hand: die Mehrzahl der immer zunehmenden Zusammensetzungen ist in jüngerer Zeit entstanden, und ihre spezialisierte Bedeutung war weniger veränderlich als die der früher erwähnten Adverbien.

1.2. Temporaladverbien

1.2.1. Im Vergleich zu den Lokaladverbien betrachten wir diese Gruppe gewöhnlich als sekundär, da viele von ihnen im **Urungarischen oder in späteren Epochen** aus Lokaladverbien entstanden sind; z. B. HB.: *eleve* 'zuerst', DöbrK. 380: *holot* 'als'; JordK. 405: *Eennen towa* 'hiernach'. Diese Bedeutungsgruppe ist aber auf jeden Fall von uralter Herkunft (vgl. Balázs 1965, 412; Hajdú 1981, 136). Die Suffixe der Lokaladverbien — neben Wörtern, die Zeit, Tag usw. bezeichneten — drückten sicherlich keine lokalen, sondern temporalen Verhältnisse aus, also sind diese (sich oft als Adverbien versteifte) suffigierte Konstruktionen auch ursprünglich gerade für die Funktion von Temporalbestimmung entstanden: z. B. MünchK. 98va: „*Holda* kelue ... mènèn" ~ JordK. 670: „*Hotakelwe*": In crastinum ('morgen früh'); ÉrdyK. 130: „kywe meene elezer *reegghel hollal* mywefeket vynny ew zelöyceben"; ohne Suffix vgl. JókK. 92: „Ha a3 frater holual *reg* eret zewlewtt ennek". Andere Temporaladverbien sind aus solchen suffigierten oder nicht suffigierten Adjektiven entstanden, die die Art oder das Tempo von Handlungen, Vorgängen oder Zustandsveränderungen ausdrückten, und somit einen starken Zeitbezug hatten (z. B. *hamar* 'schnell', *hosszá* 'lange', *gyakorta* 'oft'). — Es sind auch Temporaladverbien aus suffigierten Pronomen entstanden: die folgenden

stammen vielleicht aus dem Urungarischen: *há* 'wann', *hát* 'dann', *ma* 'jetzt', *már* 'schon', *tege* 'vorher', *tavaly* 'im letzten Jahr', aus dem frühen Altungarischen: *továbbá* 'weiterhin', *eddig* 'bis jetzt', *addig* 'bis dann', *azontúl* 'sofort' usw. — Eine wichtige Art der Entstehung von Temporaladverbien im Ur- und frühen Altungarischen ist auch die Zusammensetzung. So sind entstanden z. B.: *tahát* 'dann', *étszaka* 'in der Nacht', *esméig* 'wieder', *azután* 'danach', *mielőtt* 'davor', einzelne Zusammensetzungen mit der Postposition *koron* 'um', und einige der in ähnlicher Rolle funktionierenden pronominalen Adverbien mit dem Zweitglied *ha* 'als': z. B.: ÓMS.: *niha* 'chemals', *fumha* 'niemals'; usw.

1.2.2. Das aus älteren Epochen vererbte Temporaladverbsystem hat sich bis zur Epoche des **späten Altungarischen**, beziehungsweise in dieser Epoche selbst, bedeutend ausgebreitet, bedeutungsmäßig differenziert und auch quantitativ hat es erheblich zugenommen. Zu dieser Zeit ist das die sich am dynamischsten entwickelnde Adverbkategorie, mit der größten lexikalischen und Texthäufigkeit.

Viele Elemente mit einem **nominalen Grundwort** existieren in dieser Epoche, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach gerade für diese Funktion entstanden sind; zum Beispiel die zu den im Zusammenhang mit den früheren Epochen schon erwähnten Bedeutungskategorien gehörenden, aus Substantiven und Adjektiven entstandenen Adverbien (vgl. Sebestyén 1974, 535); z. B. BirkK. 3a: „hoğ azon «mödot» hel'en laco33anak *ideiglen* [*ad tempus*]“; 1549: „Masth azt irhatom k., hog ez *iden* ... nem sok borunk leszen“ (LevT. 1, 60); TelK. 16: „*hof faiglan* ['lange'] az ő elmeiebe forgatta volna“ (vgl. Gergely 1983).

Es entfaltet sich die Gruppe von Adverbien mit dem Suffix *-szer* '-mal', z. B. TelK. 53: „e fcent anna azzon... *előzert* ['früher, davor'] mendenőket meg tőn: mellekre tanitta őket“, 61: „*egzer* ['irgendwann, vor langer Zeit'] mikoron az ő meg faradot tagayt: nugodalomra attá volna: ... latafth latha“; BécsiK. 320: *vtolzer* 'zum letzten Mal' usw. Die sich auf die Wiederholung und Zahl des Eintretens eines Ereignisses oder eines Zustands beziehenden Ausdrücke von der Art *sokszor* 'vielmals', *többször* 'mehrmals' sind in dieser Epoche noch wahrscheinlich suffigierte Numerale, aber die zur gleichen Bedeutungsgruppe gehörenden, mit anderen Suffixen entstandenen Formen, wie z. B. *gyakorta* 'oft', *gyakortább* 'öfter', *gyakran* 'oft', *gyakorlatosan* 'üblicherweise', *gyakorlatossággal* 'üblicherweise' usw., sind schon Adverbien.

Wir haben auch eine Gruppe von Temporaladverbien im späten Altungarischen, die aus Lokaladverbien entstanden sind, aber in ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion nicht mehr oder nur in Spuren vorkommen, z. B. *előbb* 'früher', *elein* 'am Anfang', *végig* 'durchgehend', *nyomban* 'sofort': ÉrdyK. 552: „ymaran ezen *nyomba* kőwetközik ez may zent ewangeliom“ usw.

Die Kategorie denominalen Temporaladverbien wird noch von einer ambivalenten Gruppe bereichert, deren Lokaladverbien während sie sich zu Temporaladverbien entwickelt haben, häufig auch in ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung benützt werden: z. B. *rokon* 'nahe/bald', *jelen* 'hier/jetzt', *messze* 'fern/ lange', *utol* 'danach/hinterdrein': CornK. 55r: „*ielen vagy*“ : praesto (Lokal-); PéldK. 72, 73: „*embery allatnak harom el multakat kel meg ertený es harom yelen valokat kel meg gondolny*“ (Temporaladverb).

Die **pronominalen Adverbien** (wegen ihrer Funktion zählen wir auch die zusammengesetzten mit dem Vorderglied *vala-* usw. zu dieser Gruppe) bereichern auch bedeutend die Gruppe der Temporaladverbien. Die damals entstandenen Elemente sind die Festsetzungen von verschiedenen pronominalen Stämmen und von alten oder neueren Adverbialsuffixen: *azontul* 'sofort', *ezentel* 'sofort' (Suffixhäufung), *azonban* 'sofort', *továbbra* 'für später' (ÉrdyK. 509: „*towabra haggyad*“), *valamíg* 'bis irgendwann', viele Temporaladverbien mit dem Suffix *-kor(on)*: *mikoron* 'als', *azmikor* 'damals', *mindenkor* 'immer', *némikort* 'manchmal' usw.; eine ähnliche Rolle wie *-koron* spielen die pronominalen Adverbien mit dem Zweitglied *-ha* 'wann': *néha* 'manchmal', *valaha* 'irgendwann in der Vergangenheit', *egyébha* 'ein andersmal', *mindenha* 'allemaal' usw. (FestK. 372: „*ma ees myndenha*“; 1532: *myndaha* [LtK. 1, 139]).

Die relative morphologische Vielfältigkeit (Sekundärsuffixe, mehrere adverbiale Suffixe in einem Adverb) charakterisiert im Kreise der Temporaladverbien sowohl die mit einem nominalen als auch die mit einem pronominalen Stamm.

Bei den pronominalen Temporaladverbien kommt es viel seltener vor (verglichen mit den denominalen), daß ein Lokaladverb zum Temporaladverb wird (z. B. *itt* 'hier/jetzt', *ottan* 'dort/dann'). Aber diese sind auch in ihrer lokalen Funktion erhalten geblieben. *Itt* ist häufiger ein Lokaladverb, aber bei *ottan* kommt in unserem Stamm-material viermal so oft als Temporaladverb vor: 1492: „*es ottan el mene mihelen ebellek*“ (MNY. 37, 203); SándK. 27: „*Monda ottan* ['dann'] variuf“; usw. Manchmal hat es doppelte, komplexe Bedeutung (Temporal + Lokal): KazK. 76: „*Ezt haluan attya ... zömeiböl az kőn ottan ky indula*“. Einige — ursprünglich pronominale — Lokaladverbien haben ihre ursprüngliche Funktion verloren, und leben nur noch als Temporaladverbien weiter (z. B. *legottan* 'sofort').

Die abwechselungsreichste und sich am dynamischsten entwickelnde Gruppe — unter den Temporaladverbien — scheint die der **zusammengesetzten** zu sein. Viele alte Zusammensetzungen leben weiter, (z. B. *éjtszaka* 'in der Nacht', *tahát* 'dann', *holott* 'als' kommen oft vor), diese Bedeutungsgruppe wird aber im späten Altungarischen auch von Elementen, die — besonders aus Syntagmen mit Subordination und Pronomen mit Postpositionen — zu zusammengesetzten Adverbien werden, bereichert; z. B. JordK. 371: „*ma vagýon, es maínap*“ (~

MünchK. 12vb: „... *holnap* [cras]“ ~ Döbr.K. 373: *holnap*); 1531: „*vafarnap* hozom meg ... Az en matkamath ... kerem ... vramath hogh *Az nap* legen en wendegem“ (LtK. 1, 135); MvS.: „*ha miden* te atyad ... meg elend“; 1515–1525: *ha engem ew ez vttal* [‘nun’] ytt meg nem segyllend es ynneyten ... ky fem vyend, teobbe neky en nem hyzek“ (RMKT: I², 486). Neben den bisher erwähnten Zusammensetzungen, die ein Adjektiv der Qualität enthalten, sind auch Zusammensetzungen mit einem Possessivadjektiv entstanden: das Wort *vasárnap(on)* ‘am Sonntag’ kann älterer Herkunft sein, aber frischer scheint das Wort *napestig* mit der Bedeutung ‘tota die’ zu sein.: MargL. 14: „*marad vala mynd napestig* nagy siralmakban“; KeszthK. 38: „*kayaltok nap eftyg*“. Ohne die verschiedenen Präzedenzstrukturen und Entstehungsarten zu erwähnen, werde ich nur darauf hinweisen, daß zahlreiche zusammengesetzte Temporaladverbien mit einem adverbialen Prefix entstanden sind, besonders Zusammensetzungen mit dem Gradadverb *mind-* ‘alles, ganz’: *mindörökké* ‘allerzeit’, *mindvégig* ‘durchgehend’, *mindéltig* ‘ein Leben lang’ (JordK. 42: „*Wr mynd eeltýgh v2alkodygh es mynd ezekkwl ezekee*“), *mindjára*st ‘sofort’, *mindaddig(lan)* ‘ganz bis dann’ usw. Zahlreiche Temporaladverbien sind auch aus suffigierten Pronomina entstanden: *azután* ‘danach’, *azelőtt* ‘davor’, *azóta* ‘seit dem’, *mielőtt* ~ *minek előtte* ‘davor’ usw. (In dieser sich schnell entwickelnden Gruppe ist am häufigsten bei der konkreten Analyse die Frage aufgetaucht, ob es sich bei der fraglichen Konstruktion um ein Adverb oder um eine gerade sich in ein Adverb verwandelnde Struktur handelt.)

Unter den Temporaladverbien — auch wenn wir es mit den lokativen unter den Lokaladverbien vergleichen — finden wir mehr, die auf die Frage wann? antworten, was sicherlich eine Folge der Tatsache ist, daß aus dem Gesichtspunkt der sprachlichen Kommunikation die augenblickliche Zeit die größte Rolle spielt. Im späten Altungarischen (und später noch mehr) kriegen mehr und mehr Adverbien mit der Bedeutung wann? eine zweite oder dritte Richtung ausdrückende Variante: meistens mit der Hilfe des Suffixes *-ig*, seltener mit dem Suffix *-re/-ra* beziehungsweise mit der Postpositionskonstruktion *valamikortól fogva* ‘seit irgendwann’; zum Beispiel bei denen, deren Grundwort ein Nomen ist, entsteht neben *későn* ‘spät’ auch *későig* ‘bis spät’ (JordK. 608: „*kefeýgh ymathkozyk vala*“), neben *régén* ‘lange her’ entsteht *régóta* und *régtől fogva* ‘seit langem’ (ÉrsK. 468: „*reeg wta wallom*“; TelK. 28: *regtül fogva: ex antiquis*; diese sind wahrscheinlich postpositionale Konstruktionen, aber es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden — wegen ihrer Rolle als Lückenfüller im System —, daß sie damals als eine Art Adverb behandelt wurden). Bei den pronominalen Adverbien wirkt die Tendenz zur Dreigerichtetheit intensiver als systemorganisierende Kraft: *miótol*, *mióta* ‘seit wann’ — *mikor* ‘wann’ — *míg*, *meddig* ‘bis wann’, *azóta*, *azótol*, *attól fogva* ‘seit dann’ — *akkor* ‘dann’ — *addig* ‘bis dann’ usw. (zu dieser Frage in Detail vgl. Máta

1985). Beim großen Teil der Temporaladverbien mit der Bedeutung wann? drückt kein selbstständiges grammatikalisches Mittel die lokative „Richtung“ aus: meistens werden Adverbien mit einem ablativen Suffix zu diesem Zweck verwendet (z. B. *örökké* ‘immer, in der Ewigkeit’, *többé* ‘nicht mehr’, *ma* ‘heute’, *majd* ‘später’, *mindig* ‘immer’; vgl. Sebestyén 1974, 536–7).

Die Temporaladverbien des späten Altungarischen können sowohl einen Zeitpunkt als auch eine Zeitspanne bezeichnen (vgl. Martinkó 1956, 36; Imre 1958, 239). Es gibt mehrere Adverbien, die für beides geeignet sind: das gleiche Adverb bedeutet — von seinem eigenen Stammwort, oder der Bedeutung des verbundenen Verbs oder des übergeordneten Wortes abhängig — mal dies mal jenes. Meistens bedeutet Zeitpunkt: NádK. 322: „*ha valamicoron a tef t allelökkel bint thetetöth*“; 1530: „*walamykoron ... akarna*“ (MNy. 37, 351), aber es kann auch Zeitspanne bezeichnen: NádK. 340: „*Ne mongad innectoua valamicoron [‘nie’] azt hog...*“ usw.

Die (häufigen) Temporaladverbien mit einer differenzierten Bedeutung können unter anderem auch die Periodizität, Häufigkeit usw. des Eintretens oder des Ablaufs eines Ereignisses ausdrücken: *gyakorta* ‘oft’, *ritkán* ‘selten’, *mindig* ‘immer’, *soha* ‘nimmer’, *néha*, *néha-néha* ‘manchmal’, *unos-untalan* ‘immer wieder’ usw. In dieser Epoche ist die Gruppe der die zeitliche Wiederholung ausdrückenden Temporaladverbien mit der Bedeutung ‘wieder, von neuem’ sehr reich: *meg*, *megint*, *méglen*, *esmeg*, *esmeglen*, *ismétlen*, *esmegént*, *újólan* (SzékK. 20: „*mykor ... az egyptombelyek ... esmeegh vyolan akarnayak ezeket megh fogny*“), *újonnan*, *ottan-ottan* usw.

Die Temporaladverbien können auch dann eine Rolle spielen, wenn es darum geht auszudrücken, ob ein Vorgang oder eine Handlung in der Vergangenheit, Zukunft oder gerade zur Zeit abläuft, im typischen Fall mit Hilfe der folgenden dem Verb angefügten Adverbtypen: *(im)már* ‘schon’, *most* ‘jetzt’, *majd* ‘später’; *jelen* ‘jetzt, zur Zeit’, *nyomban* ‘sofort’, *jövendőben* ‘in der Zukunft’; *tegnap* ‘gestern’, *ma* ‘heute’, *holnap* ‘morgen’. In der Rolle von *már* ‘schon’ (da dieses zu dieser Zeit schon eher die Rolle eines Modifikationswortes spielt) bezeichnet das Wort *immár* (das auch immer öfter als Modifikationswort verwendet wird, vgl. Juhász 1987, 459) immer seltener ein in der Vergangenheit abgelaufenes Ereignis: NádK. 323: „*De mikent immar megmondaad*“; 1532: „*de Immar el menth vala*“ (MNy. 2, 211); usw. Es bezeichnet immer öfter — mit dem Fortschreiten der Epoche — Präsens: KeszthK. 18–9: „*nawalyafoknak fyralmokeerth ymmar [nunc] fel tamadok*“; KulcsK. 277: *mykenth vala kezdehbe es Immar es myndenkoron*“; ca.1527: „*lathom ymar, hogh ... kybawl azt esmerem, hogh ymar nem khell*“ (MNy. 37, 206); usw. (es kann irgendwann auch Zukunft bezeichnet haben, worauf wir zum Beispiel aus der Zusammensetzung *máris* ‘sofort’ schließen können).

Wir müssen noch die Temporaladverbien hervorheben, die auf Vorgänge und Handlungen in der Zukunft hinweisen, da diese in Verbindung mit einem Verb des

Die reichste scheint die Gruppe der Temporaladverbien zu sein, die die Nuancen der zeitlichen Verbindungen ausdrückt, und deren Mitglieder nur selten gegenseitige Synonyme sind, meistens sind es nur Elemente, die zum gleichen Bedeutungskreis gehören, das heißt es besteht eine feldartige Verbindung unter ihnen (in so weit als — wenn man das Verhältnis von Form und Bedeutung in Betracht zieht — mehrere verschiedene Formen mit mehreren zusammenhängenden Bedeutungen verbunden sind; vgl. Károly 1970, 78). Zum Beispiel finden wir eine breite Auswahl an Adverbien im späten Altungarischen, die einen Zeitpunkt der nahen Zukunft von 'jetzt' bezeichnen. (Die semantische Zusammenhänge dieser und anderen Bedeutungsfeldern angehörender Adverbien würden eine detaillierte Analyse verdienen, da bei der Analyse der Bedeutung eines Wortes auch die Bedeutungen und Wirkungen anderer, mit ihm zusammenhängender Adverbien in Betracht gezogen werden müssen; vgl. Zsilka (1978, 15), aber darauf werde ich jetzt nicht eingehen; über die Synonymität der Adverbien vgl. Máтай (1984).) Neben dem am weitesten gebrauchten *legottan* 'sofort': DebrK. 136: „*Legh azonnal meg alla a dög halál*“; 1492: „*prior Ide iwth vala vramhoz es ottan* ['dann'] *el mene mihelen ebellek*“ (MNY. 37, 203); AporK. 28: *azonban* 'sofort'; JordK. 166: *ezennel* 'sofort'; SándK. 29: „*paranllola ... azonul* ['sofort'] *...fel viueek*“; 1557: „*yt az gwlest el wegezek, es ma honap* ['bald'] *kj mongyak*“ (LevT. 1, 232), *mindjárást*, *nyomban*, *hamar*, *hirtelen* usw. Wir können annehmen, daß auch *tüstént*, *rögtön*, *rögvest* im Gebrauch waren, aber Daten dafür liegen erst von lange nach der Epoche des Altungarischen vor.

1.3.1. Der Bestand dieser Gruppe ist kleiner und weniger abwechslungsreich als die der bisher erwähnten. Es sind in erster Linie Elemente aus der Epoche des **Urun-garischen** mit einem uralten pronominalen Stammwort und mit primären Suffixen; Modaladverbien z. B. *így* 'so', *ígyen* 'so', *ígyól* 'so', *úgy* 'so', *úgyan* 'so', *hogy* 'wie', *mint* 'als'; Gradadverbien z. B. *ily/oly* 'solch', *mely* 'welch', *ennyi* 'so viel' (MargL. 172: „enne [tam] nagy mezze fevdrevl(“), *annyi* 'so viel', *igen* 'sehr'. Die Zahl der Modaladverbien wird im **frühen Altungarischen** von Elementen mit dem Suffix *-ként*

‘weise’ und der Postposition *képpen* ‘weise’ erhöht (z. B. *miként* ‘auf welche Weise’, *azonként* ‘so, auf jene Weise’, *eképpen* ‘auf diese Weise’), zu den Gradadverbien kommt das Adverb *mindenestől* (*fogva*) ‘ganz’ mit seiner komplizierteren Struktur. Am Anfang der Epoche des Altungarischen erscheinen die Kausal- und Finaladverbien *miért* ‘warum’, *ezért* ‘hierum’, *azért* ‘darum’, und vielleicht auch *mire* mit der Bedeutung ‘warum’ (das im späten Altungarischen sehr häufig sein wird).

Wir haben darunter nur wenige, dessen Grundwort kein Pronomen ist: Modaladverb z. B. BirkK. 4b: „Senki foror azon ne tekereggek titkon vag *niluā* [*directe*]“, Zustandsadverb z. B. ÓMS.: „anyath ezes fyaal *egembelu* ullyetuk“, *hanyatt* ‘auf dem Rücken’, *veszteg* ‘still, ruhig’; Gradadverb z. B. *inkább* ‘mehr’, *alig* ‘kaum’ usw.

Die Mehrzahl dieser Adverbien ist gleich für die Funktion entstanden, die sie innehat, aber sie können auch durch Bedeutungsveränderung zu ihrer Rolle gekommen sein: aus Lokaladverb ist Modaladverb geworden z. B. JókK. 4: „mutata magatt alonný *fennent* [‘sehr tief’] es melfeget“, aus Modaladverb zum Gradadverb z. B. BécsiK. 18: „vg [‘so’] fokafoltanak még hog o fèzègèc ingèn mègnèm zālaltathatic“; usw.

1.3.2. Diese Adverbien — verglichen mit den modalen und temporalen — sind auch im **späten Altungarischen** von kleinerer Häufigkeit, viele von ihnen sind gerade am Entstehen. Die Elemente mit einer weiter differenzierten Bedeutung sind das Produkt der neueren Zeiten. Die Arten in dieser Epoche sind:

1.3.2.1. Modaladverbien. Eine Verbindung zwischen Temporal- und Modaladverbien bedeuten jene komplexen Elemente in einer adverbialen Rolle, die gleichzeitig auf die Zeit und die Art eines Vorgangs oder einer Handlung bezeichnen (z. B. die Adverbien, die Plötzlichkeit, Hastigkeit ausdrücken: z. B. *azonnal* ‘sofort’, *hirtelen* ‘plötzlich’, *nyomban* ‘sofort’, *mindjárt* ‘bald danach’ usw. (s. bei den Temporaladverbien; vgl. Martinkó 1955, 343), aber auch Adverbien mit anderer Bedeutung, z. B. *egyszersmind* ‘gleichzeitig’, *gyakrabban* ‘öfter’, *szünetlen* ‘ohne Unterbrechung’ usw.)

Es kann auch vorkommen, daß Lokaladverbien in einem Kontext erscheinen, in dem ihre Bedeutung sich verändert, und sie die Art des Vorgangs oder der Handlung bezeichnen: BirkK. 3b: *Ielēnen* : *maxime*, *ielēnen* : *specialiter*; JordK. 741: „mýkozon mynd *zezen zezte* [‘der Reihe nach’] megh mondotta vona“; usw. (diese existieren auch noch als Lokaladverbien). In anderen Fällen scheint der Übertritt in die andere Bedeutungskategorie sich vollends vollzogen zu haben: JókK. 29: „*fennyen* [*vehementer*] czudalkoduan“; TelK. 17: „[a feleség] az ő hazafarfat iftele: mikepen vrat ... ő es vizont [*vicissim* ‘gegenseitig’] az ő felefeget iftele“. (*Vizont* kommt manchmal auch noch in lokaler Bedeutung vor, aber in

dieser Funktion ist es schon am Aussterben: KazK. 73: „zolgait kilde: hoǵ az ǵ zetetǵ fyat zeretettel meǵ kerefnek: es *uizont* [‘zurück’] romaba uinneǵ“.)

Man kann beobachten, daß die pronominalen Lokal- und Temporaladverbien nicht zu Modaladverbien werden, sicherlich wegen des Fehlens einer begrifflichen Bedeutung.

Die Mehrheit der Modaladverbien bildet eine zu diesem Zweck entstandene, abwechslungsreiche semantische Gruppe. Die reichste ist die Gruppe der Adverbien mit einem **nominalen Grundwort**, aber es entstehen immer mehr zusammengesetzte. (Darum haben wir so viele Übergangsformen auf dem Weg zum Adverb.) Der nominale Stamm ist in den meisten Fällen ein Adjektiv: *jelesen* ‘ausgezeichnet’, *jelesül* ‘ausgezeichnet’, *jól* ‘gut’, *jobban* ‘besser’, *különben* ‘anders’ (BirkK. 3b: „ha mefter ... *kvlömben* [*aliter*] zerzendi“), *ritkán* ‘selten’, *végesleg* ‘endgültig’ (JókK. 124: „a3okban *vegefleg* meǵ telyefegyenek“), *váltóslag* (ÉrdyK. 671: „cegy mas ellen *valtoflak* [‘entgegengesetzt’] forognanak“). Unter ihnen kommt besonders oft das viele phonologische Varianten aufweisende (mit dem *heon* des HB. gleichartig aufgebaute) Wort *heján* ~ *hívan* usw. vor. Meistens hat es die Bedeutung ‘leer’: MünchK. 48rb: „czèztec oket *hiuan*“ ~ JordK. 495: „*hewon* boczataak el“: „eum dimiserunt *vacuum*“. Es kommt aber auch mit abstrakterer Bedeutung vor, z. B. MünchK. 25va: „Mit allotoc it *hýan* mēd è napot èfteg“ : „Quid hic statis tota die otiosi?“. Die gleiche Bedeutung, nämlich ‘tatenlos’, wird von dem Übersätzer einige Sätze früher mit dem neueren Adverbialsuffix gebildeten Adverb *hiába* ausgedrückt. (Das JordK. benützt in beiden Fällen ein aus dem Adjektiv *hiú* ‘leer’ gebildetes Verb beziehungsweise Partizip: 416: „Mýt allotok eth, ez nap estýǵ *hewolkodwan*?“, 415: „lata ... *hewolkodokat*“). Die morphologische Vielfältigkeit, sowie die Tatsache, daß es sich mit dem Adverb *hiába* und den entsprechenden verbalen und partizipalen Formen wechselt, zeigt, daß es sich von seinem Grundwort noch nicht völlig losgelöst hat, aber es ist schon auf dem Weg zur Festsetzung als Adverb. Ähnlich kann es sich mit dem Wort *igazán* ‘wirklich’ verhalten, dessen Grundwort auch ein Adjektiv ist: 1492: „te kegelmedeth *Igazan* bizlalom hog el iwien kegelmed“ (MNy. 37, 203); ÉrdyK. 3: „valaky *ygazan* zerety ew barattyaa“. Neben seiner Bedeutung als Modaladverb kommt es immer öfter auch als Gradadverb vor, was die Loslösung von der Bedeutung des Wortstammes und die Verwandlung in ein Adverb noch einfacher macht und weiter verstärkt. Es ist während der Epoche des späten Altungarischen, daß viele als Modaladverbien funktionierende Wörter mit der Endung *-(s)t* sich gerade in Adverbien verwandeln: *örömet* ‘mit Freude’, *sietelmest* ‘eilig’ usw. Selten kommt es auch vor, daß Adverbialpartizipen (*nyilván* ‘offenkundig’, *nyilvánban* ‘mehr offenkundig’) und Adjektivalpartizipien (*méltán* ‘mit Recht’, *méltóbban* ‘auf eine würdigere Art’; beziehungsweise ist zu dieser Zeit das Partizip wahrscheinlich

schon zum Adjektiv geworden) zu Adverbien werden, oder als dessen Stamm funktionieren: NádK. 331: „Mondmeg ennekõm ha *nílván* [‘sicherlich, genau’] megtuttad a lelõk ki menven mi lezõn a tefnec“; BécsiK. 83: „hog *niluaban* [*manifestius*] mège2Lètèc“. In dieser Epoche existieren auch viele Modaladverbien mit der Bildungssilbe *-talan/-telen* ‘-los’ (die Tatsache, daß *-n* ein Suffix ist, muß schon stark in Vergessenheit geraten sein, was aus dem morphologischen und syntaktischen Verhalten hervorgeht): Adverb z. B. GuaryK. 27: „*zertelen* [‘kraftvoll’] te3õn“; FestK. 378: „az ydew *hazontalan* [*inutiliter*] el mwlt“; MünchK. 68vb: „*kètelkedètlèn* [*profecto*] tû kõ3itecbè iutot iftennc õz3aga“; usw. Bei einigen ist zu der modalen Bedeutung noch ein zeitlicher Zug dazugekommen, und so haben sie eine komplexe Bedeutung: FestK. 394-5: „az gýamol ... engemet *hyrtelen* [*repente*] megh hagyã“; GuaryK. 22: „*hertelen* [‘schnell, unerwartet’, und nicht ‘ohne Nachricht’] ... teýendnec“; SzabV.: „*3wnetlen* lwttek“; FestK. 375: *zenetlen* : *assidue*; ÉrdyK. 512: „*zentelen* ymatkozwan“, 77: „*wntalan* eezý“ (auch in Konstruktionen mit *Figura etymologica*: ÉrdyK. 378: „*wnof wntalan* emlekõzetõt tee3ek ty rolatok“).

Unter den **zusammengesetzten** Modaladverbien findet man beinahe alle Zusammensetzungstypen: JordK. 630: „*hogýhogý 3ýlethetýk embe2 mafõd3e2 ... hogý hogý* lehethnek mýnd e3ek?“ (im MünchK. ist *miképpen* ‘wie’ das entsprechende Wort); 1516: „Mýnd keth fele *echerfmýnd* Eghmafak kezeth adwan ... megh Bochyaffanak“ (MNy. 52, 369); usw. Am häufigsten finden wir aber die aus einem Pronomen und einer Postposition zusammengesetzten Adverbien: SzabV.: *affelett* ‘obendrein, ausserdem’; JókK. 21: *Annakfelette* : *insuper*; ca. 1525: „*ezen felewl* hazwnkath ees e3ewsthe1 tellenewn1 meg“ (NyK. 28, 77); usw., besonders die mit dem Hinterglied *-képpen* ‘-weise’. Neben den Zusammensetzungen mit Pronominalstämmen haben wir auch schon einige mit einem nominalen Vorderglied (oder sie sind zumindest im Begriff sich zu Zusammensetzungen zu verfestigen): FestK. 384: *fok keeppen* : *multiplici*; ÉrdyK. 113: „emlekõzyk *kywalthkeppen* wrwnk Iefufnak ... zyleteeferõl“; TelK. 95: „õtet *elegkepen* batorra teue“ (mit einem Gradadverb in komplexer Bedeutung); usw.

Die lexikalische Häufigkeit der aus **Pronomen** abgeleiteten Adverbien ist nicht bedeutend (es sind meistens die aus früheren Zeiten überlieferten, die weiterleben: *így/úgy* ‘so’, *hogy* ‘wie’, *mint* ‘als’ usw.), aber ihre textuale Häufigkeit ist groß. Oft kommen sie mit typischen pronominalen Präfixen vor (*valahogy* ‘irgendwie’, *amint* ‘so als’, *valamint* ‘irgendwie’ usw.). In der Zwischenzeit ist es besonders die Zahl der mit *-ként* ‘-weise’ gebildeten, die zunimmt: *akként* ‘auf jene Weise’, *miként* ‘wie, auf welche Weise’, *mendenként* ‘auf jede Weise’, *akármiként* ‘egal auf welche Weise’, *semmiként* ‘in keiner Weise’ usw. (vgl. Greguss 1976).

1.3.2.2. Zustandsadverbien. Ob man die lexikalische oder die textliche Häufigkeit in Betracht zieht, diese ist eine seltene, und mit den bisherigen Adverbkategorien verglichen die schwächste Gruppe. Eine Gruppe wird von den Wörtern gebildet, deren Bedeutung von Lokaladverbien abgeleitet wurde: JókK. 9: „*solnanak ewzue [simul]*“; TelK. 16: „*eggvt lakozanak*“; 45: „*egbe zereztttönc ... eggvt legönc*“. Diese leben auch in ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion weiter, bei anderen existiert nur die neue Funktion: BécsiK. 14: *égembè : simul*; JókK. 92: „*vr yftent egýetlembe gyczerck*“; ÉrdyK. 3: „*eegyetenben yarwlwan ... azzonywnkhoz*“; sie können auch mit einem Zeitbezug verbunden sein: TelK. 139: „*ežđc ke: egembe vrba meg erđsfđdenec: es ... egedömbel elköket kibočatuan*“; usw.

Die andere Gruppe der Zustandsadverbien ist für diese Funktion entstanden: DöbrK. 335: *eleven* ‘lebend, lebendig’; JókK. 141: *eleuenen*; DöbrK. 443: *eleventebe; veszteg* ‘ruhig’, *vesztegséggel* ‘ruhig’, *egyedül* ‘allein’, *gyalog(on)* ‘zu Fuß’; JordK. 220: *ehen zomeehon* ‘hungrig und durstig’; 1533: „*a3 a3zonyallatok hayadonfewel ne legyenek*“ (Komj.: SzPál, 120); usw. Eine modale Bedeutungsnuance charakterisiert die adverbähnliche Konstruktionen *hanyatt-homlok* ‘kopfüber’, *nyakrafőre* ‘Hals über Kopf’: FestK. 395: „*a3 gyamol kyre kewnyeklettem wala, engemet hyrtelen megh hagyta: ees en hanyat, homlok fewldre efewt wagyok*“; CsomaK. 2: „*Niakra főre az tömlőben be haita*“ (der Vorderglied kann auch selbstständig ähnliche Bedeutung haben: JordK. 377, 532, 550: „*nagý heztelenfegghel mynd a3 fok fezegh bazom nyakza a3 vyzben fwtnak*“ ~ MünchK. 14vb, 40ra, 58va, 64rb: „*hiztèlèn fómèzèdec [per praeceps] mènè a· lozda a· toba*“); usw. (vgl. Kiss 1976, 66–9).

Es ist kein Zufall, daß unter den erwähnten Beispielen keines mit einem pronominalen Grundwort vorkam. Der Grund ist, daß es im späten Altungarischen (zumindest meinen Daten nach) kein solches Wort gibt, das ausschließlich Zustandsadverb wäre; obwohl in einigen Fällen die Adverbien *így/úgy* ‘so’ möglicherweise als Zustandsadverbien funktionieren.

1.3.2.3. Gradadverbien. Diese semantische Gruppe ähnelt in seinem Umfang und Abwechslungsreichtum der der Zustandsadverbien. Sie beinhaltet auch eine dünne Schicht von Wörtern, die aus Lokaladverbien entstanden sind: 1526: „*en kegyelmednek fellyeb bewczeltetem*“ (LevT. 1, 3); WinklK. 108: „*felyebben ekfewlteel*“; ÉrdyK. 512: „*ez nemes wr ffywnak felette yol vala dolga*“; aus einem Temporaladverb (oder aus Lokaladverb durch Temporaladverb) ist zur Bedeutung ‘sehr’ gekommen: ca. 1510: „*Nynchen myt tennem valtyken zegenlem*“ (MNY. 1, 213), aber auch Modaladverbien sind in diese Kategorie übergetreten: *jól* ‘gut’, *jobban* ‘besser’, *igazán* ‘wirklich’, *úgy(an)* ‘so’, *hogy* ‘wie’, *mint* ‘als’ usw.: ÉrdyK. 3: „*mert valaky ygazan zerety ew barattyat*“; GuaryK. 29: „*nomjad iol be ziuedbe*“; DöbrK. 169: „*Vram te mielkedetid hog [quam] nagoltak*“.

Unter den für diese Funktionen entstandenen Gradadverbien sind alle drei Haupt-Adverbtypen (die auf Nomen und auf Pronomen basierenden, sowie die Zusammengesetzten) zahlreich vertreten. Grundwort Nomen: z. B. *alig* 'kaum', *elégge* 'ziemlich', *egészlen* 'ganz' (JókK. 38: „bewlc3efegnek yzýuel ege3len e3efewltetett“), *inkább(an)* 'lieber', *kevésbé* 'wenig', *kevésbé* 'weniger', *nagyon* 'sehr', *naggyal* 'recht', *nagyobbára* 'größtenteils'. Diese sind hauptsächlich mit Lativsuffixen versehen, aber sie sind von Primärsuffixen abgeleitet, und sogar Sekundär-Adverbsuffixe haben sich darin verfestigt. Mehrere von ihnen haben auch Komparativ und Superlativ.

Unter den auf Pronomen basierenden Adverbien finden wir viel mehr mit Sekundärsuffixen, die aber — gerade deshalb — sich weniger verfestigt haben: *oly/ily* 'so sehr', *mely* 'wie sehr', *annyi* 'so sehr'; *annyira* 'so sehr', *mennyire* 'wie sehr', *mennyiben* 'in wie weit', *mennyivel* 'um wie viel', *annyival* 'um so viel' usw. Die häufigsten Gradadverbien (die auch auf der Häufigkeitsliste aller Adverbien eine vornehme Position einnehmen) sind *igen* 'sehr', *mind* 'völlig', *mindenestől* 'ganz', *mindenestőlfogva* 'ganz': NagyszK. 7: „mindönőftől fogva ... ő zyne ... meghezuadot“; die Häufigkeitsverhältnisse der folgenden drei Synonymen im JókK. sind: *mindenestőlfogva* kommt achtunddreißig mal, *mindenestől* dreimal und *egészlen* siebenmal vor.

Ein Teil der zusammengesetzten Adverbien entstand aus der Zusammenfügung zweier pronominaler Adverbien (KazK. 70: „*olygón nag*“; WinklK. 325: „*melighon* zerethy“; ca. 1480-1510: „mind kezedet labadat zegezteffed ... a kőroztfahoz *ug annera* hóg mondhattad“ (MNY. 6, 23); usw.), aber auch typische Konstruktionen mit einem pronominalen Vorderglied bereichern die Gruppe: *amennyire* 'in so weit', *valamennyire* 'in irgendeinem Masse' usw. (vgl. Klemm, 1928/1942, 527–32; Károly 1956).

Verglichen mit den anderen Adverbien sind es die Gradadverbien, die im Satz die beweglichsten sind: sie können nicht nur Verben und Partizipien, sondern auch Adjektive und sogar andere Adverbien modifizieren. Daraus folgt, daß es unter allen Adverbien die Gradadverbien sind, die am tiefsten im Satzstruktur sitzen können.

1.3.2.4. Kausal- und Finaladverbien. Es gibt nur wenige von ihnen, und auch die haben ein Pronomen als Grundwort. Sie sind meistens Interrogative oder Demonstrative: *miért* 'warum', *mire* 'wofür'; *azért/ezért* 'deshalb', *arra/erre* 'deshalb', *ebben* 'deshalb', *evvel* 'deshalb' usw. In der Epoche des späten Altungarischen finden wir ziemlich oft eine Konstruktion (Pronomen + *okáért* postpositionähnliches suffigiertes Substantiv), die die Funktion von pronominalen Adverbien übernehmen kann: *mi okáért* 'warum', *minek okáért* 'warum', *annak*

okáért 'deshalb'; eine ähnliche Rolle spielt die Konstruktion *ennek miatta* 'deshalb' usw., eine morphologische Variante des unmarkierten *emiatt*.

Adverbien mit einem nominalen Grundwort gibt es überhaupt nicht in dieser Gruppe.

1.3.2.5. Als **Vergleichsadverbien** funktionieren einige Pronomen mit dem Suffix *-tól/-től* 'von' und *-nál/-nél* 'bei', die aufgrund ihrer generellen Benützung sowie ihrer relativen Häufigkeit zu den Adverbien gezählt werden können. Sie stehen immer mit einem Adjektiv oder Adverb im Komparativ. Sie drücken den Grad oder das Maß einer Qualität aus, verglichen mit einer anderen Qualität (vgl. Greguss 1976, 476): NagyszK. 4: „*mentől* incab“; ÉrdyK. 511: „*mynneel* kif febhöz“; 1486: „*annal* hamarab“ (MNY. 21, 115); 1549: „*mytwl* hamarab“ (LevT. I, 65).

1.3.2.6. Im wesentlichen werden keine weiteren adverbialen Rollen in der Epoche des späten Altungarischen von Adverbien erfüllt. Ein-zwei vereinzelte Daten weisen darauf hin, daß ihre Rolle sich mit der Zeit erweitern wird. Ursprungsadverb kann sein: FestK. 374: „*honnagh* neekem nyegeefem“ (obwohl vgl. Havas 1973, 175); Resultatsadverb kann sein z. B. MünchK. 35ra: „a templomnac fopozlaha kètte zakada“; WinklK. 178: *ketthe*. Das jetzt noch als Modaladverb funktionierende *általjában* 'generell' wird später zum Aspektsadverb: 1517: „az doctorok *altalljaban* azt mongyak, hogy semmykepen nem tarthatnak wdvesseghekre, tahath agyak megh az ... zent egyhaznak“ (TörtT. 1890, 559). (Formen mit Personensuffixen von der Art *miattam* 'meinetwegen' können auch andere Adverbien ausdrücken, aber wir betrachten sie als Personalpronomen.)

Wir haben also gesehen, daß die Epoche des späten Altungarischen an Adverbien (besonders an Lokal-, Temporal-, Modal- und Gradadverbien) ziemlich reich ist, und weiter haben wir feststellen können, daß einzelne Elemente mit der Veränderung ihrer Funktion (unter entsprechenden Umständen in einem Satz) in eine andere semantische Kategorie übergehen können, aber wir haben auch solche Adverbien getroffen, die — in Abhängigkeit von der Semantik des übergeordneten verbalen Satzgliedes — gleichzeitig mehrere adverbiale Relationen ausdrücken können, das heißt die komplexe Adverbien sind.

2. Die Hauptentwicklungsrichtungen der Bedeutung von Adverbien

Ich werde die Bedeutungsveränderungen nicht berücksichtigen, die mit einem Wortartswechsel zusammengehen, und auch nicht jene, deren Ergebnis der Verlust der forischen, beziehungsweise stellvertretenden Rolle von einzelnen pronominalen

Adverbien ist, die ähnlich wie die auf Nomen basierenden eine begriffliche Bedeutung annehmen; z. B. wie das ursprünglich 'jetzt' bedeutende Adverb *ma* die Bedeutung 'heute' annimmt, oder ähnlich: *távol* 'von dort, von da' (?) → 'fern'; *azonnal*, *azontul* 'dann' → 'sofort'; usw. Wo es nötig ist, werde ich auch auf diese Gruppe hinweisen.

2.1. Im Falle eines der Haupttypen der Bedeutungsentwicklung **behält das Adverb seine Rolle im Satz, nur die Richtungsbedeutung verändert sich.** Diese Möglichkeit realisiert sich aus semantischen Gründen nur in einer Gruppe der Lokal- und Temporaladverbien.

2.1.1. In der Epoche des **Urungarischen** und des **frühen Altungarischen** ist die Haupttendenz der Richtungsbedeutung-Veränderung: Ablativus → Lokativus → Lativus (vgl. Simonyi 1887, 32; Klemm 1928/1942, 158, 205–6), das heißt der Ausgangspunkt ist meistens der Ablativ (unter den primären Adverbialsuffixen ist es *-l*, das zuerst seine Aktivität verliert). Der Hauptgrund — und das bestimmendste — bei der Veränderung der Richtungsbedeutung ist die Bedeutung beziehungsweise Bedeutungsentwicklung des übergeordneten Satzgliedes (besonders des Verbs), aber im Falle des frühen Altungarischen müssen wir auch mit der „Entziehungswirkung“ der Kategorie der Verbalpräfixe rechnen (*mégé* 'hinter', *elé* 'vor' kommen schon in KTSz. als Verbalpräfixe vor). Die sich aus dem Ablativ entfaltende Bedeutungsentwicklung bleibt meistens beim Lokativ stehen (1369: „*Alolchapo uocatum*“ (Oklsz.); SzabV.: „leg ottan *tw/belwl* ... *vyadalth* ... *twrletenek*“), aber es kann auch in Richtung Lativ weitergehen (ÓMS.: „*Syrolmom fuha // zatum therthetyk kyul* [‘nach außen’]“); zur Annahme, daß — neben dem *kivül* 'nach außen' des ÓMS. mit einer lativen Bedeutung — im frühen Altungarischen auch *távol* 'weit weg' mit einer lativen Bedeutung vorkam, berechtigt uns die archaische Sprache des KeszthK. aus dem späten Altungarischen: 271: „*tawol tette*“. So gab es in der Epoche Adverbien mit zwei- und sogar mit dreierichteter Bedeutung. Wir müssen anmerken: obwohl die Bedeutungsveränderung Ablativ → Lokativ im Urungarischen und im frühen Altungarischen sehr charakteristisch ist, müssen wir doch nicht für alle lokativen Adverbien mit dem Suffix *-l* eine solche Bedeutungsveränderung annehmen; da das Ablativsuffix sowohl bei Adverbien, die auf die Frage wo? antworten, als auch bei denen, dessen Fragewort wohin? ist, zu finden ist, kann die Sprache Adverbien mit dem Suffix *-l* und mit lokativer Bedeutung auch unmittelbar erschaffen. (Über die Multifunktion von primären Adverbialsuffixen in der Ursprache und in den verwandten Sprachen vgl.: Fokos 1956, 65; Lakó 1951; Ravila 1945; Kövesi 1966; Klemm 1928/1942, 178).

In der Frage der Regelmäßigkeit der Richtungsbedeutung-Veränderung in der Epoche des Urungarischen und des frühen Altungarischen zeigt sich ein Unter-

schied zwischen den auf Nomen und den auf Pronomen basierenden Adverbien: während bei den nominalen die Veränderungsrichtung Ablativ → Lokativ (→ Lativ) charakteristisch ist, und die Veränderung Lativ → Lokativ nur spurenweise (z. B. HB.: „terumteve *elevé*“; *messze* ‘fern’) vorkommt, die pronominalen dienen eher als Beispiel für die letztere Bedeutungsveränderung; *há* ‘wann’, *ma* ‘jetzt’, *már* ‘schon’, *tege(ten)* (BécsiK. 19: *Tegeten* : *nuper*) usw. mit dem Lativsuffix (vgl. Martinkó 1956, 36; Balázs 1963, 51) hat vielleicht schon im Urungarischen die Bedeutung wann? erlangt. Eine Bedeutungsveränderung mit der Richtung Ablativ → Lokativ kann bei einigen nicht substitutiven auf Pronomen basierenden Adverbien nachgewiesen werden (z. B. *túl* ‘jenseits’, *távol* ‘fern’, *tavaly* ‘im letzten Jahr’; vgl. Benkő 1963, 19). Vielleicht hat sich auch beim Adverb *hol* ‘wo’ am Anfang der Epoche des Urungarischen diese Bedeutungsveränderung vollzogen (vgl. Mátai 1990).

2.1.2. Die Haupttendenz der Veränderung der Richtungsbedeutung ist auch im **späten Altungarischen** Ablativ → Lokativ → Lativ (vgl. Klemm 1928/1942, 158, 205–6). Der Hauptgrund — und das bestimmendste — ist weiterhin die Bedeutung, beziehungsweise Bedeutungsentwicklung des übergeordneten Satzgliedes (besonders des Verbs) und „Entziehungswirkung“ der Kategorie der Verbalpräfixe: mehr und mehr lativische Adverbien werden zu Verbalpräfixen, die Funktion des Lativs muß jedoch in der Kommunikation erfüllt werden. Die von dem Ablativ ausgehende Bedeutungsveränderung (bei ständiger Schwächung der ablativen Richtungsbedeutung) bleibt auch in dieser Epoche meistens bei dem Lokativ stehen (*belöl* ‘innen’, *alól* ‘drunten’, *félöl* ‘oberhalb’), aber es kann auch in Richtung Lativ weitergehen (z. B. *elől* ‘nach vorne’, *kívől* ‘nach außen’, *környől* ‘herum’, *távol* ‘weit weg’; *környől* ist wahrscheinlich noch Ablativ in der folgenden Stelle des SzabV.: „Az helrwl kezdek zwrnyen verethny Mýnd *kwrnywl* nag erwffen twrethny“; Lokativ: SzabV.: „*kwrnywl* alwan“; diese Bedeutung ist z. B. auch noch in einer Figura etymologica im NagyszK. zu finden: 191: *köröfkörnúel* ... *vigadoznac*“; Lativ beziehungsweise verbalpräfixähnliches Adverb: NádK. 361: „es *körnúl* tekentven monda“). So haben wir auch im späten Altungarischen Adverbien die zwei oder sogar drei Richtungen bezeichnen. Es kann natürlich auch vorkommen, daß in der Zwischenzeit die ursprüngliche ablativische Bedeutung ausgestorben ist (z. B. *széjjel* ‘auseinander’, *keresztül* ‘durch’), und nur die lokative und die lativische Bedeutung weiterlebt.

Es kommt seltener vor, daß die Richtungsbedeutung-Veränderung vom Lativ in Richtung Lokativ abläuft: *messze* ‘fern’, *tele* ‘voll’, *tova* ‘weg’, *idefel* ‘hier oben’, *oda* ‘dort’ usw., oder von der Bedeutung ‘wie lange?’ zu ‘wann?’: *örökké* ‘in Ewigkeit’, *többé* ‘wieder’, *mindig* ‘immer’, *soká* ‘lange’ usw. (vgl. Viski 1915; Sebestyén 1967, 536), oder sogar zum Ablativ: *mióta* ~ *miolta* ‘seit wann’ (ÉrdyK.

511: „az efth haynal el nem nywgodot *mywlta* el credöt“; möglicherweise wurde das von der Analogie mit dem in der Epoche häufigen *mioltol* mit einem Ablativsuffix unterstützt).

Die Beispiele zeigen auch, daß diese Richtungsbedeutungs-Veränderung im späten Altungarischen besonders die Adverbien charakterisiert, deren Grundwort ein Nomen ist. Bei den pronominalen hat sich eine ähnliche Entwicklung früher (im Urungarischen) stärker vollzogen (z. B. *hol* 'wo'; *innen* 'von hier', *onnan* 'von dort', *honnán* 'von wo', vgl. oben). Einzelne Elemente der nicht substitutiven, nicht forischen pronominalen Adverbien nehmen auch im späten Altungarischen in dieser Bedeutungsveränderung teil (z. B. *távol* 'fern', *tova* 'weg'). Unter den pronominalen Adverbien — unseren Daten nach — bilden vielleicht nur *ide* 'hierher', *oda* 'dahin' eine Ausnahme, die neben *van* ~ *vagyon* 'ist' in ihrer lokativen Bedeutung und einigen anderen Verben mit entsprechender Bedeutung auch in lokativer Rolle vorkommen: 1524: „mygh en. *oda* mwlattam“ (MNY. 25, 68); 1551: „vram ... Zyra mene ... immar keit enberwnk vagion *oda* ['fern, dort']“ (LevT. 1, 78). Dieses Phänomen ist eine uralte Eigentümlichkeit der ungarischen Sprache, und es existiert auch heute noch in vielen Dialekten.

2.2. Beim anderen Haupttyp der Bedeutungsentwicklung der Adverbien verändert sich die Rolle des Adverbs im Satzgefüge: es bleibt zwar auch weiterhin ein Adverb, aber es geht in eine andere Art über. Bei der Präsentation der funktionalen Gruppen der Adverbien haben wir auch diese Frage untersucht, jetzt werden wir — mit zusammenfassendem Charakter — nur die generellsten und charakteristischsten Tendenzen erwähnen.

2.2.1. In der Epoche des Urungarischen und des frühen Altungarischen tritt die Veränderungsrichtung Lokaladverb → Temporaladverb unter den vielen Möglichkeiten dieser Bedeutungsveränderung am stärksten hervor (z. B. HB.: *eleve* 'am Anfang', *közel* 'nahe/bald', *ottan* 'dort/dann', ÓMS.: *hol* 'wo/wann', *innentova* 'von hier an/danach'). Die meisten leben auch als Lokaladverbien weiter, aber es gibt einige, die nur in ihrer neuen Rolle überleben (unseren Daten vom Anfang des späten Altungarischen nach): *legottan* 'sofort', *holott* 'wann' usw. Über Bedeutungsveränderungen in anderen Richtungen können wir uns nur aufgrund der späteren Daten ein Bild machen.

2.2.2. Im späten Altungarischen sind die folgenden die wichtigsten unter den vielen Richtungen, Möglichkeiten dieser Veränderung: aus bekannten geschichtlichen Gründen ist der **Ausgangspunkt** am häufigsten **das Lokaladverb**. Diese Bedeutungsentwicklung kann in Richtung Temporaladverb gehen; das ist die

markanteste Entwicklungsrichtung: *közel* 'nahe/bald', *rokon* 'nahe/bald', *jelen* 'hier/jetzt', *messze* 'fern/lange', *utol* 'hinten/danach', *elöl* 'vorn/davor', *elébb* 'vorn/davor', *eleinte* 'am Anfang', *meg* 'zurück/wieder' usw.; *innen* 'von hier/danach', *onnan* 'von dort/danach', *itt* 'hier/jetzt', *ott* 'dort/dann', *ha* 'wohin/wann', *míg* 'so weit/so lange', *majd* 'weiter/später', *meddig* 'wie weit/wie lange' usw.; *innentova* 'von hier an/danach' usw. Die Mehrheit lebt auch als Lokaladverb weiter, aber bei vielen von ihnen zeigen unsere Daten nur die temporale Benützung: *nyomban* 'sofort', *mihelyt* 'alsbald', *megint* 'wieder', *legottan* 'sofort', *holott* 'wann' usw.

Das Lokaladverb kann auch eine andere abstraktere Bedeutung annehmen: MünchK. 86rb: „véti èlèuè ... aźt a mel' *alab* valo“; VirgK. 47: „az iftent ... es meg vtaltatok, es *hatra* vetetetek“.

Lokaladverb wird zum Modaladverb: *viszont* 'gegenüber/gegenseitig', *jelennen* 'hier/jetzt', *alattomban* 'unter/während' (diese sind zu dieser Zeit auch noch Lokaladverbien), *afelett* 'darüber/obendrein, außerdem' usw.; Lokaladverb wird zum Zustandsadverb: *egyembe* 'zusammen', *együtt* 'zusammen', *öszve* 'zusammen' usw.; Lokaladverb wird zum Gradadverb: *feljebb(en)* 'oberhalb/sehr', *felette* 'oberhalb/sehr', *felettébb* 'oberhalb/sehr', *fennent* 'oberhalb/sehr' usw. (vgl. Binder 1889, 246–7; Klemm 1928/1942, 204).

Es kann vorkommen, daß das Lokaladverb unmittelbar die abstrakte Bedeutung erlangt (die obigen Beispiele sind wahrscheinlich solche), aber diese Entwicklung kann auch über ein Temporaladverb ablaufen. Es scheint, daß die Bedeutungs-entwicklung von *míg* 'so lange' ein Beispiel dafür ist. Wahrscheinlich hat es sich ursprünglich auf einen Ort bezogen (eine solche Verwendung kommt in unseren Daten nicht vor), aber wir sehen es oft als Temporaladverb und manchmal auch als Gradadverb: Temporaladverb: JordK. 172: „*mýgh* [*quamdiu*] lezen oth aź te lakafođ?“, Gradadverb: ÉrdyK. 121: „*Mygh* nagyobb wağ. anneewal ynkab myndenben meg alazyad magadat“.

Die Bedeutungsveränderung, die mit der Veränderung der Art des Adverbs zusammengeht, kann nicht nur von einem Lokaladverb, sondern auch **von einem Temporaladverb** ausgehen, besonders in Richtung Modaladverb. Die Mehrheit der Adverbien von diesem Typ hat eine komplexe Bedeutung: *azonnal* 'dann' → 'sofort', *hirtelen* 'plötzlich', *egyszersmind* 'gleichzeitig' usw. **Modaladverbien** werden in der Regel zu Gradadverbien (*jól* 'gut/sehr', *jobban* 'besser'; *úgy* 'so sehr', *mint* 'wie sehr', *hogy* 'wie sehr' usw.), seltener zu Temporaladverbien (*hogy* 'wie/wann', *mint* 'wie/wann'). Diese letztere Bedeutungsveränderung kann sich in solchen Sätzen vollzogen haben, dessen Hauptsatz ein temporales Demonstrativ enthält, und so konnte das Relativpronomen (pronominales Adverb) *hogy*, *mint* eine temporale Bedeutung annehmen: GuaryK. 24: „mind addeg budofic ... *hoğ* ['solange'] ... meg monğa“, JordK. 400: „Es *mýnt* ['als'] az hayoczkaban be hagot

vona, *ottan* ['dann'] meg alla a3 zel"; NádK. 341: „es *hog* felszerkenec, *Legottan* kezeymet iftenhőz emelem“. Sie können auch neben einem Hauptsatz ohne Demonstrativ einen temporalen Nebensatz einleiten: JókK. 47: „*hogy* [*cum*] bel boczattamuala lewlek egý aranpenzt“; SzabV.: „De *ment* a3 hayokoth fel vontata Sok felwl ... bōtata“; usw. (vgl. Rácz 1963, 93).

Als Ergebnis dieser Bedeutungsveränderungen erlangen verschiedene Adverbien mehrere Funktionen, das heißt es entstanden poliseme Elemente (vgl. Károly 1970, 78). Diese Polisemie erscheint innerhalb der Lokaladverbien (dasselbe Wort kann ablative und lokative, lokative und lative usw. Bedeutungen annehmen), oder dasselbe pronominale Adverb kann als Demonstrativ und Fragewort, oder mit unbestimmter und allgemeiner Bedeutung stehen, aber sie kommt auch zwischen verschiedenen Bedeutungskategorien vor (dasselbe Wort ist gleichzeitig als Lokal- und Temporal-, Modal- und Gradadverb geeignet). Aber in der damaligen Kommunikation kann das keine Verwirrung verursacht haben: die Bedeutung des Verbs oder der erweiterte Kontext, das sprachliche Feld hat die Bedeutung des fraglichen Adverbs eindeutig gemacht. Die Tendenz zur formalen Unterscheidung der verschiedenen Funktionen ist in der Epoche des Altungarischen nur schwach zur Geltung gekommen.

Literatur

- Balázs, J. 1963. Névmás-tanulmányok [Pronomen-Studien]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 38: 48–58.
- Balázs, J. 1965. Mennyi idős az *idő*? [Wie alt ist *idő* 'Zeit'?] In: Magyar Nyelv 61: 404–12.
- Benkő, L. 1963. Adalékok az ősmagyar szóhasadás eseteihez [Beiträge zu Fällen von Wortspaltung im Urungarischen]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 38: 18–39.
- Benkő, L. 1991–1995. A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana [Historische Grammatik der ungarischen Sprache]. Bd. 1–2/2. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Binder, J. 1889. A magyar hasonlítás [Das Komparativ im Ungarischen]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 18: 241–9, 337–41.
- Fokos, D. 1956. A névragozás történetéből [Aus der Geschichte der Deklination]. In: Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 58: 61–95.
- Gergely, B.P. 1983. Az *idő* és szócsaládja szó- és jelentéstörténeti vizsgálata [Wort- und bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von *idő* 'Zeit' und seiner Wortfamilie] In: Gergely, B.P. (Hrsg.): Nyelvészeti tanulmányok [Linguistische Studien], 22–68. Kriterion, Bukarest.
- Greguss, B.L. 1976. A Székelyudvarhelyi Kódex módféle határozói [Modalartige Adverbien im Székelyudvarhelyi Kódex] In: Magyar Nyelv 72: 456–68.
- Hajdú, P. 1981. Az uráli nyelvészet alapkérdései [Grundfragen der uralischen Sprachwissenschaft]. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Havas, F. 1973. A magyar igei bővítmények rendszeréről [Über das System der Ergänzungen des ungarischen Verbs]. In: Magyar Nyelv 69: 172–83.

- Imre, S. 1958. A Szabács Viadala [Das Sprachdenkmal „Szabács Viadala“]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Juhász, D. 1987. A módosítószók kései ómagyar szófajttörténetéhez [Zur Wortartgeschichte der Modifikationswörter im späten Altungarischen]. In: Magyar Nyelv 83: 454–61.
- Károly, S. 1956. *Aránylag* és társai [*Aránylag* ‘vergleichsweise’ und ähnliche Wörter]. In: Bárczi, G.–Benkő, L. (Hrsg.): Emlékkönyv Pais Dezső hetvenedik születésnapjára, 174–80. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Károly, S. 1970. Általános és magyar jelentéstan [Allgemeine und ungarische Semantik]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Kiss, L. 1976. Szláv tükörszók és tükörjelentések a magyarban [Slawische Spiegelwörter und Spiegelbedeutungen im Ungarischen]. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 92. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Kispál, Sz.M. 1938. Napszakok nevei az ugor nyelvekben [Die Namen der Tageszeiten in den ugrischen Sprachen]. In: Magyar Nyelv 34: 4–16.
- Klemm, A. 1928/1942. Magyar történeti mondatlan [Ungarische historische Satzlehre] A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve 2. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest.
- Kövesi, A.M. 1966. Ősi határozóragjaink történetéhez [Zur Geschichte der ältesten ungarischen Adverbialsuffixen]. In: Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 68: 225–47.
- Lakó, Gy. 1951. Az egyszerű ragok keletkezésének kérdéséhez [Zur Frage der Entstehung der einfachen Suffixe]. In: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Első Osztályának Közleményei 1: 210–23.
- Martinkó, A. 1955. *Rögtön* [Rögtön ‘sofort’]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 79: 342–4.
- Martinkó, A. 1956. Az időhatározószók egy csoportjának történetéhez [Zur Geschichte einer Gruppe der Temporaladverbien]. In: Magyar Nyelv 52: 35–42.
- Mátai, D.M. 1984. A határozószók szinonimitása [Die Synonymität von Adverbien]. In: Magyar Nyelv 80: 297–304.
- Mátai, D.M. 1985. Az irányhármasság érvényesülése a magyar adverbiumrendszer történetében [Das Zurgeltungskommen der Richtungsdreiheit in der Geschichte des ungarischen Adverbsystems]. In: Magyar Nyelv 81: 395–403.
- Mátai, D.M. 1988. A határozószók helye a szófaji rendszerben [Der Platz der Adverbien im Wortartsystem]. In: Magyar Nyelv 84: 31–44.
- Mátai, D.M. 1990. *Hol?*, *Honnan?*, *Hová?* [*Hol* ‘wo’, *honnan* ‘woher’, *hová* ‘wohin’]. In: Egyetemi Fonetikai Füzetek 3: 107–10.
- Mikola, T. 1975/1976. A szamojéd koaffixum eredetéről [Über den Ursprung des samojedischen Koaffixes]. In: Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány 19/20: 155–64.
- Ravila, P. 1945. Suomalais-ugrialisten kielten taivutuksen historiaa [Flexionsgeschichte der finnougriischen Sprachen]. Virittäjä 49: 314–26.
- Rácz, E. 1963. A magyar nyelv következményes mondatai [Folgesätze im Ungarischen]. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 39. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Sebestyén, Á. 1967. A magyar szintagmarendszer néhány kérdéséről [Über einige Fragen des ungarischen Syntagmensystems]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 58: 191–5.
- Sebestyén, Á. 1974. A magyar időhatározószók jelentéstanához [Zur Semantik der ungarischen Temporaladverbien]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 83: 532–8.
- Simonyi, Zs. 1887. A magyar névragozás nyelvtörténeti alapon [Die ungarische Deklination auf geschichtlicher Grundlage]. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest.

- Simonyi, Zs. 1892. A magyar határozók [Die ungarischen Adverbien]. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest.
- Szathmári, I. 1968. Régi nyelvtanaink és egységesülő irodalmi nyelvünk [Unsere alten Grammatiken und die Vereinheitlichung der Literatursprache]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Viski, K. 1915. Székely határozók [Adverbien im Szeklerischen]. In: Magyar Nyelvőr 44: 75–7.
- Zsilka, J. 1978. Jelentés-integráció [Bedeutungsintegration]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

Adresse der Verfasserin: Mária D. Mátai
Loránd-Eötvös-Universität
Lehrstuhl für Ungarische Sprachgeschichte und Dialektologie
H-1052 Budapest
Piarista köz 1.
Ungarn

ZU ENGLISCHEN UND UNGARISCHEN ÄQUIVALENZEN DER DEUTSCHEN ABTÖNUNGSPARTIKEL *JA*

MECHTHILD REINHARDT

Abstract

Illocutive particles have a predominantly communicative, interactive function. The objective of our confrontative investigation is the representative German multifunctional particle *ja* with its equivalents in English and in Hungarian. The investigation of the English equivalents for *ja* points to a predominance of communicative equivalences expressed by a variety of lexical realizations. Despite the widespread contrary assumption in the literature, we can prove the existence of numerous functional-communicative Hungarian equivalents for the particle *ja*.

Infolge der international beobachtbaren Akzentverlagerung vom Zeichensystem Sprache auf dessen kommunikative Funktion mit dem Einzug der kommunikativ-pragmatischen Wende zu Beginn der siebziger Jahre kam es auch zu einem starken Aufschwung der Partikelforschung. So erhielten auch die vordem als „Füllwörter“, „Flickwörter“, „Lückenbüßer“, „Füllsel“, u. a. schon rein terminologisch zur Bedeutungslosigkeit verurteilten Partikeln des Deutschen einen völlig veränderten Stellenwert in der linguistischen Forschung. Es sei hier auf Arbeiten vornehmlich aus der germanistischen Forschung verwiesen, wie die von Altmann (1976), Henne (1978), Weydt (1969; 1979; 1983; 1989), Helbig (1988; 1989).

Das Deutsche gehört zu einer der partikelreichsten Sprachen, was beispielsweise durch die 1987 erschienene Partikelbibliographie, die sich schwerpunktmäßig auf die Erfassung der Literatur zu den deutschen Abtönungspartikeln konzentriert, nachhaltig bewiesen wird (Weydt-Ehlers 1987). Von den dort vorhandenen 137 Titeln zur Kontrastivik zwischen deutschen und anderssprachigen Partikeln beziehen sich die meisten auf deutsche Abtönungspartikeln. Die von Weydt als Charakteristikum der deutschen Sprache bezeichneten Abtönungspartikeln weisen im Deutschen besonders viele und komplexe Funktionen auf. Generell stellen sich uns die im Deutschen eine Klasse von etwa 40 Lexemen bildenden Partikel in der Literatur in z. T. unterschiedlich definierten oder z. T. nur unterschiedlich bezeichneten Subklassen dar. Ferner stehen wir, sicherlich auch mit bedingt durch die „plötzliche Blüte der Partikelforschung“ (Franck 1979, 11), einer Vielzahl von Definitionen des Partikelbegriffs und seiner Bedeutungen gegenüber. In unserer

Darstellung wollen wir uns der relativ weitverbreiteten Auffassung anschließen, nach der Partikeln eine eigene Wortklasse bilden, die sich von Modalwörtern und Adverbien abhebt. Diese Betrachtungsweise wird auch von Helbig (1988) vertreten. Als Partikel faßt er somit die „morphologisch unflektierbaren Wörter [auf], die über keine solchen syntaktischen Funktionen verfügen, wie sie den Wörtern anderer unflektierbarer Wortklassen z. B. den Adverbien, Modalwörtern, Präpositionen und Konjunktionen zukommen“ (Helbig 1988, 20). Bezüglich der bereits kurz erwähnten Subklassenproblematik wollen wir uns hier mit einer Subklassifizierung in die drei Hauptklassen Abtönungspartikeln, Gradpartikeln und Steigerungspartikeln begnügen. Und auch dies soll lediglich dazu dienen, die Gruppe der Abtönungspartikeln terminologisch von den Gradpartikeln und den Steigerungspartikeln abzugrenzen.

Das Thema unserer Betrachtungen, die Abtönungspartikel, dient dem lexikalischen Ausdruck von Einstellungen. Sie wird in der Literatur auch häufig als illokutive Partikel bezeichnet. Beispiele für Abtönungspartikeln im Deutschen wären: *also, auch, doch, eben, ja, bloß, nun, etwa, denn* etc. Abtönungspartikeln üben vornehmlich eine kommunikative, eine interaktive, gesprächssteuernde Funktion aus. Sie „verändern nicht die Wahrheitsbedingungen des Satzes“ (Helbig 1988, 35). Vielmehr ordnen sie den Satz, in dem sie vorkommen, in einen bestimmten verbalen bzw. auch nichtverbalen (sprachlichen oder außersprachlichen) Interaktionszusammenhang ein, da sie die Äußerungsbedeutung des jeweiligen Satzes mit vorausgegangenen, implizierten verbalen oder nichtverbalen Handlungen und Zuständen verknüpfen. Abtönungspartikeln haben somit zumeist unterschiedliche kommunikative Bedeutungen in Abhängigkeit vom Kontext.

Wenn man seit Beginn der siebziger Jahre verstärkt darum bemüht ist, die kommunikativen Eigenschaften der Partikeln und insbesondere der Abtönungspartikeln zu bestimmen, dann sind diese Untersuchungen häufig auch zugleich von praktischen Zielsetzungen begleitet gewesen. Praktisches Ziel der germanistischen Forschung ist es dabei, dem deutschlernenden Ausländer im Ergebnis konfrontativer Untersuchungen eine Hilfe für seine Schwierigkeiten beim Erkennen und beim Gebrauch deutscher Partikeln zu vermitteln. Generell scheint der Vergleich natürlicher Sprachen von großer Anziehungskraft für die Linguisten zu sein. Konfrontative Untersuchungen dienen dabei zum einen der Charakterisierung der untersuchten Sprachen und sind hier schwer von typologischen Untersuchungen abzugrenzen. Oftmals aber sind konfrontativ angelegte Untersuchungen, wie auch in unserem Fall, stark durch außerlinguistische Impulse ausgelöst, die ihren Ursprung im Fremdsprachenunterricht und in der Sprachmittlung haben.

In unserer konfrontativen Darstellung stellt die deutsche Abtönungspartikel *ja* sowie deren Entsprechungen im Englischen und im Ungarischen den Gegenstand dar.

Dabei ist zu betonen, daß diese Partikel lediglich exemplarisch behandelt wird, sie steht für alle Abtönungspartikel.

An den Anfang wollen wir einen Überblick über mögliche Entsprechungsverhältnisse des Englischen und des Ungarischen für die deutsche Abtönungspartikel *ja* stellen. Nach Heringer (1988) wird durch die Partikel *ja* ein Bezug hergestellt zwischen Annahmen des Sprechers, die in dessen Äußerung zum Ausdruck kommen und den Annahmen dieses Sprechers, die er über Annahmen anderer Personen hat, als sozusagen Annahmen zweiten Grades. Verfasser formuliert eine allgemeine Bedeutung von *ja* als Signal für Einigkeit, d. h. die Partikel *ja* signalisiert in all ihren Verwendungsweisen eine Einigkeit, ein Einverständnis, das sich in Abhängigkeit vom Verwendungskontext auf unterschiedliche Inhalte und Kommunikationspartner beziehen kann. Unter Bezugnahme auf die von Heringer formulierte allgemeine, übergreifende Bedeutung haben wir die folgenden spezifischen Verwendungsweisen als variierte Bedeutungen von *ja* in Form der folgenden Untergruppen aufgestellt: „einleitend“, „überrascht“, „feststellend“, „einräumend“, „einschärfend“, und „verstärkend“.

„einleitend“

ja, wissen Sie	well, you know	hát, tudja/nos, tudja
weitere Äquivalente:	–	hát bizonys

„überrascht“

ja, weißt Du denn nicht, daß...	why, don't you know that...	dehát nem tudtad, hogy...
---------------------------------	-----------------------------	---------------------------

„feststellend“

Sie wissen ja, daß...	you know very well that...	hiszen/hát tudja, hogy...
es ist ja gar nicht so	but, after all, it isn't	hiszen nem is olyan
schwer	that difficult	nehéz
da ist er ja	there/here he is	de hiszen/hiszen itt van
das ist es ja	that's just it	hát/hát hiszen ez az
hier ist ja Herr X	here's Mr. X himself	hiszen/aha itt van X úr
es ist ja nicht teuer	really, it isn't that	de hisz ez nem is
	expensive	drága
ich sagte es Ihnen ja	I told you so/I did tell	de hiszen
	you/didn't I tell you so?	megmondtam Önnek
weitere Äquivalente:	indeed/well/just/ anyway	–

„einräumend“

er ist ja mein Freund	when it comes down to it, he is my friend	mégis csak a barátom/végül is.../ végtére is...
-----------------------	----------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------

er ist ja ein alter Mann es ist ja nicht so schlimm	he is an old man after all it isn't so bad, really/ it isn't really as bad as all that	de hiszen ez egy öreg ember végül is/de hisz nem olyan rossz
weitere Äquivalente: „einschärfend“ vergessen Sie es ja nicht hör mir den Vortrag ja an	certainly/always don't forget, whatever you do! if you know what is good for you, you'll come to my lecture/ you'd better come and listen to.../you really ought to.../you simply must	– el ne felejtse/aztán el ne felejtse okvetlenül/feltétlenül hallgasd meg az előadást/aztán meghallgasd ám az előadást
das soll er (nur) ja lassen	he'd better drop the idea/he should think better of it/he can forget it	ezt semmiképpen se csinálja
sie hielt die Hand so, daß ja alle den Ring sehen konnten	she positioned her hand with the sole intention/solely that everyone should see her ring	úgy tartotta a kezét, hogy feltétlenül látnia kellett mindenkinek/ hogy mindenki okvetlenül láthassa a gyűrűt
weitere Äquivalente:	just/be sure/on no account/under any circumstances/ do/do not	nehogy/mindenképpen /biztosan
„verstärkend“ das ist ja fürchterlich	that's just terrible/ terrible, that's what it is	de hisz/na hát ez borzasztó
glauben Sie es ja nicht das ist gut, ja sogar sehr gut	don't believe a single word of it it's good, in fact, it's very good	nehogy elhiggye/el ne higgye ez jó, sőt igen jó
weitere Äquivalente:	just/and/might/more- over/furthermore	ráadásul/mégpedig

Mit unserer konfrontativen Darstellung strebten wir bei der Ermittlung der Äquivalenzbeziehungen die Etablierung einer kommunikativen und dabei nicht unbedingt funktionalen Äquivalenz an. Das von Weydt (1989) sehr treffend als „Übersetzerparadoxon“ bezeichnete Phänomen tritt bei der Übersetzung von Abtönungspartikeln besonders stark in Erscheinung. Ein zu starkes Bemühen des Übersetzers eines Textes auf der Ebene der in der Ausgangssprache verwandten Partikel eine ihre Funktion berücksichtigende und dabei möglichst idiomatische Entsprechung zu finden, kann zur Erstellung eines Pseudotextes führen. Ein auf einer solchen Basis erstellter Text/Kontextsatz wirkt den Strukturen der entsprechenden Zielsprache gegenüber atypisch, der in unserem Falle englische bzw. ungarische Text würde überladen und fremd wirken. Lassen doch unsere Übersetzungen zu den aufgezeigten Verwendungsweisen der deutschen Abtönungspartikel *ja* z. T. ganz unterschiedliche materielle Entsprechungen erkennen.

Wenden wir uns zunächst den angeführten englischen Äquivalenzen zu. Auffällig ist die Breite der Realisierungsmöglichkeiten für die einzelnen Verwendungsweisen. In den wenigsten Fällen treten funktionale Äquivalenzen auf, wie etwa *well* in: *well, you know* oder *just* in: *that's just it*. Aber auch Nullübersetzungen, die beispielsweise im Französischen sehr häufig realisierte Übersetzungsäquivalenzen für deutsche Abtönungspartikeln (Weydt 1989) bilden, überwiegen in den englischen Beispielen keineswegs. Vielmehr ist eine große Anzahl von kommunikativen Äquivalenzen in Form von Paraphrasen charakteristisch. Zudem ist deutlich zu erkennen, daß dem Deutschen und dem Englischen divergente Beziehungen vorliegen. Beinahe jeder Verwendungsweise der deutschen Abtönungspartikel *ja* sind mehrere kommunikative Äquivalenzen im Englischen zugeordnet. Auch die Hinzunahme der für einige Verwendungsweisen noch angefügten, weiteren Äquivalenzen gibt keineswegs schon ein auch nur annähernd vollständiges Bild über die potentiellen kommunikativen Äquivalenzen in ihrer Gesamtheit. Wir können feststellen, daß in der Mehrzahl der Fälle das Englische bestimmte lexikalische Realisierungsformen bildet. Entsprechungen wie *but after all; when it comes down to it; whatever you do; you'd better; if you know what is good for you; with the sole intention; in fact* etc. seien hier beispielhaft angeführt. Auch grammatische Formen wie die Intensivierung durch den Gebrauch von *do* im Aussagesatz im Beispiel *do write soon* u. a. sowie die Intonation bilden weitere zu beachtende Momente.

Wir erkennen also, daß auf keinen Fall eine Frage derart aufgestellt werden kann, mit welcher englischen Partikel die deutsche Abtönungspartikel *ja* bzw. deren einzelne Verwendungsweisen zu übersetzen sind. Die Bedeutung einer solchen Fragestellung würde bei der Übersetzung eines deutschen Gesamttextes mit seinen Abtönungspartikeln ins Englische noch transparenter werden. Im Falle unserer aus-

gewählten Beispielsätze wie für ganze Texte gilt es, kommunikative Äquivalenzen für die durch die deutschen Abtönungspartikeln vermittelten Bedeutungen zu finden. Dies wird durch die entsprechende (hier englische) Sprache auf konversationsanalytischer Ebene mittels unterschiedlicher Realisierungsformen geleistet.

Deutsche Abtönungspartikeln sind also nicht lediglich komplex und vieltätig in ihren Bedeutungen und somit auch für den im Erwerb der deutschen Sprache bereits weit fortgeschrittenen Ausländer eine Schwierigkeit. Auch der Sprecher der partikelreichen deutschen Ausgangssprache muß sich der unterschiedlichen kommunikativen Äquivalenzen der Zielsprache (des Englischen) einigermaßen bewußt sein. Er sollte darum bemüht sein, sich im Englischen häufige kommunikative Äquivalenzen der deutschen Abtönungspartikeln anzueignen. Er könnte dabei von Untersuchungen profitieren, deren Anliegen es ist, diejenigen typischen Ausdrucksmittel der Zielsprache (Englisch) zu ermitteln, die im Hinblick auf die in der Ausgangssprache (Deutsch) erfolgte Bedeutungsbeschreibung als zielsprachliche Äquivalenzen gelten können. Die Regeln und Gesetzmäßigkeiten für die Verwendung der Abtönungspartikeln bzw. vielfach der Partikeln insgesamt, die Bestimmung und der Gebrauch kommunikativer Äquivalenzen bedürfen sowohl im Englischen als auch im Deutschen weiterer Analysen.

Vergleichsweise unkompliziert muten die aufgezeigten Entsprechungen des Ungarischen für die einzelnen Verwendungsweisen von *ja* als Abtönungspartikel an. Im Gegensatz zum Englischen finden wir hier in der Mehrzahl der gewählten Beispiele kommunikativ-funktionale Äquivalenzen. Allerdings liegen auch hier keine 1 : 1 Entsprechungen vor. Vielmehr stehen in der Regel mehrere, synonyme Partikelkonstruktionen zur Verfügung, die zudem häufig nicht auf eine Verwendungsweise beschränkt sind. So können *de hiszen*, *hiszen*, *na/no hisz*, *de hisz* u. a. als synonyme Entsprechungen für mehrere Verwendungsweisen der deutschen Abtönungspartikel *ja* wie "verstärkend", "einräumend" und "feststellend" stehen.

Nach bisherigen Untersuchungen (Reinhardt 1989) ist das Ungarische eine relativ partikelreiche Sprache, die nicht wesentlich weniger Partikeln in Frequenz und Inventar aufweist als das Deutsche. Diese Tatsache erleichtert nicht unbedingt die Untersuchungsarbeiten, da einer Vielzahl deutscher Partikeln eine Vielzahl verschiedenartig verwendeter, keineswegs immer 1 : 1 Entsprechungen bildender ungarischer Partikeln bzw. auch nur kommunikativer Äquivalenzen gegenübersteht. Die geringe Anzahl ungarischer Publikationen (vgl. Weydt-Ehlers 1987) steht u. E. nicht für eine automatisch realisierbare Zuordnung des Ungarischen zu den sogenannten partikelarmen Sprachen. Vielmehr besteht hier die Notwendigkeit und interessante Herausforderung zugleich, den Sprachvergleich mit den sogenannten partikelreichen Sprachen, wie beispielsweise dem Deutschen, verstärkt zu suchen.

Literatur

- Altmann, H. 1976. Die Gradpartikeln im Deutschen. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Carlson, L. 1984. 'Well' in dialogue games. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Franck, D. 1979. Abtönungspartikeln und Interaktionsmanagement. In: Weydt, H. (Hrsg.): Die Partikeln der deutschen Sprache. De Gruyter, Berlin/New York.
- Halász, E. 1986. Ungarisch-Deutsches; Deutsch-Ungarisches Wörterbuch in vier Bänden. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Helbig, G. 1988. Lexikon deutscher Partikeln. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig.
- Helbig, G. 1989. Die Partikeln – keine Wortklasse, eine Wortgruppe oder mehrere Wortklassen? In: Germanistisches Jahrbuch, 194–209. Budapest.
- Henne, H. 1978. Gesprächswörter. Für eine Erweiterung der Wortarten. In: Henne, H. – Mentrup, W. – Weinreich, H. (Hrsg.): Interdisziplinäres deutsches Wörterbuch in der Diskussion, 42–7. Schwann, Düsseldorf.
- Heringer, H. J. 1988. Ja, ja, die Partikeln! Können wir Partikelbedeutungen prototypisch erfassen? In: Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung 6: 730–54.
- Juhász, J. 1980. Kontrastive Studien. Ungarisch-Deutsch. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Reinhardt, A. 1989. Partikeln im ungarisch-deutschen Sprachvergleich. In: Germanistisches Jahrbuch, 322–30. Budapest.
- Shible, W. 1989. Some remarks on particles and interjections in English and German. In: Zeitschrift für Anglistik/Amerikanistik 3: 241–45.
- Weydt, H. 1969. Abtönungspartikeln. Die deutschen Modalwörter und ihre französischen Entsprechungen. Gehlen, Bad Homburg/Berlin/Zürich.
- Weydt, H. (Hrsg.) 1979. Die Partikeln der deutschen Sprache. De Gruyter, Berlin/New York.
- Weydt, H. (Hrsg.) 1983. Partikeln und Interaktion. Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Weydt, H. 1989. 'Wie übersetzt man doch?' – Kritik an einer falsch gestellten Frage. In: DAAD/JATE Dokumentationen und Materialien, 415–34. Szeged/Bonn.
- Weydt, H. – Ehlers, K.-H. 1987. Partikelbibliographie. Internationale Sprachenforschung zu Partikeln und Interjektionen. Lang, Frankfurt/M.

Adresse des Verfassers: Mechthild Reinhardt
 Institut für Anglistik
 Augustusplatz 09
 04109 Leipzig
 Deutschland
 e-mail: anglistik@rz.uni-leipzig.de

EINIGE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR WAHL DER INFORMANTEN UND ZUR DATENINTERPRETATION IN DER WORTGEOGRAPHIE

ROLAND WOLFF

Abstract

The lexicon of urban colloquial German displays great regional variation in terms for foods, animals and plants, clothing, greetings and many other everyday items. The most important study to date of such regionalisms is Jürgen Eichhoff's *Word Atlas of German Colloquial Speech (Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprachen)*, whose maps show remarkable retention of traditional terms in the face of competition from standard German. But how accurate is such a picture? This paper suggests that the selection of informants for such studies inevitably results in data skewed in favor of regional terms vis-a-vis standard German, and suggests a corrective approach to the interpretation of such data.

Wer in den deutschsprachigen Ländern aufmerksam umherreist, bemerkt leicht, daß der Wortschatz der städtischen Umgangssprache¹ noch heute beträchtliche geographische Verschiedenheit aufweist. Mit Recht bemerkte schon Paul Kretschmer in seiner 1918 erschienenen *Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache* (1918, 58), daß man in der Umgangssprache die größte geographische Mannigfaltigkeit unter den Bezeichnungen für die „Gegenstände und Angelegenheiten des täglichen Lebens“ findet: Solche Verschiedenheit gibt es nicht nur in ein paar bekannten Fällen wie *Samstag / Sonnabend* und *Guten Tag / Grüß Gott*, sondern für viele andere alltägliche Begriffe, wie Lebensmittel (norddeutsch *Kloß*, süddeutsch *Knödel* bzw. *Nockerl*), Pflanzen und Tiere (norddeutsch *Weißkohl*, *Ziege*, süddeutsch *Weißkraut*, *Geiß* usw.), Haus und Haushalt (norddeutsch *Schornstein*, süd- und südwestdeutsch *Kamin*, ostmitteldeutsch *Schlot*) u.a.m. In dieser Hinsicht ist die deutsche Umgangssprache in der Tat „von der Einheit des Wortschatzes weit entfernt viel weiter, als denen zum Bewußtsein kommt, die sich von der heimischen Scholle

¹ Wir definieren hier die Umgangssprache als die unter den Einheimischen eines beliebigen Ortes im alltäglichen Sprechen verwendete Sprachform. Diese Definition mag angesichts des beträchtlichen Disputierens über die Bedeutung der Termini *Umgangssprache*, *Verkehrssprache*, *Normalsprache* usw. ungebührlich vereinfachend klingen. Da aber eine eingehende Besprechung der Terminologie außerhalb des Rahmens unserer Diskussion liegt, wird der interessierte Leser auf die folgenden verwiesen: Bichel (1988); Cordes (1963); Eichhoff (1977); Koerner (1971); Kretschmer (1969, 10–20); Moser (1960); Penzl (1988); Porzig (1960, 250f.); Radtke (1973); Rossipal (1972, bes. 256); Steger (1988); Wolff (1975).

nie dauernd und weit entfernt haben.“ (Kretschmer 1969, 1). Diese geographische Verschiedenheit ist hauptsächlich historisch-politischen Faktoren zuzuschreiben. Um wieder Kretschmer (1969, 58) zu zitieren:

„Die Ursache dieser auffälligen Erscheinung ergibt sich, wenn wir die deutschen Sprachverhältnisse mit den französischen und englischen vergleichen, wo derartige geographische Unterschiede nicht bestehen: dem deutschen Sprachgebiet fehlt ein sprachliches Zentrum, wie es Frankreich in Paris, England in London besitzt. Die Einheit der Literatursprache reicht nicht aus, um auch für die Gegenstände und Angelegenheiten des täglichen Lebens, die in der Literatur selten oder gar nicht erwähnt werden, Einheitlichkeit des Ausdrucks zu erzielen.“

Merkwürdigerweise hatte diese regionale Verschiedenheit im Wortschatz der deutschen Umgangssprache bis vor kurzem wenig wissenschaftliches Interesse erregt, und wer sich für die Sache interessierte, hatte nur beschränkte Informationsquellen, darunter die verschiedenen deutschen Wörterbücher und — natürlich mit der notwendigen Vorsicht in der Dateninterpretation — die Dialekt- und Regional-Wörterbücher.² Die Informationen in diesen Quellen sind aber oft unzureichend. Eine wirklich umfassende Behandlung des Themas boten nur der *Deutsche Wortatlas* (Mitzka-Schmitt 1951–73) und Kretschmers schon erwähnte *Wortgeographie* (Kretschmer 1969). Leider bereiten beide Werke dem, der sich mit den regionalen Varianten in der heutigen deutschen *Umgangssprache* beschäftigt, sowohl praktische als auch theoretische Schwierigkeiten. Der für eingehende Dialektforschung freilich unentbehrliche *Deutsche Wortatlas* ist z.B. zu kompliziert und zu zeitgebunden, als daß er als Datenquelle zur geographischen Verschiedenheit im jetzigen gesprochenen Deutsch gelten könnte.³ Und Kretschmers *Wortgeographie*, obgleich zweifellos die

² Deutsche Wörterbücher (z.B. Grimm – Grimm (1854), Götze – Mitzka (1939–57), Wahrig (1966), die verschiedenen *Duden*-Bände und der *Sprach-Brockhaus*) erwähnen vielfach die geographische Verteilung der nicht-schriftsprachlichen Varianten (wie z.B. *Bub(e)*, *Dirndl*, *Geiß*), doch meistens nicht die der standardsprachlichen Formen (*Junge*, *Mädchen*, *Ziege* usw.), die aber auch häufig ein geographisch mehr oder weniger beschränktes Vorkommen aufweisen. Und auch in den Fällen, wo die Wörterbücher Informationen zur geographischen Verteilung regionaler Varianten liefern, sind die Angaben in der Regel für wissenschaftliche Zwecke zu allgemein (z.B. „oberdeutsch“, „mitteldeutsch“, „norddeutsch“ usw.). Rossipal (1972, 256) bespricht einen weiteren Nachteil der Wörterbücher: „Durch die in diesen Wörterbüchern ausschließlich alphabetische Aufstellung der Stichwörter wird aber eine Antwort auf die Frage, wie wird der oder jener Begriff in verschiedenen Landschaften bezeichnet?“ nicht gegeben.“ Um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen: Wer sich für die süddeutschen Bezeichnungen für den *Klempner* interessiert, findet in den Wörterbüchern wenig Hilfe, denn nur wer die regionalen Varianten *Blechner*, *Flaschner*, *Spengler*, *Spangler* und *Installateur* schon kennt, weiß auch, daß er eben diese Ausdrücke in den Wörterbüchern nachzuschlagen hat.

³ Als Beispiel der Komplexität des *Deutschen Wortatlas* sehe man die Karte für „Sauerklee“ (Bd. 17, Karte 10), mit seinen über hundert verschiedenen Bezeichnungen und daher ebenso vielen verschiedenen Kartensymbolen; wir sprechen hier übrigens nur von den lexikalischen Varianten; rechnet man die zahlreichen Lautvarianten hinzu, so hat man für diese eine Karte über fünfhundert verschiedene Formen (und natürlich genauso viele Symbole). Und in dem Vierteljahrhundert zwischen dem Erscheinen des

beste bis vor kurzem vorhandene Bearbeitung des Themas, bietet ähnliche Probleme,⁴ vor allem durch die Tatsache, daß eine vor siebzig Jahren vollendete Studie für heutige Zwecke fast vollständig veraltet sein muß. Eine moderne Bearbeitung der Sache wurde für notwendig gehalten.

Im Sommer 1971 begann unter Leitung von Jürgen Eichhoff in der University of Wisconsin die Arbeit an einem Wortatlas regionaler Varianten in der städtischen Umgangssprache des heutigen deutschen Sprachgebiets. Dieses Werk (siehe Eichhoff 1977) bietet einen umfassenden Überblick über die regionalen Varianten im Wortschatz der Umgangssprache in der damaligen Bundesrepublik Deutschland, der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Österreich, der deutschsprachigen Schweiz und in Norditalien. Als Doktorand habe ich an der Feldforschung für diesen *Wortatlas* in den Ländern Bayern und Baden-Württemberg teilgenommen und meine Dissertation auf einen Vergleich mit den in älteren Quellen (vor allem bei Kretschmer) vorgefundenen Daten basiert. Diese Untersuchung zeigte, daß die von Kretschmer schon vor fast achtzig Jahren aufgewiesene regionale Verschiedenheit noch in der Umgangssprache der zweiten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts in beträchtlichem Maße fortbesteht. Obwohl gewisse normalisierende Tendenzen sichtbar werden, gibt es keine starke allgemeine Entwicklung in Richtung auf eine geographische Einheitlichkeit des umgangssprachlichen Wortschatzes. Kretschmers Bemerkung (1969, 58), daß die „Einheit der Literatursprache nicht aus[reicht], um auch für die Gegenstände und Angelegenheiten des täglichen Lebens Einheitlichkeit des

Deutschen Wortatlas und dem von Eichhoffs *Wortatlas* hat sich die sprachliche Situation so geändert, daß die in jenem Werk zu findenden Daten für heutige Zwecke nicht mehr als ganz zuverlässig gelten können. Zum Beispiel war das Dialektwort *Satertag*, das in den letzten Jahrzehnten durch *Sonnabend* und *Samstag* stark verdrängt wird, schon in den frühen sechziger Jahren und auch in den Mundarten nicht mehr so weit verbreitet, wie im *Deutschen Wortatlas* angegeben (Bd. 16, 11; vgl. Avedisian 1963).

⁴ Zum Beispiel definiert Kretschmer (1969, 10) die *Umgangssprache* als „die Gemeinsprache der Gebildeten.“ Rossipal (1972, 252) bemerkt dazu: „Aus der heutigen Sicht ist es zu einfach, wie Kretschmer die ‚Umgangssprache‘ als ‚die Sprache der Gebildeten‘ zu definieren; (denn) schon spricht die überwiegende Mehrheit aller deutschsprachigen Sprecher, auch in Berufen ohne ausgesprochene höhere Schulausbildung, eine (zwar mehr oder weniger regional gefärbte) ‚Umgangssprache‘...“ Sich mit Kretschmer über seine Definition auseinandersetzen heißt nicht bloß terminologisch Haare spalten, denn erstens bestimmte Kretschmers Definition der *Umgangssprache* die Wahl seiner Informanten, die fast alle aus den gebildeten höheren Berufs- und Gelehrtenklassen stammten (Kretschmer 1969, 28–35). Eine auf Daten ausschließlich sozial auserlesener Informanten gegründete Arbeit kann nicht als Informationsquelle für den allgemeinen umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch dienen. Zweitens ergibt eine Untersuchung der hauptsächlich städtischen Umgangssprache nur dann repräsentative und damit zuverlässige Daten, wenn sie eine genügend große Zahl von Städten einschließt. Kretschmers *Wortgeographie* basiert aber auf Daten aus einer relativ geringen Zahl von Orten im deutschen Sprachgebiet (etwa 170; vgl. Eichhoffs (1977) auf Daten aus fast 400 Orten basierenden *Wortatlas*). Hiermit soll nicht gesagt sein, daß Kretschmers ganze Studie deshalb ungültig sei, sondern nur, daß ihr relativer Mangel an geographischer Belegdichte die Möglichkeit einschließt, daß die Daten auch geographische Zuordnungen darstellen, die dem Wortgebrauch in einzelnen Gebieten eigentlich nicht entsprechen.

Ausdrucks zu erzielen“, kann also nun erweitert werden: Die Einheitlichkeit der in den Schulen, in den Medien und im öffentlichen Leben verwendeten hochdeutschen Gemeinsprache hat keine Entsprechung im Wortschatz der deutschen Umgangssprache zur Folge gehabt. Es scheint also, daß seit Kretschmers Untersuchung durchaus keine massenweise Preisgabe der traditionellen lexikalischen Varianten stattgefunden hat. Vielmehr werden die regionalen Bezeichnungen trotz des Einflusses der standarddeutschen Schriftsprache in den meisten Fällen beibehalten. Auf der anderen Seite kann natürlich ebensowenig behauptet werden, daß die sprachliche Situation unverändert geblieben sei, denn ein Vergleich unseres Befundes mit dem von Kretschmer zeigt, daß gewisse Änderungen doch stattfinden.

In einem früheren Aufsatz (Wolff 1975) habe ich die Verhältnisse der nicht-standardsprachlichen süddeutschen Bezeichnungen zur Standardsprache besprochen.⁵ In jener Diskussion wurde unter anderem bemerkt, wie süddeutsche Varianten vor schriftdeutschen Formen besonders dann zurückweichen (a) wenn die regionalen Ausdrücke Sachen und Dinge bezeichnen, die im alltäglichen Leben des Stadtbewohners eine immer geringere Rolle spielen (Beispiele: süddeutsch *Bulldog* wird durch *Traktor* verdrängt, *Geiß* durch *Ziege*) und auch (b) wenn viele regionale Varianten um umgangssprachliche Geltung mit einer standardsprachlichen Form konkurrieren müssen (Beispiel: die vielen Varianten *Blechner*, *Flaschner*, *Spengler*, *Spangler* werden im Sinne von „Handwerker, der im Hause die Wasserrohre repariert“ durch den im Süden historisch relativ neuen und weiter gültigen Terminus *Installateur* allmählich verdrängt). Auf der anderen Seite werden bekannte Regionalismen wie *Mädel* / *Madel* und *Bu(b)e* meist beibehalten. Zum Schluß meines Aufsatzes habe ich bemerkt, daß es abzuwarten bleibe, inwieweit die ausgleichenden Einflüsse der Schulen, der Massenmedien und der Mobilität der Menschen im deutschen Sprachgebiet das Verschwinden regionaler Varianten zugunsten weiter geltender standarddeutscher Formen zur Folge haben werde und auch, daß eine wirklich eingehende Untersuchung dieser Fragen weiterer Feldforschung bedürfe. Von äußerster Wichtigkeit ist es also, daß ich in meiner Diskussion (1975) wie auch in meiner Doktorarbeit (1973) die Zuverlässigkeit der Daten im *Wortatlas* nie in Frage gestellt habe. Aber schon seit Anfang an hat es zu einigen der Daten im *Wortatlas* beunruhigende Fragen gegeben. Bevor wir aber an diese Probleme gehen, muß zunächst eins ganz klar gemacht werden: In dem vorliegenden Aufsatz ist die Rede nicht von solchen *Wortatlas*-Begriffen wie etwa *Junge*, *Fleischer* oder *Samstag*, deren Wortkarten klare Grenzen aufweisen zwischen *Junge* und *Bube*, *Fleischer*, *Metzger*, *Schlächter*/*Schlachter* und *Fleischhauer*, *Samstag* und *Sonnabend*.

⁵ Eine Diskussion der Entwicklungstendenzen der Umgangssprache und der Probleme in der Wortgeographie findet man auch bei Frieberthäuser – Dingeldein (1985), Mattheier – Besch (1985), Moser (1982), Protze (1986), Putschke (1983), Scheutz (1969–79), Stellmacher (1968), Wiesinger (1986).

Bei diesen, und zwar bei der überwiegenden Mehrheit der im *Wortatlas* behandelten Sachen und Begriffen sehen wir in den lexikalischen Gebieten der Wortkarten, die natürlich auf den Angaben von Eichhoffs Gewährsleuten basieren, daß in dem einen Gebiet eine Bezeichnung, in anderen Gebieten andere Bezeichnungen im umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch klar vorherrschen. Nein, hier geht es nicht um diese, sondern um jene wenigen problematischen Begriffe wie z.B. *Krawatte*, *Dose*, *Installateur* (*Klempner*), *Traktor*, *Flaschenkorken*, *Meerrettich* usw., deren in den Wortkarten dargestellte geographische Verbreitungen in mindestens einigen Gebieten merkwürdige, sogar Verdacht erregende Mischmeldungen aufweisen. (Man sehe als Beispiele die Wortkarten auf S. 349–51). Die folgende Frage ist unvermeidlich: Wie sind solche Kartenbilder zu interpretieren? In meinem Aufsatz (1975) habe ich besprochen, wie diese problematischen Wortkarten einen Tatbestand zeigen mögen, wo der Gebrauch eines einheimisch-traditionellen Terminus, z.B. *Büchse* (für die Sache (*Konserven*) *Dose*) durch das Eindringen einer im deutschen Sprachgebiet weiter gültigen standardsprachlichen Bezeichnung (*Dose*) bedroht wird, also, daß das gemischte Kartenbild eben einen Übergangszustand darstellt. In der Tat ist so etwas bei z.B. *Dose/Büchse*, (*Flaschen*)*korken* / *Stöpsel* / *Stopsel* usw. offensichtlich der Fall, und auch Eichhoffs Informanten erwähnten dies (siehe Eichhoff 1977, 7–8). Aber es gibt dennoch ein grundsätzlicheres Problem. Um auf die Wortkarte *Dose/Büchse* zurückzukommen: Hier sehen wir die Antworten der Informanten auf die Interviewfrage „Wie heißt in Ihrer Stadt gewöhnlich das Blechgefäß für Gemüsekonserven?“ Die Verbreitungen und die Meldezahlen der verschiedenen Bezeichnungen geben nun den Anschein, als ob die traditionelle Bezeichnung *Büchse* mit 70 Meldungen in Bayern die vorherrschende, aber *Dose* mit nur 40 Meldungen ein noch verhältnismäßig schwacher „Neuankömmling“ sei. Doch auf Grund intensiver Besprechungen in den Sommern 1984, 1987 und 1991, teils mit einigen meiner ursprünglichen bayerischen Informanten aus dem Interviewjahr 1971, teils mit neuen Informanten, möchte ich die Möglichkeit vorschlagen, daß bei *Dose/Büchse* und mindestens einigen der anderen problematischen Wortkarten etwas ganz anderes im Spiel sein möge und zwar, daß in solchen Fällen wie *Dose/Büchse*, *Traktor/Bulldog* usw. die Wortkarten den eigentlichen Tatbestand nicht darstellen und den Kartenleser zu einer Fehlinterpretation führen dürften.

Meine Diskussion muß ich aber mit einem ausgesprochenen Vorbehalt beginnen: Die Ergebnisse meiner Interviews aus den Jahren 1984, 1987 und 1991 bieten keinen Beweis (was es in der Wortgeographie sowieso nicht gibt), sondern nur Hinweise. Denn meine Absicht war es in den Jahren nicht, umfassende nachträgliche Feldforschungen zu betreiben, sondern nur ein paar Probleme zu untersuchen, die im Laufe meiner Erforschungen der originalen *Wortatlas*-Daten

aufgetaucht waren. Doch obgleich sie keinen Beweis bieten, haben meine Ergebnisse für die wortgeographische Forschungsmethodik und für das Dateninterpretieren potentiell entscheidende Bedeutung.

Die Interviews aus den Jahren 1984, 1987 und 1991:

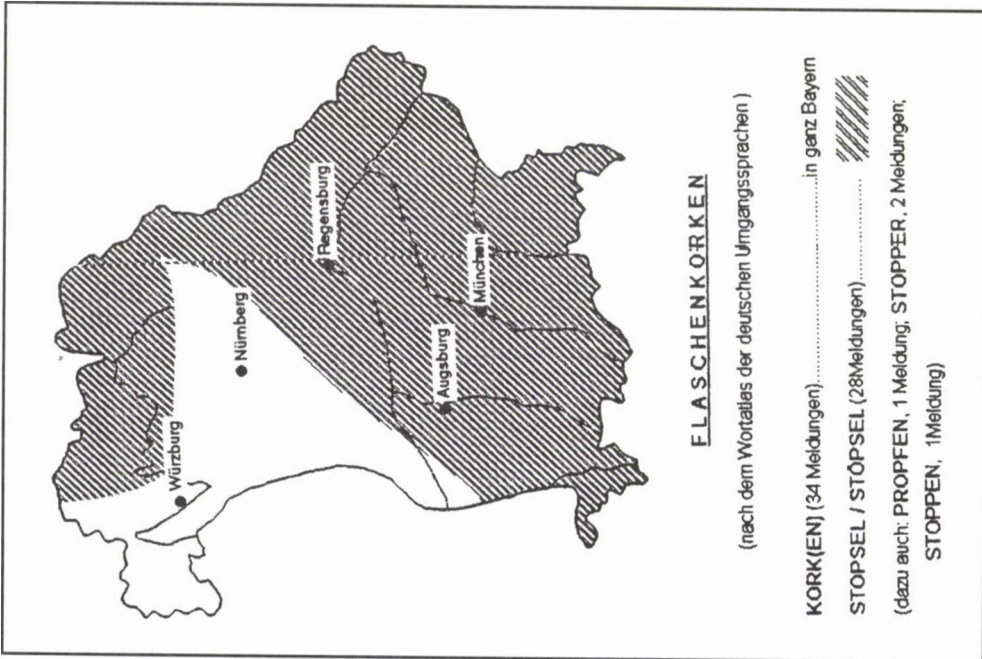
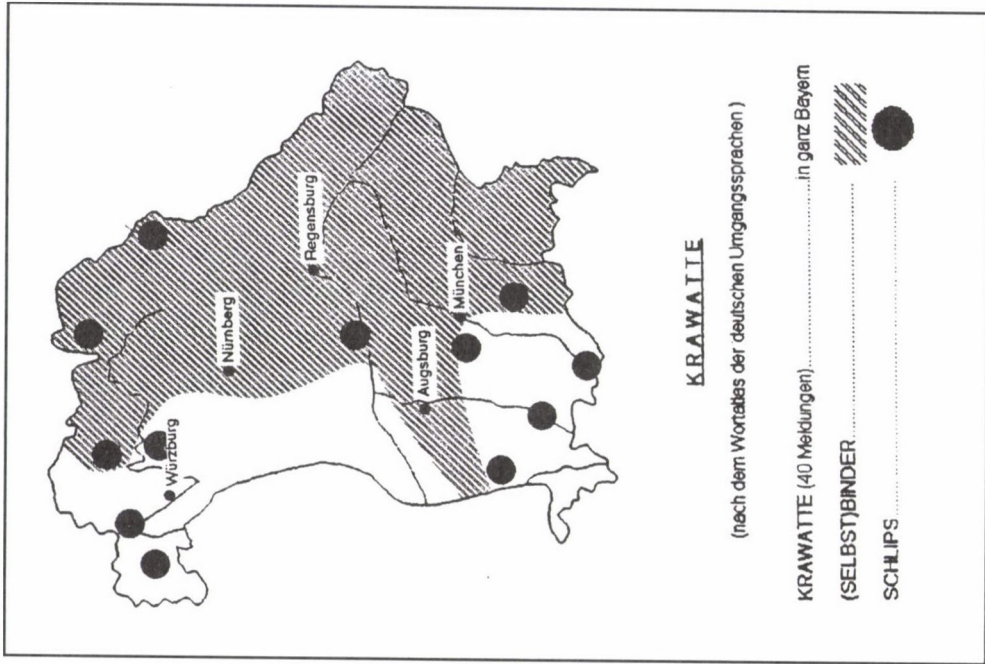
Motivierung und Methodik

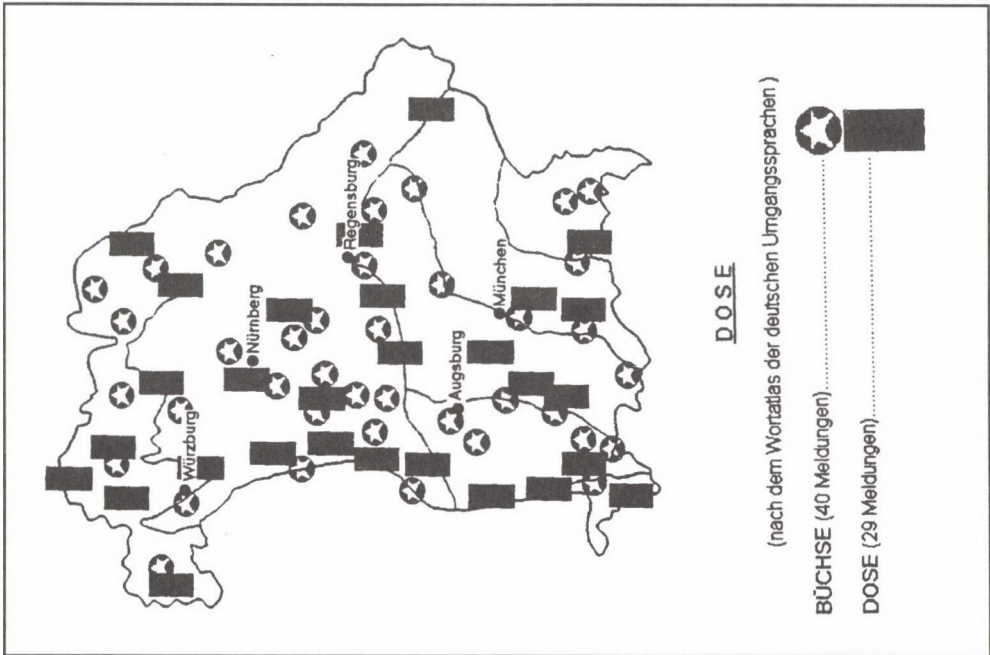
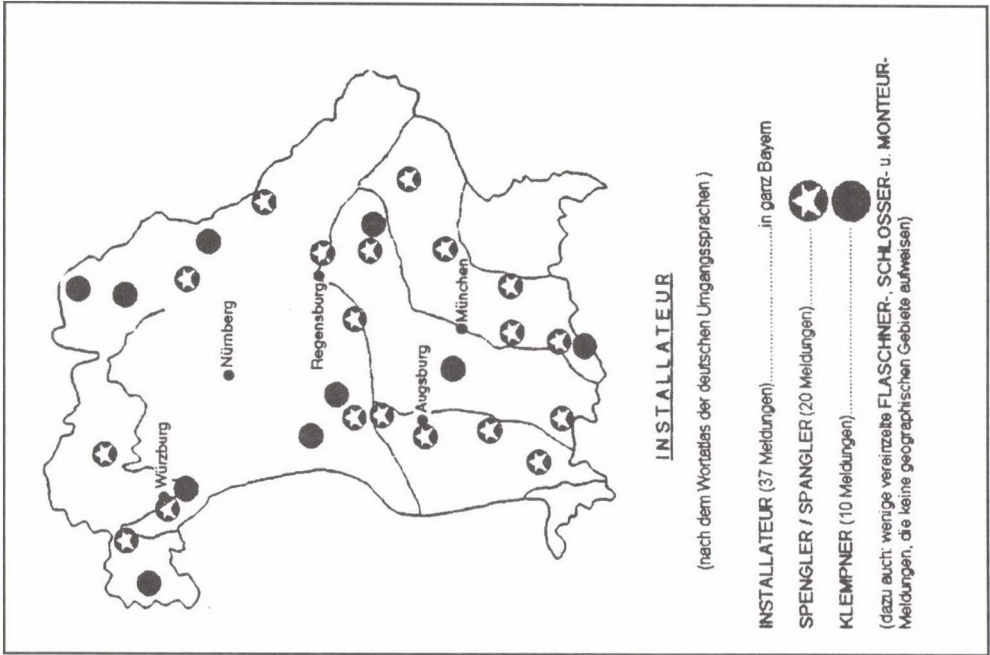
Die Gründe meiner Interviews waren wiederum ganz anderer Art als die der ursprünglichen Interviews von Eichhoff 1971. Denn der Zweck war 1971 nur, das Material für den *Wortatlas* zu sammeln. Dagegen suchte ich in meinen späteren Forschungen, wie ich oben schon erwähnt habe, eine Klärung ganz bestimmter Fragen aus der Analyse der ursprünglichen *Wortatlas*-Daten. Interessiert war ich u.A. an der Dynamik des Verdrängens traditioneller bayerischer Termini durch standardsprachliche Bezeichnungen, also war ich an der Dynamik des oben erwähnten „Übergangs“ interessiert. Einige Beispiele: *Bulldog* (im Verdrängtwerden durch *Traktor*), *Spengler/Spangler* (durch *Installateur*),⁶ *Trottoir* (durch *Gehsteig*), *Büchse* (durch *Dose*), *(Selbst)Binder* (durch *Krawatte*), *Kre(n)* (durch *Meerrettich*) usw. Da ich mehr ein Gespräch wollte, als eine strenge Abfragung der Gewährsleute, waren diese neuen Interviews absichtlich sehr informell, im Gegensatz zu den formellen, methodologisch wissenschaftlich vorgenommenen Interviews im Jahre 1971. Obwohl man solche Zwanglosigkeit normalerweise für einen bedeutsamen methodologischen Makel halten würde, ergab sich in diesem Fall das Gegenteil: Denn gerade diese Zwanglosigkeit war es, was die interessanten, hoffentlich auch aufschlußreichen Äußerungen meiner Informanten bzw. „Gesprächspartner“ ermöglichte. Was die Wahl der Gewährsleute angeht, interessierte ich mich besonders für den Wortgebrauch Ortseingeborener, deren Eltern aus anderen Teilen des deutschen Sprachgebiets nach München zugezogen waren, denn gerade diese Gruppe bildet eine der wichtigsten Bevölkerungsgruppen aus (s. Fußnote 8!). Aus dem Grunde interviewte ich 17 solche Gewährsleute, 6 im Jahre 1987 und 11 1991, und zwar im Alter zwischen 17 und 21; diese Sondergruppe werde ich von hier an als GRUPPE-0 bezeichnen. (Wichtig als Informanten waren aber auch deren nicht in Bayern geborenen Familienmitglieder!)

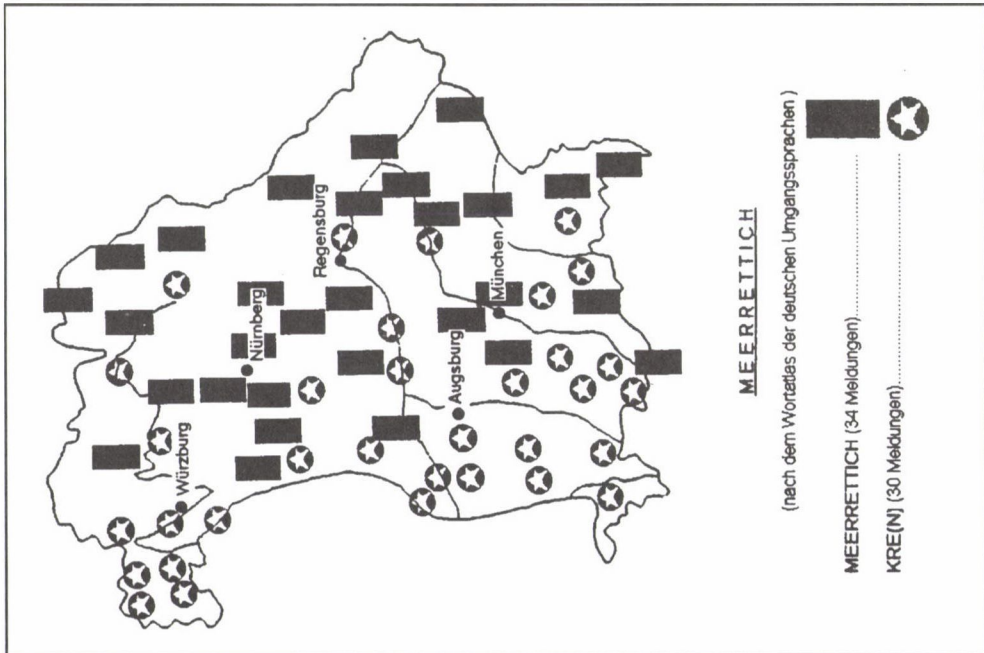
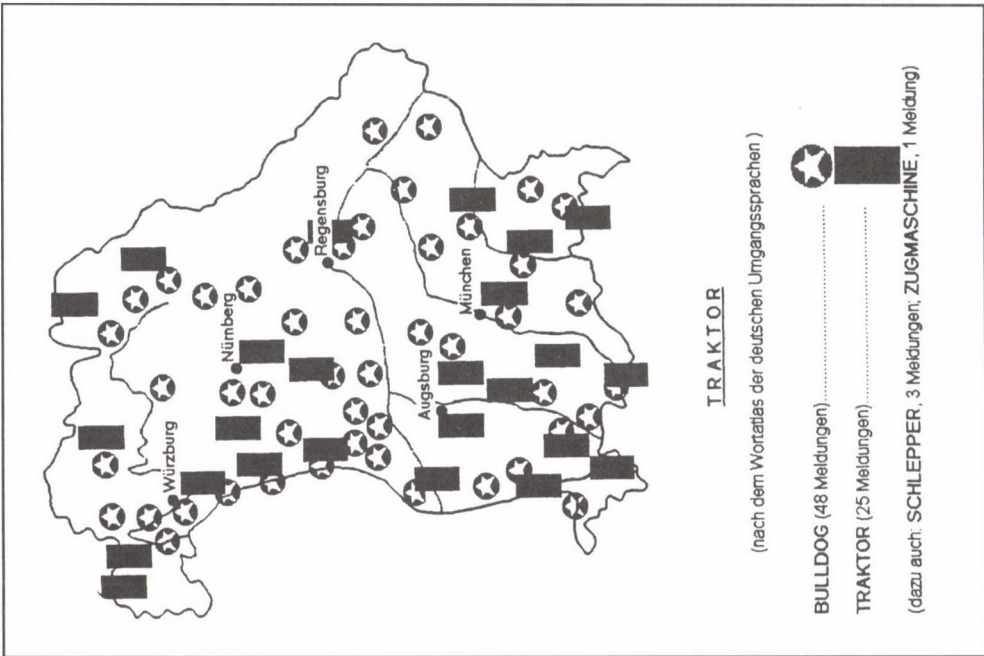
Ergebnisse

1. *Krawatte*, *(Selbst)Binder*. Im Laufe des Interviews 1984 meldete mein Informant, ein konservativer Münchner Bayer, für die Sache *Krawatte* die Ausdrücke *Binder* und *Selbstbinder*; regionale Bezeichnungen, die er auch 1971 im *Wortatlas*-Interview gemeldet hatte. Wegen des informellen Interviews blieben seine Frau und

⁶ *Klempner* / *Installateur* ist aber mit den vielen lexikalischen und geographischen Varianten sowohl wortgeographisch als auch semantisch ziemlich kompliziert; vgl. Eichhoff (1977, Bd. 1, 25–6).







seine zwei Söhne, 7 und 10 Jahre alt, mit uns im Zimmer und hörten zu. Als sie ihren Vater (*Selbst*)*binder* sagen hörten, unterbrachen uns die beiden Jungen und versicherten mir nicht nur, daß sie selber diese „altmodischen“ Wörter nicht gebrauchten, sondern daß sie damit nur passiv vertraut seien, und daß ihr Vater diese Termini auch nicht verwende, mindestens nicht in ihrer Gegenwart. („Bei uns sagt er immer ‚Krawatte‘!“) Nun waren die Dialektverhältnisse in dieser Familie mehr als ein bißchen kompliziert, besonders durch die Tatsache, daß die Frau des Informanten aus Sachsen zugezogen war (sie war seit 30 Jahren in München ansässig). Deshalb wollte ich zunächst die Unvertrautheit der beiden Söhne mit (*Selbst*)*binder* als Folge der Interferenz durch das Norddeutsch der Mutter ansehen, und es schien mir, daß diese Unvertrautheit in Bezug auf die Frage nach dem **eigentlichen umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch des Ortes** wahrscheinlich irrelevant sei. Aber gerade die Reaktion des bayrischsprachigen Vaters auf die Einwände seiner Söhne war auffallend, denn er sagte weniger zu uns als vor sich hin, es sei wirklich schade, wie man „so viele von diesen schönen alten Wörtern immer weniger hört!“ Meine anderen, späteren Informanten behaupteten ähnliches, denn sie sagten, daß *Krawatte* in der Öffentlichkeit und **auch meistens zu Hause** der bevorzugte Ausdruck sei (s. auch Eichhoff, Bd. 1, 24–25), unter den Nichteinheimischen so gut wie ausschließlich so. (Aus GRUPPE-0 meldeten sogar sechs, daß sie (*Selbst*)*Binder* nicht kannten, häufig gaben sie Äußerungen wie „*Binder* kenne ich nicht“, „*Selbstbinder* sagt kein Mensch!“ usw.) Was lehrt uns dies über die tatsächliche Gültigkeit von *Binder*, *Selbstbinder* und *Krawatte* in München und zwar im Südosten Bayerns überhaupt, wo man nach der *Wortatlas*-Karte annehmen würde, daß (*Selbst*)*Binder* in der Umgangssprache eine immer noch übliche Bezeichnung sei?

2. *Dose* / *Büchse*. Nach Eichhoff verliere die Bezeichnung *Büchse* schon 1978 „gegenüber *Dose* in der Bundesrepublik an Verbreitung“ (Bd. 2, 24), aber im Südosten Bayerns haben die *Wortatlas*-Informanten den traditionellen Ausdruck *Büchse* weit häufiger als das standardsprachliche *Dose* in der gemeinten Bedeutung „Blechgefäß für Gemüsekonserven“ gemeldet; und wo Informanten beide meldeten, war *Dose* meistens eine Zweitmeldung. Aber nach meinen Angaben scheint es, daß der Durchschnittsmünchner die Bezeichnung *Büchse* (mindestens in der neutralen Bedeutung (*Gemüse*) *Dose*) meist nur bei der Familie verwende. Meine Informanten (und besonders die aus GRUPPE-0) benützten *Büchse*, wenn überhaupt, nur im Sinne von einer geöffneten, gebrauchten *Dose*, die man zu einem anderen Zweck verwendet, z.B. zum Aufbewahren von Nägeln. In dem kommerziellen Sinne der *Wortatlas*-Frage sei unter diesen Gewährleuten *Dose* die Bezeichnung. (Es meldeten sogar drei GRUPPE-0-Informanten, *Büchse* sei nicht nur fast unbekannt, sondern auch „norddeutsch“!)

3. *Klempner* / *Installateur* / *Spengler* ist in der Wortgeographie problematisch, denn die zahlreichen Varianten unterscheiden sich nicht nur geographisch, sondern

auch semantisch.⁷ Doch für die Zwecke des *Wortatlas* war die gemeinte Bedeutung 1971 in der Interviewfrage sehr klar ausgedrückt: „Wie heißt an Ihrem Ort der Handwerker, der im Haus die Wasserrohre repariert?“ Die *Wortatlas*-Informanten meldeten *Installateur* als den in Südostbayern meist gebrauchten Terminus (einige nannten *Installateur* sogar das „richtige“ Wort, besonders das technisch d.h. hochsprachlich „richtige“); das Dialektwort *Spengler* wurde 1971 an zweiter Stelle gemeldet. Aber in meinen Interviews behaupteten etwa die nicht-bayerischen Gewährsleute, sie gebrauchten *Spengler* (viel seltener *Spangler*) nur im Sinne von dem Blecharbeiter, der an Dächern, Dachrinnen usw. arbeitet. Aber zu der Frage, welchen Ausdruck man am meisten am Ort höre, gab es unter meinen Gewährsleuten einen ziemlich klaren Meinungsunterschied zwischen (a) den Gebürtigen, die hauptsächlich *Installateur*, seltener *Spengler* meldeten, und (b) den Zugereisten, die *Installateur* als „offiziell, aber auch umgangssprachlich richtig“ *Klempner* aber als nur „umgangssprachlich“ richtig, *Spengler* / *Spangler* aber gar nicht meldeten.

4. *Traktor* / *Bulldog*. Nach dem *Wortatlas* (Eichhoff 1977, Bd. 1, Karte 12) sei *Bulldog* mit 50 Meldungen die bevorzugte Bezeichnung in Bayern, während *Traktor* mit nur 9 Erstmeldungen an schwacher Zweitstelle steht. Doch nach meinen Informanten scheint gerade das Gegenteil der Fall zu sein: Meine Gewährsleute meldeten am häufigsten den zwar neueren Terminus *Traktor*, die Zugereisten und deren in München geborene Kinder (GRUPPE-0) meldeten so gut wie ausschließlich *Traktor*, und auch nach den Einheimischen sei der traditionelle bayerische Ausdruck *Bulldog* stark im Verschwinden. (Einige der Jugendlichen unter meinen GRUPPE-0-Informanten kannten *Bulldog* überhaupt nicht.) *Traktor* hat auch die semantisch neutrale, allgemeine Bedeutung „Traktor“, während *Bulldog* („wenn das Wort heute noch überhaupt gehört wird“ — so ein gebürtiger Informant!) dagegen den alten Ein-Zylinder-Traktor bedeutet.

5. *Flaschenkork(en)* / *Stopsel*. Schon 1971 bezeichneten mehrere Informanten *Stopsel* (seltener *Stöpsel*) gelegentlich als „mundartlich“. Nach meinen neueren Interviews dürfte es im Münchner Raum mindestens einen komplizierenden Gebrauchsunterschied geben, in anderen Gegenden vermutlich auch andere, wobei die standardsprachliche Bezeichnung *Kork(en)* unter den nichteinheimischen und GRUPPE-0-Informanten gebraucht wird, aber unter den streng Einheimischen sowohl *Kork(en)* als auch das süddeutsche dialektale *Stöpsel*. Doch auch die Einheimischen bevorzugen *Kork(en)* „...unter formelleren Umständen; wir sagen z.B. nicht ‚Sektstöpsel‘, sondern ‚Sektorken‘“. Aber das bairische Wort *Stöpsel* mag wohl im Verschwinden sein, mindestens im Sinne von *Flaschenkork(en)*, denn fünf meiner GRUPPE-0-Informanten erkannten *Stöpsel* nur im Sinne von *Stöpsel* für die Badewanne, für das Becken.

⁷ Man siehe wiederum Eichhoff (1977, Bd. 1, 25–25) und auch Kretschmer (1969, 10–20, 282–4, 609).

6. *Meerrettich* / *Kren*. Auch Eichhoff (1977, Bd. 2, 26) fand *Kre(n)* mehr eine Bezeichnung des Landes, dagegen sei *Meerrettich* der Ausdruck in der Stadt. Doch nach der *Zahl* der Meldungen (Eichhoff 1977, Bd. 2, Karte 90) ist es klar, daß die überwiegende Mehrheit der *Wortatlas*-Informanten in Bayern, und besonders in Altbayern, *Kre(n)* als umgangssprachlich meldeten, was natürlich den Anschein gibt, als ob das „ländliche“ Wort *Kre(n)* auch in den Städten stark vorgezogen wird. Unter den Einheimischen mag das der Fall sein, aber bei meinen hauptsächlich nichteinheimischen Informanten gilt *Meerrettich* sowohl unter Einheimischen als auch unter Zugereisten als „offizieller“ Ausdruck, und sogar bei einem gebürtigen Ottobrunner sei es so, daß „wir Bayern zu Hause *Kren* (sagen), aber im Lebensmittelgeschäft und sonst in der Öffentlichkeit *Meerrettich*; *Meerrettich* ist eigentlich der richtige Name.“ Ob nun *Meerrettich* der „richtige“ Name ist oder nicht, wichtig ist hier die Tatsache, daß dieser Informant, einer der in Eichhoffs strengem Sinne des Wortes „gebürtigen“ Gewährsleute (siehe S. 355), die standardsprachliche Bezeichnung *Meerrettich* für „richtig“ hält und im öffentlichen Umgang benutzt. Meiner GRUPPE-0-Leute meldeten *Kren*, wenn sie das Wort kannten, mit solchen Bemerkungen wie „Sagt niemand in München“ und „Sagen nur die alten Urbayern!“

Welche Folgerungen können wir aus den obigen und ähnlichen Daten ziehen? Vom streng wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt müßten wir sie als für so gut wie irrelevant verwerfen, denn sie seien die Ergebnisse solch nicht-rigoroser, gesprächsartiger also nicht-wissenschaftlicher Interviewumstände und basierten auf Kontakt mit so wenigen Informanten (insgesamt 23), daß sie nur anekdotischen Wert hätten. Im strengsten Sinne würde ich damit übereinstimmen. Aber das heißt nicht, daß diese Ergebnisse deswegen wertlos oder zu ignorieren seien. Denn die Meldungen meiner Informanten deuten auf ein mögliches Problem der ursprünglichen *Wortatlas*-Daten hin, und ebenso auf eine mögliche Lösung desselben. Meine Daten deuten an, daß die wortgeographische Situation häufig komplizierter sei, als man aus dem *Wortatlas* schließen würde. Erstens besteht oft ein beträchtlicher Unterschied zwischen dem Gebrauch der (streng) einheimischen und dem der nichteinheimischen Bewohner eines Ortes. Und es ist gerade aus diesem Grunde, daß die traditionellen bzw. mundartlichen Bezeichnungen in der örtlichen Umgangssprache oft nicht, in einigen Fällen wohl bei weitem nicht so gebräuchlich sind, wie es der *Wortatlas* angibt. Diese Diskrepanz ist m.E. auf die ursprüngliche Wahl der *Wortatlas*-Informanten zurückzuführen. In der Einleitung des *Wortatlas* schreibt Eichhoff folgendes zur Wahl seiner Gewährsleute (Eichhoff 1977, Bd. 1, 14):

„Daß die Gewährspersonen mit dem Sprachgebrauch des Aufnahmeortes wirklich vertraut sind, mußte für ihre Auswahl oberster Gesichtspunkt sein. Diese Bedingung war in der Regel als erfüllt anzusehen, wenn sie in dem Aufnahmeort geboren, aufgewachsen und noch ansässig waren.“

Dies ist selbstverständlich, denn wer seine Gewährspersonen völlig wahllos, blindlings auf der Straße aufsucht, wird früher oder später einen eben zugezogenen Hamburger in München abfragen, mit katastrophalen Folgen für den soziolinguistischen Wert der Daten. Aber Eichhoff geht auch weiter, denn er wählt womöglich nicht nur Eingeborene des Ortes, sondern Eingeborene in einem weit strengeren Sinne des Wortes (Eichhoff 1977, Bd. 1, 14):

„In Familien, die aus einem anderen Ort zugezogen sind, gelten vielfach bewußt oder unbewußt Bezeichnungen des Herkunftsortes zunächst weiter...(Deshalb) haben wir Gewährspersonen bevorzugt, deren Eltern ebenfalls aus dem Aufnahmeort stammten...“

Gerade hier dürfte das Problem sein, denn wenn man versucht, nur jene Bewohner eines Ortes als Informanten aufzusuchen, die Eichhoffs strenge Bedingung erfüllen, dann fragt man eine nach Herkunft und deshalb nach Sprache auserlesene Gruppe ab, eine Gruppe, die der Gesamtbevölkerung des Ortes einfach nicht entspricht. Denn der Prozentsatz der nicht am Ort geborenen Ansässigen variiert von einer Stadt zur anderen sehr. Und wie allgemein bekannt und statistisch mehrfach nachgewiesen, steigt dieser Prozentsatz zusehends mit der Einwohnerzahl des Ortes und wird als Trend seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg mit der zunehmenden Mobilität der Deutschen besonders in den größeren Ortschaften immer stärker.⁸ Z.B. waren im Münchner Raum im Sommer 1991 nur 33,6% aller Ansässigen Ortseingeborene d.h. in der Stadt bzw. deren Umgebung geboren, dazu waren 16,9% Ausländer und 49,5% zugezogene Deutsche. Angesichts dieser Statistiken kann man sich vorstellen, welch eine kleine Minderheit der Bevölkerung Ortseingeborene in Eichhoffs strengem Sinne sein mag — im Falle München schätzungsweise 10–15%.⁹ Genauso wie Kretschmers Definition der Umgangssprache als die „Sprache Gebildeten“ seine Wahl von Informanten bestimmte, die alle aus den gebildeten und gelehrten Klassen stammten, mit der Folge, daß die Zuverlässigkeit seiner Daten

⁸ Persönlicher Briefwechsel 1986–87 mit dem Statistischen Bundesamt der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

⁹ Persönliches Interview im Sommer 1991: Münchner Statistisches Amt — Bevölkerungsstatistische Informationen.

dadurch vielfach beeinträchtigt wurde,¹⁰ genauso werden durch Eichhoffs strenge Definition der Gewährspersonen einige der *Wortatlas*-Daten auch beeinträchtigt, besonders, was die relative Gültigkeit der standardsprachlichen und der regionalen Ausdrücke angeht. Denn es gibt zwei Probleme, wenn man Eichhoffs strenger Definition der Gewährsleute folgt: Erstens ist natürlich nicht jeder Einwohner eines Ortes Eingesessener, und deshalb mögen Eichhoffs auserwählte Gewährspersonen manchmal Wörter und Ausdrücke gemeldet haben, die zwar dem regionalen Wortgebrauch der „Ureinwohner“ entsprechen, aber nicht notwendigerweise dem allgemeinen umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch der Stadt. Und zweitens gibt es den bekannten Stolz des „echten“ Gebürtigen (nicht zuletzt des „echten“ Bayern!) auf den Orts- und Landesdialekt. Wie wahrscheinlich jeder andere Interviewer im *Wortatlas*-Projekt habe ich 1971 im Laufe mancher Abfragung viel mehr über die örtliche Sprache gelernt, als ich für die Zwecke des Projekts eigentlich brauchte. In diesem Zusammenhang darf man auch die Warnung nicht vergessen, die Eichhoffs Interviewer jedem Informanten vor der Abfragung vorzulesen hatten, und die z.T. so lautet:

„Bitte lassen Sie sich... nicht dazu verleiten, das zu sagen, was hochdeutsch ‚richtig‘ ist, denn das kann ich auch im Wörterbuch nachschlagen...“

Unter den Umständen mag es manchmal passiert sein, daß ein Informant, durch die obige Warnung angeregt, statt der hochdeutsch „richtigen“ Bezeichnungen die ortsmundartlich „richtigen“ meldete, und daher einen von der Umgangssprache des Ortes abweichenden Wortgebrauch. Denn es herrscht in der alltäglichen Sprache eines städtischen Ortes ein Kompromiß zwischen (a) dem eineimischen Dialekt, (b) den Dialekten der mehreren Herkunftsorte der Zugezogenen und (c) der in den Medien, den Schulen und dem Kommerz üblichen deutschen Schriftsprache. Der Sprachgebrauch ausschließlich örtlich herstammender Informanten entspricht diesem Kompromiß in vielen Aspekten einfach nicht. Der ortsgebürtige Informant hatte also im *Wortatlas*-Interview vielleicht zu sehr die Möglichkeit, „echtbairisch“, „echtfränkisch“ usw. zu sprechen,¹¹ ohne daß der Interviewer in jedem Falle sicher sein konnte, ob es hier wiederum um die tatsächliche Umgangssprache des Ortes ging oder die Mundart des

¹⁰ Siehe Fußnote 4.

¹¹ In dieser Beziehung muß gesagt werden, daß die *Wortatlas*-Interviews gewöhnlich allein mit der Gewährsperson gehalten wurden, daß aber gelegentlich Familienmitglieder dabei waren; bei mir und auch bei mindestens einem anderen *Wortatlas*-Interviewer unterbrachen diese dann manchmal die Gewährsperson mit „Korrekturen“ wie „Das sagst du doch nie!“ oder „Das sagt kein Mensch mehr!“ In den paar solchen Fällen, die ich als Interviewer erfuhr, war der Unterbrechende entweder ein zugezogenes Familienmitglied oder ein am Ort geborenes Kind, dessen Mutter bzw. Vater oft aber Zugezogene(r) war.

Gebietes, also eine Sprachform, die in den größeren Städten von der Mehrheit der Ortsbewohner nicht gesprochen wird, und deshalb eine Sprachform, deren Bezeichnungen und Ausdrücke am Ort weniger üblich sind, als die Meldungen der auserlesenen Informanten angeben. Theoretisch müßte man in einer sprachgeographischen Studie also den Gebrauch der nichteinheimischen, der zugereisten Einwohner auch mit berücksichtigen, um ein wahres Bild von der Ortssprache zu gewinnen. Theoretisch schon, aber bei der tatsächlichen Datensammlung wäre dies für alle praktischen Zwecke unmöglich, mindestens in einem Projekt wie Eichhoffs *Wortatlas* mit dessen über 400 Aufnahmeorten. Denn man müßte in jedem Ort Gebürtige und Zugezogene nach deren jeweiligem Prozentsatz in der Ortsbevölkerung abfragen, und um vollständig konsequent vorzugehen, müßte man die Repräsentanten der verschiedenen Zugereisten-Gruppen auch nach deren unterschiedlichen Herkunftsgebieten prozentual interviewen, was für die wortgeographische Feldforschung eine praktisch unmögliche Aufgabe wäre. Nein, tunlicher wäre es, die daraus entstandenen problematischen Verbreitungsbilder bei der Wortkarten-Interpretation zu korrigieren, indem man bei den Karten, die ich oben als „Verdacht erregend“ bezeichnet habe, die gemeldeten standardsprachlichen Wörter und Ausdrücke eben als üblicher, die mundartlich-regionalen dagegen als weniger üblich interpretiert, als man aus dem gegebenen Kartenbild annehmen würde. Leider steht uns mindestens momentan keine genauere Regel zur Verfügung, denn es gibt keine handliche, allgemein anwendbare Formel, nach der man sich entscheiden kann, was dieses eben erwähnte „üblicher“, „weniger üblich“ von Fall zu Fall eigentlich heißen soll. Also kann man z.B. aus den *Wortatlas*-Daten schließen, daß der standardsprachliche Ausdruck *Traktor* gegenüber dem alten Dialektwort *Bulldog* in der Umgangssprache des ostbayerischen Raumes eben „üblicher“ sei, als aus dem Kartenbild zu entschließen wäre, aber leider kann man ohne eingehende ergänzende Feldforschungen nicht sagen, um **wieviel** üblicher.

Zum Schluß muß anerkannt werden, daß eine Klärung dieser Fragen sicher weiterer Feldforschungen bedarf. Es bleibt abzuwarten, inwiefern die Wahl ausschließlich ortseingesessener Informanten eine Verschiebung der wortgeographischen Daten zugunsten regionaler, zuungunsten standardsprachlicher Meldungen zur Folge habe und wie diese Faktoren in der Dateninterpretation am besten zu berücksichtigen seien.

Literatur

- Avedisian, A.D. 1963. Zur Wortgeographie und Geschichte von Samstag/Sonnabend. In: Schmitt, L.E. (Hrsg.): Deutsche Wortforschung in europäischen Bezügen. Bd. 2, 231–64. W. Schmitz, Gießen.
 Bichel, U. 1988. Zur Fragwürdigkeit der Einordnung von „Umgangssprache“ zwischen „Mundart“ und „Hochsprache“. In: Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik 20: 18–33. P. Lang, New York.

- Bresson, D. u.a. (Hrsg.) 1982. Kurz-Bibliographie zur deutschen Umgangssprache. 1970–80. In: Zur gesprochenen deutschen Umgangssprache. 1: 127–43. Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Cordes, G. 1963. Zur Terminologie des Begriffs „Umgangssprache“. In: Simon, W. – Bachofer, W. – Dittmann, W. (Hrsg.): Festgabe für Ulrich Pretzel, 338–54. E. Schmidt, Berlin
- Duden. Die verschiedenen Duden-Bände des Bibliographischen Instituts, Mannheim.
- Eichhoff, J. 1977. Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprachen. Francke, Bern – München.
- Friebertshäuser-Dingeldein, H.J. 1985. Wortgeographie der städtischen Alltagssprache. Ein Forschungsprojekt zum aktuellen Sprachgebrauch in Hessen. In: Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik 52: 43–52.
- Götze, A. – Mitzka W. (Hrsg.) 1939–57. Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch. W. de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Grimm, J. – Grimm, W. 1854. Deutsches Wörterbuch. Bd. 1. S. Hirzel, Leipzig.
- Klappenbach, R. – Steinitz, W. 1967. Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Bd. 1. Akademie-Verlag Berlin. (3. Aufl.).
- Koerner, E.F. 1971. Notes on the semantics of German technical terms in the description of the varieties of contemporary German. In: The German Quarterly 44: 1–23.
- Kretschmer, P. 1969. Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache. Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen (2. Aufl.; 1. Aufl.: 1918).
- Mattheier, K.J. – Besch, W. 1985. Ortssprachenforschung. Einleitende Überlegungen. In: Mattheier, K.J. – Besch, W. (Hrsg.): Ortssprachenforschung 9–23. E. Schmidt, Berlin.
- Mitzka, W. – Schmitt, L.E. (Hrsg.) 1951–73. Deutscher Wortatlas. W. Schmidt, Gießen.
- Moser, H. 1960. „Umgangssprache.“ Überlegungen zu ihren Formen und ihrer Stellung im Sprachganzen. In: Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung 27: 215–32.
- Moser, H. 1982. Regionale Varianten der deutschen Standardsprache. In: Wirkendes Wort 32: 327–39.
- Penzl, H. 1988. Einleitendes zum Rahmenthema „Hochsprache/Umgangssprache/Mundart im Deutschen nach 1945“. In: Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik 20: 8–17.
- Porzig, W. 1960. Das Wunder der Sprache. Francke, Bern (3. Aufl.)
- Protze, H. 1986. Entwicklungstendenzen der Umgangssprache. In: Lösch, W. (Hrsg.): Umgangssprachen und Dialekte in der DDR, 139–48. Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena.
- Putschke, W. 1983. Sprachgeographie: Irrtum oder Forschungsinstrument? In: Mattheier, K.J. (Hrsg.): Aspekte der Dialekttheorie, 83–103. Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Radtke, I. 1973. Die Umgangssprache. Ein weiterhin ungeklärtes Problem der Sprachwissenschaft. In: Muttersprache 83: 161–7.
- Rossipal, H.K. 1972. Kretschmers „Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache“ aus heutiger Sicht. In: Moderna Språk 66: 243–58.
- Scheutz, H. 1964–79. Sprachvariation als methodologisches Problem einer soziolinguistisch orientierten Dialektologie. In: Stein, P.K. (Hrsg.): Sprache, Text, Geschichte. Beiträge zur Mediävistik und germanistischen Sprachwissenschaft aus dem Kreis der Mitarbeiter des Instituts für Germanistik an der Universität Salzburg, 47–8. Kümmerle, Göppingen.
- Sprachbrockhaus. 1970. Deutsches Bildwörterbuch für jedermann. Brockhaus, Wiesbaden. (7. Aufl.)
- Steger, H. 1984. Bemerkungen zum Problem der Umgangssprache. In: Besch, W. u.a. (Hrsg.): Festschrift für Siegfried Grosse zum 60. Geburtstag, 251–78. Kümmerle, Göppingen.
- Steger, H. 1988. Erscheinungsformen der deutschen Sprache. „Alltagssprache“, „Fachsprache“, „Standardsprache“, „Dialekt“ und andere Gliederungstermini. In: Deutsche Sprache. Zeitschrift für Theorie, Praxis und Dokumentation 16: 289–319.

- Stellmacher, D. 1968. Ortssprachenanalysen und Regionalsprachenanalysen. Ein Vergleich. In: Mattheier K.J. – Besch, W. (Hrsg.): Ortssprachenforschung. Beiträge zu einem Bonner Colloquium, 189–200. E. Schmidt, Berlin.
- Trier, J. 1966. Alltagssprache. In: Patzig, G. u.a. (Hrsg.): Die deutsche Sprache im 20. Jahrhundert, 110–33. Vanderhoeck u. Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- Wahrig, G. 1966. Deutsches Wörterbuch. Bertelsman Lexikon–Verlag, Gütersloh. (Sonderaufl.)
- Wiesinger, P. 1985. Gesellschaftliche und sprachliche Probleme bei der Erforschung örtlicher Sprachgemeinschaften. Schwerpunkte der Forschungsgeschichte. In: Mattheier K.J. – Besch, W. (Hrsg.), Ortssprachenforschung. Beiträge zu einem Bonner Colloquium, 24–48. E. Schmidt, Berlin.
- Wolff, R. 1973. Regional lexical variants in the urban spoken German of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Wisconsin.
- Wolff, R. 1975. Regionale Varianten im Wortschatz der städtischen Umgangssprache in Bayern und Baden-Württemberg: Stabilität und Wandel unter hochsprachlichem Einfluß. In: Muttersprache 85: 325–33.

Address of the author: Roland Wolff
Department of Foreign
Languages and Literatures
16 Willard O. Eddy Building
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523–1774
USA
e-mail: rwoff@vines.colostate.edu

DER WEG VON DEN ENGEN WORTBINDUNGEN ZU DEN WORTZUSAMMENSETZUNGEN (METHODISCHE BEMERKUNGEN)

ERZSÉBET ZELLIGER

Abstract

The exploration of factors that govern compounding processes is made necessary partly by theoretical considerations, and partly by practical issues that the researcher is confronted with. This paper presents a set of assumptions that corresponding chapters in "The Historical Grammar of Hungarian" are based on. In particular, it is claimed that the development of phrases into compounds is facilitated by proper noun status and by termhood. The grammatically marked vs. unmarked structure of phrases, the behaviour of phrases whose heads are participles or infinitives, syllable count, the nature of suffixation in coordinate phrases, and the later history of the emerging compounds are some of the other factors to reckon with. An important symptom of a phrase having turned into a compound is semantic change. Phrases whose heads are suffixed with adjectivizing *-s*, *-i*, or *-ú/-ű* follow a special course of development. Despite inconsistencies, the spellings found in written records (whether the forms under consideration are spelt solid or in two words) provide important cues as well. On the other hand, stress patterns that would in principle be just as informative, can only be studied in spoken language.

Die Untersuchungen mancher Sprachwandlungsprozesse in alten Zeiten bedeuten dem Forscher eine gar nicht leichte Aufgabe, da er diesbezüglich über keine, oder auch im besten Fall nur beschränkte Kompetenz verfügt. Bei der Forschung der Wortzusammensetzungen gilt diese Bemerkung besonders.

Die Voraussetzung zum Zustandekommen der Komposita aus grammatikalischen Strukturen ist, daß ihre Bauelemente oft und stets in derselben Wortstellung miteinander vorkommen. Die sprachlich gebundene und enge Reihenfolge der Wortfügungen dienen als Grund zum Entstehen der Wortzusammensetzungen. Die erwähnte gebundene und enge Wortfolge schafft nur die Möglichkeit zum Werden der Komposita: von dieser Potentialität wird bloß ein Teil zur Realität.

Es gibt Versuche, die Vorstufen und die echten Wortzusammensetzungen voneinander zu unterscheiden. Diese entsprangen teils durch die Bestrebung auf theoretische Aufklärung (vgl. Pais 1951, 135–54; 1961, 266–73, 429–35; Grétsy 1957, 69–76), teils von der Seite der Praxis (Új Nyelvtörténeti Szótár [Neues sprachhistorisches Wörterbuch], A mai magyar nyelv rendszere [Struktur der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache], A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana [Historische Grammatik der ungarischen Sprache], vgl. Károly 1954, 43–50; 1960, 58–62; Berrár 1955,

80–3; B. Lőrinczy 1956, 151–4; Szabó 1984, 71–87). Selbst die Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Historischen Grammatik hat es für wichtig gehalten, das System der Gesichtspunkte auszuarbeiten; die Kapitel über die Komposita sind in diesem Werk dementsprechend geschrieben worden. (Diese Bestrebungen spiegeln sich auch im obenerwähnten Aufsatz von Szabó wider.) Die erarbeiteten Gesichtspunkte sind die folgenden: die Wörter in der Funktion von Eigennamen, die Terminusrolle, die grammatisch merkmalllose Formulierung, das Benehmen der Strukturen mit Partizipien, bzw. Infinitiven als Grundwort, Bedeutungsveränderungen, das sprachliche Fortleben, Silbenzahl, Art der Suffigierung, Betonung, Zusammen- oder Getrennschreibungspraxis der Sprachdenkmäler, die Gestaltung der Syntagmen mit den Adjektivableitungssuffixen *-s*, *-i*, *-ű/-ű* am Grundwort.

Wie dieses System funktioniert, zeigt sich, wenn wir in den Mittelpunkt der Untersuchungen nicht das Ergebnis, sondern den Wandlungsprozeß stellen.

In der Fachliteratur wird die Bedeutungsveränderung als die prägnanteste Hinsicht erwähnt. Dies ist aber in frühen Epochen (in unserem Fall in der ur- und altungarischen Zeit) kaum verwendbar: unsere Daten sind größtenteils in lateinischen Texten zerstreut. Man ist meist nicht in der Lage, ihre genaue Bedeutung, bzw. den Eintritt der Bedeutungsveränderung festzustellen. Wer könnte z. B. sagen, daß die Person, namens *Jámbor* (1275: ÁÜO. 9, 143), und die andere, die *Jóember* (1251: OklSz.) hieß, von Bedeutung her einen anderen Namen gehabt hätte. (*Jámbor* [*< jó ember*] bedeutet später ‘fromm’, *jó ember* — als Syntagma — ‘guter Mensch’.) — Es ist auch zu erwähnen, daß sich parallel mit den Wortzusammensetzungen nicht immer eine Bedeutungsveränderung vollzieht. Das Wort *némbor* (*< nő + ember*), als sein erstes Vorkommen im Bécsi-Kodex auftaucht, hat sich als Kompositum schon verdunkelt. Seine Bedeutung ist aber immerhin ‘Frau, Weib, weibliche Person, weiblicher Mensch’, also dieselbe, was ihre Teile zusammen bedeuten. Die heutige pejorative Bedeutung (‘Frauensperson’) ist erst seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts belegt.

Ein Wortgefüge in Terminusrolle wird durch diese Funktion gleich zum Kompositum zusammengezogen. Mehrere Ausdrücke des damaligen Wirtschaftslebens sind in dieser Weise zustandegekommen: z. B. *útpénz* ‘Maut’, wörtlich ‘Straße + Geld’, *fékéspénz* ‘eine Art Steuer’, *füstpénz* ‘Kaminsteuer’, *hegyvám* ‘Weinbergzins’, *fűkötél* ? ‘Feldmaß’ ? ‘Feldmeßgerät’, usw. Diese Wörter zeigen eine starke Bedeutungsverdichtung auf.

Die grammatischen Verhältnisse sind in der determinativen Zusammensetzungen von dieser Zeit im allgemeinen merkmalllos. Wenn dem Kompositum eine Terminusrolle zufällt, kann das grammatische Verhältnis markiert sein, z. B. *fűvönosztás* ‘Verteilung des Ackers durch ungeackerte Grasestreifen’, wörtlich eigentlich ‘Austeilung auf dem Gras’ (1297: OklSz.) Die Zusammensetzungen aus Attribut + Substantiv können „markiert“ sein, wenn das determinative Glied mit

Adjektivableitungssuffix -s versehen ist, und das Kompositum in Terminusrolle vorkommt, z. B.: *lovaslegény* 'Reiter' (1245: OklSz.), *lovasjobbágy* 'Reiterhörige' (1247: OklSz.).

Das merkmalfhafte Verhältnis in Zusammensetzungen taucht erst im Frühungarischen auf. Aufgrund der Daten von diesem Zeitraum sind das Objekt- und Possessivverhältnis in Appellativa merkmalfalos. — Zu den adverbialen Zusammensetzungen gehören nur relativ wenige Wörter. Die archaische Schicht davon ist ebenso merkmalfalos, z. B. *vízköszörű* 'Mühle, die mit oder auf dem Wasser schleift', *kesztyű* 'Handschuh', *előte* 'Vorsatz (am Ofen)'. Bei den neueren Zusammensetzungen ist das Bestimmungswort merkmalfhaft: in dieser Rolle kommen sowohl Adverbien als auch Nomina mit Ortsbestimmungssuffix vor, z. B.: *felülsapó*, *alülsapó* (malom) 'ober-, bzw. unterschlächtige (Mühle)', *füvönosztás*. Diese Wörter könnten durch ihre Terminusrolle zu Komposita werden.

Das markierte grammatische Verhältnis ist unter den Eigennamen häufig: bloß das Objektverhältnis bleibt stets merkmalfalos. — Die Verbindungen aus Attribut mit Nomen Possessorissuffix -s + Appellativ bilden eine Zusammensetzung als Ortsnamen vollkommen selbstverständlich: *Füves-út* 'Grasenweg', *Árkos-út* 'Grabenweg', *Füzes-telek* 'Weidengrundstück', *Bodzás-hegy* 'Holunderberg' usw. Diese Gebilde zählen bloß als Eigennamen zu den Zusammensetzungen: in Appellativfunktion, das heißt, als Ortsbezeichnungen gelten sie als Wortgefüge. (Dieselben können auch in der Gegenwartssprache vorkommen: ob sie Eigennamen oder aber Ortsbezeichnungen sind, kann man von der Betonung und dem Kontext aus feststellen. Diese Kriterien stehen aber zur Untersuchung sprachhistorischer Daten nicht zur Verfügung.)

Die possessivische Zusammensetzung in Appellativen ist im Frühungarischen stets merkmalfalos. Als Eigennamen existieren sie aber sowohl merkmalfhaft, als auch merkmalfalos. Die Belege kommen von Personennamen und Ortsnamen hervor: *Egyedfi* PN. merkmalfalos : *Bakfia* PN. merkmalfhaft, *Folnagy* PN. merkmalfalos : *Faluvéne* PN. merkmalfhaft, bzw. *Marcalfő* ON. merkmalfalos : *Asszonyfalva* ON. merkmalfhaft, usw. — Das adverbiale Verhältnis ist bloß in Personennamen nach ungarischer Benennungsweise (in Schutznamen) merkmalfalos, z. B. *Mavagy* '(er) existiert heute', die späteren Gestaltungen sind merkmalfhaft, z. B. *Dombonülő* 'auf dem Hügel sitzender', *Éjjeltudó* 'während der Nacht wissender/könnender', bzw. Ortsnamen, wie *Alájáró* 'Hinunterführender, Senkender (Weg)', *Általjáró* 'Hinübergehendes (Feld)'.

Die obenerwähnten Eigenschaften zeigen die Tendenz des Wandels: gegenüber dem früheren allgemeinen Unmarkiertsein wird auch die merkmalfhafte grammatische Bauart unter den Komposita annehmbar. Der Eigenname als Funktion fördert den Werdegang zum Kompositum vor anderen Faktoren in großem Maße.

Die Partizipialgefüge spielten im Zustandekommen der ungarischen Zusammensetzungen eine wichtige Rolle. Die partizipiale Bauart ist eine aus der Grundsprache ererbte Eigenschaft der ungarischen Sprache. Die Entfaltung und Verbreitung neuerer Sprachmittel, wie Bindewörter haben die partizipialen Satzgefüge zurückgedrängt, bzw. der gebundene und enge Kontakt zwischen Partizip und Bestimmungswort mit Bedeutungsverdichtung verbunden fördert ihren Werdegang zum Kompositum. Die Entwicklung der Wortgefüge aus Subjekt + Partizip zu Komposita dürfte sich im Urungarischen vollzogen haben: solche Syntagmen als Prä-Konstruktionen sind in der Ob-ugrischen Sprachen üblich. Im Frühaltungarischen existiert diese Struktur nunmehr bloß in Zusammensetzungen. (Aus inhaltlichen Gründen kann man diese Ergebnisse hauptsächlich mit Beispielen vom Spätaltungarischen belegen.) Die frühaltungarischen Daten kommen in Eigennamen vor: *farkasháló* (hely) 'Wolfsschlaf(stelle)', *mennyütő*, *mennyütött(e)* (gödör, sziget) 'vom Blitz schlagende/geschlagene (Grube, Insel)'. Die Zusammensetzungen dieser Art kommen als Appellativa aus Sprachdenkmälern des Spätaltungarischen: *anyaszült* (meztelen) 'mutternackt', wörtlich '(nackt) wie von Mutter geboren', *verejtékjáró* (lik) 'Pore', wörtlich 'schweißgehendes (Loch)', *szívefájó* 'herzschmerzende', *kecskerágó* (bokor) 'Spindelstrauch', wörtlich 'von Ziege kauender (Strauch)' usw. Diese Komposita spielen eine Attributrolle im Satz.

Die archaische Schicht der Komposita mit Adverbialbestimmung wirkt nach einem Wortartwechslungsprozeß als Appellativ: *kesztyű* 'Handschuh' wörtlich 'auf die Hand setzend', *előte* 'Vorsatz (am Ofen)', *vízköszörű* 'mit oder auf dem Wasser schleifende (Mühle)'. Die neueren Gestalten funktionieren der Satzgliedrolle des Grundgebildes entsprechend als Attribut: *felülcsapó* (malom) 'oberschlächtige (Mühle)', *hamubasült* (pogácsa) 'Aschkuchen', wörtlich 'in Asche gebackenes (Pogatscherl)', *jelenvaló* (bűnös) 'publicanus'. Selbstverständlich gibt es unter den älteren Zusammensetzungen solche, welche ihre Attributart weiterhin behüten, z. B. *vakmerő* 'tollkühn', wörtlich 'blind-erkühnend'. Andererseits gibt es unter den neueren auch substantivierte Wörter: *nyakbavető* 'Halskette', wörtlich 'auf den Hals werfender', *ennivaló* 'Eßware, Essen', wörtlich 'zu essen dienender'.

Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Komposita, deren Grundwort ein Partizip ist, enthielt ein Objektverhältnis. Als es möglich geworden ist, das Objekt im Satz zu markieren, ist das merkmallöse Verhältnis zwischen dem Bestimmungswort (Objekt) und dem Grundwort (Partizip) enger geworden. Dieser Wandel bildet die Grundlage für den Zusammensetzungsprozeß. Die auf diese Weise entstandenen Zusammensetzungen haben weitere Merkmale. Das Grundwort ist in vielen Fällen ein Partizip mit dem Ableitungssuffix *-ó/-ő* (participium imperfectum). Die semantische Eigenschaft dieser Gebilde ist, daß sie dazu des öfteren geeignet sind, neue Berufe zu benennen: *jószedő* 'Steuereinnahmer', *megyemutó* 'Feldmark bezeich-

nender', *erdőővó* 'Waldhüter', *tömlőcövó* 'Gefängnisaufseher', *mézművelő* 'Honigbauer', *kenyérsütő* 'Bäcker', wörtlich 'Brotbäcker' usw. Die Substantivierung der Partizipien — besonders als Berufsbenennungen — ist so massenhaft geworden, daß das Ableitungssuffix auch als Berufsbenennungssuffix aufzutreten scheint (vgl. *szabó* 'Schneider', *bíró* 'Richter', *kereskedő* 'Händler' usw.). Da der sprachliche Wandel von mehreren Richtungen aus zu demselben Resultat führte, entstanden Zusammensetzungen in großer Zahl, in denen das Bestimmungswort in bezug auf das Grundwort das Objekt bezeichnet. Diese sind Komposita in beiden Funktionen: sowohl als Eigennamen, als auch als Appellativa: *Farkasverő* PN. 'Wolfsprügler', *Igazmondó* PN. 'Wahrsager', *Nyílfaragó* PN. 'Pfeilschnitzer', *Márcadó* ON. 'Honigwassergeber', *Mézadó* ON. 'Honiggeber', *Mézművelő* ON. 'Honigbauer'.

Zum Bestand der Zusammensetzungen im Frühaltungarischen gehören hauptsächlich Einfachzusammensetzungen. Unter der Appellativa befinden sich bloß solche, und sie sind auch für die Personennamen charakteristisch.

Die Mehrfachzusammensetzungen sind in dieser Zeit Ortsnamen: sie bestehen meistens aus drei Wörtern, aber auch diese mehrfach zusammengesetzten Wörter sind in der Regel zweigliedrig: *Kecskeaszó-út* 'Ziegenwasserrißweg', *Zabaszó-út* 'Haferwasserrißweg', *Boldogasszonyháza* 'Jungfrauenhausen', *Kétyókőze* 'Zwischenflußland' usw. Die Gestaltungen in denen sich vier Wörter in einer Zusammensetzung befinden, sind sehr selten: *Hatlónagyuta* 'Sechspferdesgroßweg', *Sárfőmézadó* 'Sár[Gewässername]quellen-Honiggeber' (d. h. die Bewohner des Dorfes am Quellengebiet des Sárflusses haben mit Honig gesteuert). Diese Daten zeigen nicht nur, daß Eigennamen eine wichtige Rolle beim Werdegang zum Kompositum spielen, sondern sie weisen auch darauf, daß es in diesem Prozeß auch ein beschränkender Faktor wirkt, nämlich die Silbenzahl. Gestaltungen, die mehr als 5–6 Silben enthalten, können nicht als Zusammensetzungen funktionieren. Die Komposita dieser Zeit bestanden im allgemeinen aus 3–4 Silben. Folglich weder der frühdatierte Beleg *Fehérvárra menő hadút* 'Kriegsweg, der nach Weißenburg führt', noch die späteren Daten *Bethlehembe menő gyalogút* 'Fußweg nach Bethlehem', *Szentivánra menő gyalogút* 'Fußweg nach Sankt Iwan', beide aus dem 14. Jh., sind weder Namen, noch Zusammensetzungen.

Aufgrund der Silbenzahl und des sprachlichen Fortlebens kann man von einigen Daten der Urkunden ziemlich sicher sagen, daß sie nie als echte Eigennamen existierten. Ihre Funktion war, das geerbte Eigentumsrecht zu bezeichnen. Dazu gehören die Gestaltungen, wie z. B. *Bakfia-Benedekfalva* (1312: OklSz.), *Inakfia-Péterföde* (1319: OklSz.). Dieser "Namentyp" lebt heute noch im Ortsnamen *Ostffyasszonyfa*. Sonst kann man Jahrhunderte lang die Vereinfachung solcher Benennungen beobachten und verfolgen: der "Name" *Jakabfia-Jánosfalva* (aus 1360) taucht später als *Jakabfi-Jánosfalva*, *Jakabjánosfalva*, *Jakabjánfa* auf.

Nach dieser Vorgeschichte heißt das Dorf heutzutage *Jakabfa* (Komitat Zala) (Kázmér 1970, 260).

Unter Berücksichtigung des sprachlichen Fortlebens kann man manche Daten der Begründungsurkunde von Tihany besser beurteilen. Es gibt nämlich einige Daten, mit denen im Zusammenhang sich die Frage erhebt, ob sie als Eigennamen (und Komposita), oder als Ortsbezeichnung zu betrachten sind. Im Spiegel des späteren Sprachmaterials kann man die Straßenbenennungen, wie *Óút, Hadút* mit Sicherheit als Eigennamen betrachten. Einige Daten, in denen die possessivische Zusammensetzung merkmallös bleibt, können aufgrund kulturhistorischer Kriterien der Komposita angehören, z. B. *Leánysír* 'Mädchengrab', vgl. *Pogánysír* 'Heidengrab' (1264: OklSz.), *Aprósír* 'Kindergrab' (1304: OklSz.). Die später vorkommenden ähnlichen Namen verstärken uns, andere Angaben ebenso zu den Komposita zu zählen. So werden *Sárfő* (vgl. *Aszófő, Sárfőmézadó > Sárfimizdó*) und *Szigetszád* (vgl. *Bikszád, Urszád*) als Eigennamen behandelt. Das Possessivverhältnis in merkmallhafter grammatischer Form kann auch in diesem frühen Zeitalter in einigen Fällen als Eigenname vorkommen. In solchen Wörtern ist selbst das Bestimmungswort ein Personennamen, z. B. *Bagát-mezeje* ('Bagatsfeld'). Diese Struktur wird durch den Beweis späterer Angaben bekräftigt, wie z. B. *Konyha-mezeje* 'Küchenfeld', *Kökény-mezeje* 'Schwarzdornsfeld'. Diese Aspekte werden noch von einem weiteren Gesichtspunkt ergänzt: die Namen *Put-vejsze* und *Szék-vejsze* sind Vorbilder zum Namentyp der Fischfängerplätze.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen gibt es Daten, die nur als Ortsbezeichnungen betrachtet werden können. Gestaltungen mit merkmallhaftem grammatischem Verhältnis gehören dazu, z. B. *nagy aszó feje* 'Quellengebiet des großen Wasserrisses', *árok töve* 'Fuß des Grabens'. Die merkmallöse *eri itu* 'Tränke am Gerinne', wörtlich 'Tränke des Gerinnes' ist aber bloß eine Ortsbezeichnung. Sie trägt die Merkmale der Okkasionalität an sich. Solche oder ähnliche Benennungen sind nicht einmal von späteren Denkmälern bekannt. — Wie wichtig das sprachliche Fortleben als Gesichtspunkt unter den Kriterien ist, zeigt sich von der Benennung *ravaszlik* 'Fuchsloch'. Das Wort ist kein Eigenname. Doch viele andere Wörter bezeichnen verschiedene tierische Wohnorte auch schon im Frühaltungarischen, wie z. B. *bivalyakol*, 'Büffelhürde', *lóól* 'Pferdestall', *hollófészek* 'Rabennest' usw. Die Angaben solcher Zusammensetzungen vermehren sich auch in den späteren Zeiten so, daß das Wort *ravaszlyuk* zwischen 1055 und 1522 noch 22 weitere Daten im OklSz. aufweist.

Die Art und Weise der Suffigierung ist eine bemerkenswerte Hinsicht besonders zur Untersuchung der kopulativen Zusammensetzungen. Das Suffix kann nämlich an den beiden Gliedern vorkommen. Dies bedeutet gleich die relativ lose Verbindung zwischen den Komponenten. (Wörter dieses Typs fehlen fast vollkom-

men — aus Gattungsgründen — vom Sprachmaterial des Frühaltungarischen. Über diejenigen, die trotzdem bekannt sind, hat man in bezug auf die Suffigierung nichts zu sagen.) — Die Strukturänderung, bzw. -schwankung zeigt sich durch die Datenreihe der Übersetzungen von lat. *Dominus Deus*. Das erste Vorkommen — HB.: *uromc iften* — ist eine lose Struktur, wie das Possessivsuffix am Vorderglied darauf verweist. Das ungarische Wort *Úristen* ist zwar im ganzen die Übersetzung des lateinischen Ausdrucks, doch richtet sich seine Gestalt nach dem ungarischen Formulierungssystem. Es gibt folglich Daten, die eine kopulative Zusammensetzung zeigen: KTSz.: *vr iften*, MünchK. 49ra: *v2ad iftèned*, *v2adat iftènedèt*, andere hingegen spiegeln eher eine determinative Zusammensetzung wider: KTSz.: *ur iftenne*c, FestK. 219: *wr yftenewnk* usw. Die konsequente Getrennschreibung läßt uns feststellen, daß es sich hier noch nicht um eine Zusammensetzung handelt.

Die Umwandlung kopulativer Zusammensetzungen in die von determinativer Art ist auch in anderen Fällen bekannt. Es gibt mehrere Komposita in unseren alten Sprachdokumenten, in denen das erste Glied ein Fremdwort, und das zweite ein ungarisches Wort ist, und die beiden eine kopulative Zusammensetzung bilden. Semantisch hat das ungarische Wort eine breitere, das fremde eine engere Bedeutung: dies bezeichnet eine Art des im zweiten Glied benannten Begriffs, z. B. *vizahal* 'Hausen', wörtlich 'Hausenfisch', *lúcsfenyő* 'Fichte', wörtlich ungefähr 'Fichtennadelbaum', *borköles* 'Hirse', *bórfenyő* 'Kiefer'. Zwischen den beiden Gliedern gibt es ein erläuterndes-kopulatives Verhältnis, welches sich später in ein attributiv-determinatives Verhältnis wandeln dürfte. Es ist möglich, daß bestimmte Fremdwörter auf diese Weise zu Lehnwörtern der ungarischen Sprache geworden sind. Diese Wörter, wie z. B. *bórfenyő*, die nach einer Weile schon als determinative Zusammensetzungen gelten, haben sich dann zur semantischen Gruppe der *tölgyfa* 'Eichenbaum', *sombokor* 'Herlitze', wörtlich 'Herlitzenstrauch' umgereiht.

Unter den Untersuchungshinsichten wurden auch noch die Betonungsverhältnisse erwähnt. Die sind zwar sehr wichtige Hilfsmittel in der Gegenwartssprache, Zusammensetzungen und unfeste Wortbindungen voneinander zu unterscheiden, sind aber in den Zeiten ohne tönenedes Sprachmaterial unverwendbar. Die Zusammen-, bzw. Getrennschreibung wäre dem Forscher auch in dieser Hinsicht zur Hilfe, doch ist die Praxis der alten Sprachdokumente nicht konsequent, folglich — abgesehen von den seltenen Ausnahmen — unbrauchbar. Im Spätaltungarischen kann man sich schon mehr darauf verlassen.

Welche Schwierigkeiten sich im Zusammenhang mit den sprachlichen Umwandlungsprozessen und ihrer Widerspiegelung in der "Rechtschreibung" zeigen, wird durch die Geschichte des Substantivableitungssuffixes *-ság/-ség* erleuchtet. *Ság*, bzw. *ség* waren selbständige Wörter. Sie dürften als zweites Glied in Zusammensetzungen im Frühungarischen aufgetreten sein. Fraglich ist aber,

ob sie kopulative oder determinative Zusammensetzungen waren. Die beiden Formen *ság* und *ség* dürften eventuell mundartliche Trennung aufweisen. Ihre Bedeutung war vermutlich 'Hügel, Bühel'. Die beiden Wörter haben sich schon im Urungarischen zu einem Ableitungssuffix entwickelt. Von semantisch-funktionalen Seiten her dürfte dieser Prozeß vor der Landnahme vollendet gewesen sein, doch gibt es einige Sprachdokumente teils aus dem Spätaltungarischen (!), in denen diese Morpheme konsequent getrennt geschrieben wurden, als ob *ság* bzw. *ség* ein selbständiges Wort wäre, vgl. KT.: *fcuz legnec*, KTSz.: *yften leg*, *výmád fagu[t]*, um 1395: *ag sig*, *vitez seg*, um 1405: *nemzet seg*, um 1435: *ban sag* (Gl.). Diese Schreibweise ist durch die Struktur (CVC) der Morpheme erklärbar, aber das Ableitungssuffixsein von *-ság/-ség* wird dadurch nicht entkräftet (obwohl es lange diskutiert wurde).

Zusammengefaßt: die Untersuchung des Zusammensetzungsprozesses im Frühaltungarischen weist darauf, daß die beide Funktionen: der Eigenname, bzw. die Terminusrolle die dazu geeigneten gebundenen und engen Wortstrukturen zu Komposita machen. Von grammatischer Seite befördern die merkmallösen (gegenüber den möglichen merkmalthaften) Strukturen, und die Partizipien als Grundwort diese Entwicklung. Mehrere Bedingungen zusammen wirken in erhöhtem Maße. Der Bedeutungswandel ist ein wichtiges Zeichen dafür, daß die Zusammensetzung verwirklicht worden ist, die Bedeutung soll sich doch nicht unbedingt verändern. Die Silbenzahl hingegen hat eine Regulierungsrolle: sie behindert, daß lange Wörter entstehen. Ähnlich zurückhaltend wirken die Ableitungssuffixe *-s*, *-i*, *-ú/-ű* am Grundwort. Die erwähnten anderen Kriterien (Bedeutungswandel, Betonung, Zusammen-, bzw. Getrenntschreibung, sprachliches Fortleben) haben eine bezeichnende Funktion: sie spielen im Zusammensetzungsprozeß keine Rolle.

Literatur

- Berrár, J. 1955. Az összetételek történeti vizsgálatához. [Zur historischen Untersuchung der Wortzusammensetzungen.] In: Magyar Nyelv 51: 80–3.
- Grétsy, L. 1957. Az összetétel meghatározásának kérdéséhez. [Zur Frage der Definition der Wortzusammensetzungen.] In: Magyar Nyelv 53: 69–76.
- Károly, S. 1954. Ragtalan tárgy határozói igenév mellett. [Merkmalloses Objekt neben Verbaladverbien.] In: Magyar Nyelv 50: 43–50.
- Károly, S. 1960. Néhány adalék az összetett szavak történetéhez. [Einige Beiträge zur Geschichte der Komposita.] In: Magyar Nyelv 56: 58–62.
- Kázmér, M. 1970. A „falu” a magyar helynevekben (XIII–XIX. század). [Das *Falu* 'Dorf' in den ungarischen Ortsnamen (13–19. Jahrhundert)]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

- B. Lőrinczy, É. 1956. A mellérendelő összetételek osztályozásának kérdéséhez. [Zur Frage der Klassifikation der kopulativen Wortzusammensetzungen.] In: Pais-Emlékkönyv, 151–4. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- B. Lőrinczy, É. 1961. A szóösszetétel és az összetett szavak leíró vizsgálatának néhány módszertani kérdése. [Einige methodologische Fragen der deskriptiven Untersuchung der Komposition und der Komposita.] In: Sulán, B. (Hrsg.): Nyelvtani tanulmányok [Grammatische Studien], 117–42. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.
- Pais, D. 1951. Kérdések és szempontok a szóösszetételek vizsgálatához. [Fragen und Aspekte zur Untersuchung der Wortzusammensetzungen.] In: Magyar Nyelv 47: 135–54.
- Pais, D. 1961. Részletek a határozós összetételek fejezetéből. [Auszüge aus dem Kapitel der Adverbialkomposita.] In: Magyar Nyelv 57: 266–73, 429–35.
- Szabó, T.Á. 1984. Bestimmungsmöglichkeiten der Wortzusammensetzungen im Späلتungarischen (zwischen 1400 und 1541). In: Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen 46: 71–84.

Adresse der Verfasserin: Erzsébet Zelliger

Loránd-Eötvös-Universität

Lehrstuhl für ungarische Sprachgeschichte und Dialektologie

Piarista köz 1.

H-1052 Budapest

Ungarn

e-mail: zelliger@isis.elte.hu

BOOK REVIEWS

Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok 18. Nyelvészet és pszichológia. [Studies in General Linguistics 18: Linguistics and Psychology.] Edited by Zsigmond Telegdi, Csaba Pléh, and György Szépe. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1995. 300 pp.

There is, regrettably, only one thing that is really interesting about this volume: The fact that it has appeared approximately 10 years after it was originally intended to. It is thus a frozen cross-section of aspects of Hungarian scientific activity and Hungarian life that have passed into history. This volume, though appearing at the end of 1995, was originally compiled in the years 1984–1986 and, apparently, given up for dead sometime after that. In the span of time required to see this volume into print ÁNyT's founder-editor, Zsigmond Telegdi, unfortunately passed away.

There is no way, in 1996, to evaluate the papers contained in the volume according to the standards which were prevalent at the time they were researched and written. They are not only ten years old, but based mostly on literature that at the time of their writing was already somewhat to moderately dated, just because this was the state of affairs for Hungarian social sciences at the time. The latest bibliographic reference is 1986 (with the exception of a 1989 reference in a paper co-authored by one of the journal issue's editors, who had access to his paper at a later stage). The book reviews are of books from 1981 to 1986. I don't think it would be fair to evaluate most of the contributions by today's standards. In lieu of this I am going to give a brief listing of the papers, with a short summary of each.

The volume contains 18 papers. Two papers deal with child bilingualism: Erzsébet Beöthy and Vera John-Steiner, in their "Analysis of the error patterns of bilingual Hungarian-English children", present mistakes [sic] in the Hungarian production of children growing up in Hungarian families in the United States; Melánia Mikes, in "Differentiation of languages in early multilingual communication" demonstrates the gradual restriction of a Serbo-Croatian child's use of Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, and German. Two papers address issues of speech perception: Maria Gósy ("The first levels of the process of speech comprehension") describes how manipulations of acoustic features influence phoneme discrimination, and presents a model of low-level speech perception based on her results. Margit Szentmiklóssy, in "Primary conclusions from perceptual experiments on the process of phoneme-symbol formation for [s] and [sz]," describes experiments in phoneme discrimination based on normal and electronically altered "disordered" coronal fricatives and affricates. Three articles cover questions of child language acquisition: Aleksandr Jarovinskij's "The early lexicon in child language" is a review of other studies on the process of lexical development; Zita Réger, in "The role of imitation in first-language acquisition" charts the use of imitation by a young Hungarian boy and girl in their acquisition of lexicon and grammar, and the changes in their imitations over time; and Zsolt Lengyel ("Some questions about the investigation of dialogue in child language") reports his conclusions about the early development of dialogic skills based on data from his two sons. Two papers are in the mold of "classical" structural psycholinguistics: György Gergely's "The role of functional sentence perspective in sentence comprehension" is an ingenious attempt at discovering the functions of Hungarian word order via psycholinguistic experiments (see also below). Csaba Pléh,

Farrel Ackerman, and András Komlósy, in "On the psycholinguistics of verbal modifiers," describe their efforts to elicit "closeness ratings" of verbal phrases such as *újságot olvas* 'read a newspaper' and *fára mászik* 'climb a tree' from naive informants. Three papers discuss disorders and distinctive properties of speech arising from neurological and psychological problems: József Herman and Judit Szentesi-Szépe give a historical overview of linguistic descriptions of aphasic phenomena in "Linguistic perspectives in aphasia research"; Judit Osman-Sági ("Means and disturbances of access to the internal lexicon in aphasics") describes differences in accuracy of lexical retrieval between so-called fluent and non-fluent aphasics; and János Sallai and Tamás Szende's "Psycholinguistic analysis of pauses in spontaneous utterances" reports differences in the quantity and functions of pauses in the speech of normal and schizophrenic speakers. Two works which discuss other phonological problems are Iván Fónagy's "Possibilities for vocal characterology," a quirky but ultimately fascinating examination of how voice setting and vocal quality (may) signal personality traits of the speaker, and Ilona Kassai's "Psycho-sociolinguistic remarks on accent," which provides an interesting account of the psychological factors contributing to, and the social consequences of, a "foreign accent." István Siklák's "The role of speech acts in the coherence of therapeutic discourse" applies the methodology of Labov and Fanshel's *Therapeutic Discourse*; Júlia Sugár Kádár's "The effects of age and social environment on elaboration of subject and predicate phrases in the sentences of day-care pupils" describes differences in children's use of elaboration (adjectives in subject noun phrases, adverbs in predicate phrases) as a function of speech situation and socio-economic factors.

The papers by Kinga Fabó, "Methods of emotional neutralization in literary texts" and András O. Vértés, "Language use and the growth of the domain of the emotions of tension and excitement" call undeserved attention to themselves thanks to their inappropriateness to the volume and their virtual incomprehensibility. Fabó's paper, if anything, is a poor foray into literary criticism, while Vértés's is nothing so much as a Rorschach test for his own apparent insecurities about modern life. His paper is interesting though, because it succeeds in infusing traditional Hungarian normative linguistic concerns into a domain almost completely inhospitable to such efforts.

The eight book reviews, by authors such as Zoltán Dörnyei, Maria Gósy, and Miklós Kontra, cover books dealing mainly with applied (psycho)linguistic topics such as second language acquisition, and bilingualism. They have very little in common with the topics of the body of the volume.

Non-Hungarian speaking readers may be interested to know that at least some of the papers appeared in English elsewhere while the fate of this volume was being decided. The papers by Kassai, Gósy, Fónagy, and Sallai and Szende appeared in identical or near-identical form in volume 40, no. 3–4 of *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* in 1990; and Gergely's work can be found in more elaborated form in his book, *Free Word Order and Discourse Interpretation*, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992. (I gave a separate review of this book in 1993 in *Eurasian Studies Yearbook* 65, 157–9.)

The sad thing about this volume is that many of the authors were trying to inform the Hungarian readership about recent, if not new, developments and methods in western psycholinguistic studies, or had applied, possibly for the first time, some of those methods to questions of Hungarian. In the course of the years, however, whatever currency these studies had was lost, as was their value to the Hungarian linguistic community. The only thing I can't decide is whether this fact itself is the sadder, or the fact that, for some reason, the issue's editors decided to bring this unhappy state of affairs to our attention now, after all these years.

Jeffrey Harlig

Marianne Sz. Bakró-Nagy: Proto-Phonotactics. Phonotactic Investigation of the PU and PFU Consonant System (On the basis of the Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch). Studia Uralica, Band 5. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1992. 14 + 186 S.

1. Das zu besprechende Werk enthält eine besonders inhaltreiche Einführung (1–17), zwei einander ähnlich aufgebaute ausführliche Kapitel über den Einzelkonsonanten in initialer (19–45), bzw. medialer (47–69) Stellung, die Distributionsanalyse der Kombination von initialen und medialen Konsonanten (71–8), eine eingehende Untersuchung der zweigliedrigen Konsonantengruppen in medialer Position (79–131), dem Summieren der über den Konsonantismus der uralischen und der finnougri-schen Grundsprache erzielten Ergebnissen (133–58) schließen sich Überlegungen über die Silbenstruktur der finnougri-schen Grundsprache an. Den Anmerkungen (159–60) folgt die Bibliographie (161–4) und schließlich noch ein Appendix (165–86), in welchem Beispiele für initiale und mediale Konsonanten bzw. für zweigliedrige Konsonantengruppen und Kombinationsregel zu finden sind. Im Buch gibt es 21 Tabellen, bis 20 illustrieren die ungeraden die Verhältnisse der uralischen Grundsprache, eine jede folgende Tabelle mit gerader Zahl weist auf dasselbe Material im Finnougri-schen hin, Tab. XXI mit finnougri-schen Mitteilungen hat kein uralisches Paar. Außer den Tabellen sind von Kapitel 2. an tabellarische-formelartige numerierte Veranschaulichungen verwendet worden, die in jedem Kapitel von 1 angefangen numeriert wurden (in 2. bis 6. je 28, 27, 8, 70, 14), was das Hinweisen erleichtert, andere, ohne Numerierung, müssen entweder zitiert werden, oder nur die Seitenzahl kann angegeben werden (8, 11, 12, 8=14, 15, 154, vgl. 149 und 16 usw.).

2. Die Zielsetzung der Verfasserin ist die Regeln der Phonemfolge in den U/FU Grundsprachen festzustellen. Falls es unter den Regeln der erschlossenen Grundsprache auch solche gäbe, die bei Kenntnis der gekannten Sprachen als unwahrscheinlich zu betrachten sind, müssen die Rekonstrukta korrigiert werden.

In der Uralistik wurden vor Décsys Artikel (The Uralic Protolanguages, 1990) nur gelegentlich kleinere phonotaktische Untersuchungen über erschlossenes Material vorgenommen. Auf solche, die lebende Sprachen bearbeiten, weist Bakró-Nagy hin. T.H. Tarnóczy's bahnbrechende Arbeit in der ungarischen Phonotaktik (NyK 53:107–52) blieb leider jedoch unerwähnt, das Ostjakische ist gewissermaßen mangelhaft, s. noch W. Steinitz, Ostjakische Volksdichtung und Erzählungen I, 26–33, 200–8, E. Vértés, Az oszjáák fonémák kölcsönhatása (Die Wechselwirkung der ostjakischen Phonemen). Doktori értekezés. Mskr. 582 + 81 S. 1976.

Die Wahl des Corpus und Rahmens der Bearbeitung hat bei lebenden Sprachen eine ganz andere Bedeutung als bei erschlossenen, wo sie eigentlich der Rekonstruktionsmethode Vertrauen schenkt. In der Uralistik ist das Wählen jedoch ganz illusorisch, nur in UEW sind solche rekonstruierte Morpheme des ganzen diesbezüglichen Materials beisammen. Wegen Mangel an genügenden Kenntnissen über die Silbentrennung der Grundsprachen, kann auch da nur das ganze Morphem als Rahmen der Untersuchung dienen. Bakró-Nagy bearbeitet demzufolge alle Morpheme mit der Form #(C)VC(C)V# abgesondert für U bzw. FU und vergleicht die Ergebnisse miteinander. Die wenigen Einsilber (Pronomina, Partikeln, das Verb *le-* 'sein, werden, leben' FU usw.) und die seltenen Morpheme mit dreigliedrigen Konsonantengruppen können nur selten in Acht genommen werden. Andersgeartete Morpheme gibt es in UEW nicht.

Obwohl im Rekonstruieren der Konsonanten noch strittige Fragen existieren, kann ein Corpus phonotaktisch natürlich nur so bearbeitet werden, daß man sich seiner Auffassung anschließt. Das vorliegende Werk gibt demzufolge ohne Kritik die Gesamtheit der Konsonanten von UEW an. Die Ergebnisse werden nicht nur in „individuellen“ Konsonanten, sondern auch in Phonemklassen veranschaulicht, deshalb enthält die Einleitung einen ausgezeichneten Überblick nach Ort und Art der Bildung der Konsonanten (16–7). In UEW gibt es anders gesetzt, sichere und strittige Rekonstrukta, die könnten zwar prinzipiell in zwei Sprachen auf vier verschiedene Weisen zusammen behandelt werden, doch wählt die Verfasserin die fünfte Möglichkeit: „the present description is exclusively based on uncontroversial PU and PFU data“ (11), die unsicheren Rekonstrukta werden ganz und gar negliert.

Bei der phonotaktischen Bearbeitung des Konsonantismus werden alle Vokale mit V bezeichnet. Es muß untersucht werden welche Konsonanten initial, welche medial stehen (finale sind in den Rekonstrukta von UEW nicht anzutreffen, s. UEW 011), weiterhin welche Kombinationen vor und nach einem Vokal nach UEW möglich sind, auch ihre Belastung wird untersucht. Die Konsonanten in initialer Position (C_1) und ihre Distribution wird in allen konsonantisch anlautenden Morphemen registriert, bei Kombinationsanalysen werden nur die Rekonstrukta mit einem intervokalen Konsonant in Betracht gezogen. Die mediale Position eines Konsonanten (C_M) ist eine intervokale, d. h. in allen durch (C)VCV angegebenen (beginnenden) Morphemen an der Grenze der ersten und zweiten Silbe anzutreffen. Das Verhältnis von C_M zu C_1 kann aber selbstverständlich nur in konsonantisch anlautenden registriert werden. Im U/FU Belegmaterial, von UEW kommen initial alle Konsonanten vor, bis auf δ , γ , η , und U r; medial alle (nur ist U l' nicht belegt). Diese Ergebnisse werden mit Angabe von Ort und Art der Artikulation der Konsonanten erstaunlich kurz und geistreich zusammengefaßt.¹

Tabellen 1–2 veranschaulichen für die U/FU Grundsprache alle Kombinationen der initialen und intervokalen Konsonanten an der Grenze der ersten und zweiten Silbe. Wer des „Lesens“ von Tabellen nicht kundig ist, kann die Positionsanalysen in individuellen Phonemen und Phonemklassen für beide Positionen in der Wertung der Autorin durchstudieren (19–21, 47–9, 21–30, 49–54), wo die ausführliche Analyse in individuellen Phonemen auch formelartig mitgeteilt zu sehen ist, wozu sich sogar der Vergleich der U/FU Ergebnissen anschließt.

Auch die Kombinationsfähigkeit der initialen und medialen Konsonanten ist aus den Tab. 1–2 ersichtlich, da ja darin ein jeder selbst zählen kann, mit wievielen Konsonanten die einzelnen Laute kombiniert in UEW angetroffen wurden (30–2, 55–7), daraus kann nach Ort und Art der Artikulation die Kombinationsfähigkeit für U/FU bestimmt und die Regeln zusammengefaßt werden (32–9, 57–62).

Die Distributionsanalyse basiert auf einem anderen Belegmaterial als das Bisherige, nicht nur auf dem in Tab. 1–2 registrierten. Hier wird mitgeteilt, daß 220 PU und für das PFU außer diesen, aus dem PU ererbten noch weitere, neu erworbene 344, also insgesamt 564 Morpheme zur Bearbeitung zur Verfügung standen (39).² Da diese die Form CVC(C(C))V haben, kann die Zahl der bearbeiteten U Konsonanten nicht 660, der FU 1700 erreicht haben. Bei der Distributionsanalyse von C_M werden alle intervokale Konsonanten registriert, alle Morpheme der Form (C)VCV, solche gibt es U 192, FU 476, d.h. die Zahl der analysierten Konsonanten erreicht nicht 1000 (62). Bei dieser Untersuchung wird einerseits die Frequenz von C_1 , andererseits von C_M in prozentualer Verteilung angegeben und natürlich U/FU miteinander verglichen, schließlich noch in Phonemklassen, auch prozentual.

Nach den vorangehenden Untersuchungen folgt die Frequenzbestimmung der U/FU C_1C_M Kombinationen in Phonemen und Phonemklassen (prozentuell). Dann kommt das umfangreichste Kapitel: zweigliedrige Konsonantengruppen in (C)VCCV-gestaltigen (beginnenden) Morphemen. Die ziemlich leeren Tab. 11–2 enthalten alle C_1C_2 Kombinationen, die — wie alles bisher — in Einzelphonemen (82–9) angegeben werden, auch die Zahl der Kombinationen (90–6), auch die Belastetheit der Kombinationsfähigkeiten und die Verteilung in Phonemklassen registriert fehlen nicht (91–111). Erst bei der Distributionsanalyse erfährt man, daß 93 U und 287 FU Morpheme auf C_1C_2 untersuchbar sind, wo natürlich auch öfter belegte Konsonantengruppen erscheinen (111). Die Tab.

¹ Den Mangel von δ im Anlaut kann ich nicht gutheißen. In UEW steht zwar als Anlautstiel zwischen ϵ und e tatsächlich nur δ , kein δ . Es gibt aber ein „Stichwort“ „*Jäpps* (*äpps*) od. *lepps* (*äpps*) ‘Milz’ FU, ?U“ (242), wo δ nur in Klammern als zweifelloser Anlautskonsonant (aber abhängig von der Sicherheit des lappischen Gliedes) mit etwas kleinerer Wahrscheinlichkeit als l, rekonstruiert wird. Wenn aber „*l'ymz* od. $\delta'ymz$ ‘kleine Fliege od. Mücke’ FU“ mit beiden Anlauten vermerkt und auch unter den Beispielen zu sehen ist (165), dann müßte ein mit l oder δ rekonstruiertes Morphem — obwohl es den in Anm 2 (S. 159) mitgeteilten prinzipiellen Stellungnahmen entsprechend behandelt wurde, dennoch verhindern δ als „verboten“ zu betrachten, s. Bakrós Meinung über U l' bei C_M (S. 47) „unattested“, also nicht verboten.

² Hier und auch anderswo wird ausführlich vom PFU Bestand die Zahl angegeben, da selbst der Verfasserin früher der Fehler unterlaufen ist, das U Erbe nicht zum FU Material hinzurechnen, s. z. B. *Specimina Sibirica* III, 13–32.

11–2 enthalten 400 Kombinationsmöglichkeiten; 93, bzw. 287 Belege können diese natürlich nicht füllen, deshalb sind sie ziemlich leer. Bei ganz gleichmäßiger Verteilung (unmöglich in den Sprachen!), wäre in Tab. 11 fast an jeder vierten Stelle ein Beispiel zu sehen, in Tab. 12 wäre auch dann über ein Viertel der möglichen Kombinationstellen beispiellos! Die Distribution wurde prozentual auch in Phonemklassen mitgeteilt.

Der Zusammenfassung und den Konklusionen schließen sich überraschenderweise Angaben und Mitteilungen über die PFU Sonorität und Silbenstruktur an.

3. Die vorliegende Monographie ist keine leichte Lektüre. Man muß erlernen beim Lesen ganz besonders darauf zu achten, ob nur konsonantisch anlautende Morpheme untersucht werden oder auch vokalische, ob zwischen den Vokalen der ersten und zweiten Silbe ein Einzelkonsonant steht oder eine zweigliedrige Gruppe usw.

Die mannigfaltigen Druckfehler machen das Lesen und Verstehen schwer. S. 167 muß in Zeile 1 C_1 zu C_M verbessert werden. S. 57 wurde in (8) die Zeile von *n* zweimal gesetzt, die von *p*, *t*, *γ*, *w* hinwieder fehlen, diese kann man aus (6) aund (7) nachholen. Es gibt auch solche Fehler, die prinzipiell unmögliche Mitteilungen zu Stande bringen: in PFU gäbe es nach (18) „STOP 18“ (S. 39), was ausgeschlossen ist, da die Zahl für PU als 19 angegeben wurde (S. 38, 39). Alle unsere PU Kenntnisse konnten nur durch PFU in eine oder mehrere finnougriische Sprachen geraten, was man U Erbe betrachtet, mußte zwangsläufig in beiden Tochtersprachen (PFU, PSam) vorhanden sein. Die Zahl der aus PU geerbten Beispiele blieb entweder unverändert, oder sie wuchs an. Im fraglichen Fall wurde aus 19 in der Tochtersprache 20, s. S. 39, (19). Prinzipiell sind in allen Vergleichen die absoluten Zahlen für PU kleiner oder gleichgroß wie für PFU. Bei Angaben in Prozentzahlen verhält es sich anders: die Zahl der untersuchten Morpheme wuchs an, demzufolge konnten auch neue Beispieltypen entstehen. Die Summe aller Beispiele muß 100% ausmachen (praktisch zwischen 99–101% stehen), zumindest eine Prozentzahl (oder mehrere, bzw. alle) werden kleiner, da das gegenseitige Verhältnis anders geworden ist, die absoluten Zahlen wachsen, vermehren sich, deshalb vermindern sich die vermehrten Prozentzahlen, ihre Summe kann nur so unverändert bleiben. Im untersuchten Fall macht 19 PU Explosiva 30% der in PU untersuchten Konsonanten aus und 20 PFU nur 21%. Ein Fehler den man nur mit Hilfe von UEW verbessern kann: in Tab. 2 ist in Zeile 1' das Kreuzchen aus Kolumne *k* in *m* zu rücken, s. das hierher gehörende Beispiel S. 165 und oben in der Anmerkung, derselbe Fehler ist (S. 29) auch in (6)(1) zu korrigieren.

Die Zahl von C_1 und C_2 ist in PU bzw. PFU zwangsläufig identisch, unabhängig davon, ob in Einzelphonemen oder Phonemklassen die Untersuchungen vorgenommen werden. Bezüglich Einzelphonemen gibt es in der Monographie in U/FU einen kleinen Unterschied (105–7), bei der Analyse in Phonemklassen ist die Zahl von C_1 identisch mit der von C_2 in PU (108), in PFU aber nicht (109). In PFU gibt es noch einen weiteren Druckfehler: S. 110 steht in (38) für C_2 SPI sei 1, in (37) und (40) wird SPI als 3 angegeben.

Bakró-Nagy summiert weder bei Mitteilungen in absoluten Zahlen, noch bei prozentuellen die Angaben, obwohl das Summieren einerseits dem Leser das Verständnis oft erleichtert, andererseits können die Summen wichtige Ergebnisse hervorheben. Die Summe kann bei Angaben in CVCV-formigen Morphemen oder bei C_1C_2 durch ihre Identität darauf hindeuten, daß dasselbe Verhältnis aus verschiedenen Richtungen untersucht wird (55–6, 90–2, 108). Bei Mangel an Identität muß der Bearbeiter den Fehler bemerken und korrigieren. Bei tabellarischen Zusammenfassungen, besonders bei Analysen in Phonemklassen, heben die Summen die typisch hervorragenden Frequenzen gut hervor (z. B. Tab. 7., 8. Zeile LAB und VEL, Kolumne ALV, oder Tab. 19–20 Kolumne STOP usw.). Den richtigen Mitteilungen gegenüber — wo die identischen Summen die präzise Arbeit beweisen (90–2, 108 usw.) gibt es andere mit kleineren (93–6), oder größeren Ungenauigkeiten (105–7), die vermutlich Druckfehler darstellen, dem Leser jedoch Kopfzerbrechen verursachen, ob er sich die Mitteilungen falsch ausgelegt hat.

Die Ergebnisse ihrer Analysen gibt Bakró-Nagy teils in absoluten Zahlen, teils prozentuell an, was nicht immer folgerichtig und zweckmässig ist. Die Angabe mit absoluten Zahlen ist bei der

Registrierung der Kombinationsfähigkeit gut (31, 37–9, 55–6, 60–1, 90–4, 105–6, 108–10). Bei der Kombinationsfähigkeit wäre die Mitteilung zu erwarten, daß sie für jeden Laut ≤ 20 ist, da doch maximum 20 Phoneme als Kombinationspartner zur Verfügung stehen. Bei den Distributionsanalysen werden unerwarteterweise Prozentzahlen verwendet, wodurch sich Bruchzahlen und weitere Probleme ergeben (40, 42–3, 63–4, 66–7, 71–7, 112–7, 120–3, 125–9). Der prozentuelle Vergleich der U/FU Ergebnissen erleichtert natürlich die richtige Beurteilung (ob gleich, kleiner oder größer, s. 41–2, 44, 65, 67, 68, 118–9, 124, 129–30). Es wäre günstig, bei allen Vergleichen Prozentzahlen anzugeben (32, 38, 39, 61–2, 107, 95–6, 107–8, 110–1). In einigen Fällen ist die Prozentzahl nicht nur als Bruchzahl störend, sondern wegen den nötigen Abrundungen auch irreführend: Wenn die einmalige Belegtheit 0,2% ausmacht (72), mußten wohl 500 Angaben untersucht werden. Darüber werden aber 36 Kombinationen mit der Frequenz 0,5% mitgeteilt. Sind die 2 oder 3mal anzutreffen? Eine Frequenz von 0,7% muß auf mit 1 mehr hindeuten als die vorigen, 1,0% auf noch mehr, aber mit 1 oder mit 2? Wenn 0,2% einen Beleg bedeutet, müßte 1,0% 5 Belege ausmachen. Schließlich erfährt man, daß „401 CVCV“ (73) Angaben zur Verfügung standen, also 1 Beleg 0,25% ausmacht, die ganze Unsicherheit stammt aus den nötigen Abrundungen, die Summe der Prozentzahlen ist trotz der vorgenommenen Korrekturen nicht einmal nahe zu 100%. In absoluten Zahlen gäbe es keine Probleme!

Ich würde gerne in den Tabellen anstelle der Kreuzchen überall die Zahl der Frequenzen sehen, bei U/FU Vergleichen Prozentzahlen, bei tabellarischen Mitteilungen der Ergebnisse in Phonemklassen entweder überall absolute Zahlen, oder überall Prozente.

Es gibt eine störende Mitteilungsweise. Für Konsonanten in initialer bzw. medialer Position ist C_I bzw. C_M ein eindeutiges, gutes Symbol, auch dann verständlich, wenn man keine Liste der Abkürzungen und Symbole bekommt. Schlecht wurde aber C_I s und C_M s getroffen. Zum Index (I, M) kann ein weiterer gefügt werden, wenn dies unbedingt nötig ist (in diesen Fällen nicht nötig), aber nicht als Exponent! Ein weiterer Fehler ist in „ C_I s and C_M s“ (72) der zweimalige Gebrauch von s. Wenn C_I und C_M frei, voneinander unabhängig variiert werden, pflegt man x und y, oder m und n benutzen, man kann natürlich auch s und z, aber auf keinen Fall identische Indices!

Die Angabe der festgestellten Regeln mit „wenn ..., dann ...“ ist geistreich, oft in überraschender Weise formuliert (33–6, 58–9, 98–9, 102–3 usw.). Es fragt sich aber, ob sie nicht nur für das Belegmaterial von UEW, sondern auch für die U/FU Grundsprachen wahr sind. Bei Anwachsen der Zahl der Rekonstrukta könnten etwa solche zustande kommen, die jetzt als Verbote registriert wurden.

4. Damit sind wir zu Fragen gelangt, wo man die Ergebnisse auch anders deuten kann, andere Analysen für erforderlich schätzen kann, Fragen stellen kann, auf die die vorliegenden Analysen keine Antwort geben.

Nach dem Durchstudieren der vorliegenden Monographie bleiben dem Leser mehrere Fragen betreffs der U/FU Konsonantismus offen, bzw. unbeantwortet:

Wie groß ist das analysierte Corpus?

Wieviele Konsonanten wurden in UEW in sicheren Morphemen für die Grundsprachen erschlossen?

Wie verteilen die sich im Anlaut und Inlaut (im Auslaut enthalten die Rekonstrukta nur Vokale, s. S. 8–9, 12, 14–5)?

Was ist die Frequenz der verschiedenen Konsonanten im Anlaut? Im Inlaut?

Gibt es unter den Anlautskonsonanten solche, die eher in Einsilbern oder eher in längeren Morphemen anzutreffen sind?

Gibt es irgendeinen Unterschied unter Konsonanten denen, wenn sie in initialer Position stehen, nach einem Vokal eher ein Einzelkonsonant oder eine Konsonantengruppe folgt?

Gibt es unter den Konsonanten in medialer Position solche, die eher in vokalisch oder eher in konsonantisch anlautenden Morphemen anzutreffen sind?

Gibt es einen davon abhängenden Unterschied in der Häufigkeit des Verhältnisses zum Anlaut, ob C_M ein Einzelkonsonant ist oder C_I in einer intervokalen Konsonantengruppe?

Diese und weitere ähnliche Fragen hätten bei einer anderen Registrierung der Angaben leicht beantwortet werden. Stünde in Tab. 1–2 anstelle eines Kreuzchens überall die Zahl der Belegtheit der betreffenden Kombination, dann würde dies die Frequenz der Kombinationen von C_1 und C_M zeigen (71 3); da man aber aus den mitgeteilten Prozentzahlen die Belegtheit ausrechnen kann,³ kann man sich die Tabellen in dieser Form herstellen. Die Gesamtzahl der einzelnen an- bzw. inlautenden Konsonanten wüßte man aber, wenn die Zahl der Einsilber und der (C)VCC(C)V-formigen Morphemen auch angegeben wäre. Wäre — etwa mit halbfetter Linie von den Konsonanten abgesondert — die Überschrift der ersten Kolumne und der ersten Zeile \emptyset , dann würde die Kolumne $C_M=\emptyset$ auf den Anlaut der Einsilber CV hindeuten, die Zeile $C_1=\emptyset$ den Inlaut der VCV-formigen Morphemen mitteilen. Würde halbfett von den Konsonanten abgesondert $C_M=C_1C_2$ stehen, dann könnte man sehen, nach welchen Konsonanten im Anlaut im Wortinneren die zweigliedrigen Konsonantengruppen erschlossen wurden und wie oft. Stünde als letzte Zeile bzw. Kolumne Σ , da wäre die Frequenzverteilung im Anlaut bzw. Inlaut ersichtlich. Für die wenigen Rekonstrukta mit Dreiergruppen könnte eine Kolumne geöffnet werden oder sie könnten vernachlässigt werden. Die wenigen Dreisilber unter den Rekonstruktionen könnten auch außer Acht gelassen werden, oder ihre ersten zwei Silben könnten registriert werden.

Ich habe versucht mit Hilfe der Distributivanalysen die Zahl der phonotaktisch analysierten Morpheme annähernd festzustellen. Bei C_1 wurden alle konsonantisch anlautende Zweisilber behandelt (39. ff.), also CVCV, CVCC(C)V und auch die wenigen Dreisilber. Das konsonantisch anlautende Material des UEW macht also PFU 564 aus, die Einsilber sind aber nicht mitgerechnet, ihre Zahl ist aber vernachlässigbar gering. Die vokalisch anlautenden sind noch hinzurechnen. Bei der Distributionsanalyse von C_M wurden nur (C)VCV-formige 476 PFU Morpheme behandelt (62), die Zahl der Vokal anlautenden kann man aus den Analysen nicht feststellen, die konsonantisch anlautenden sind auch in den früher erwähnten 564 enthalten. Die Zahl der Morpheme mit einer Konsonantengruppe ist PFU 287 (111), die haben die Form (C)VCCV. Addiert man 564 und 287, die Summe 851 enthält die Morpheme der Form CVCV, CVCC(C)V, VCCV, die VCV-gestaltige Morpheme fehlen, die CVCCV-Formen wurden bei 564 und auch bei 287 mitgezählt. Die Zahl ist auch bedeutend größer als die nach der Statistik von UEW (III, 274) in UEW behandelten sicheren U und FU Etymologien: $284+419=703$. Da aber die Phonotaktik erschlossene Morphemformen bearbeitet hat, ist ihr Material größer als die Zahl der Etymologien von UEW, doch wurde sie weder angegeben, noch konnte sie aus den Angaben bestimmt werden. Auch die „Statistik der uralischen Lautentsprechungen“ (im Weiteren StatUrLE), hat nur „als sicher betrachtete (also halbfett gedruckte) U/FU Etymologien bearbeitet“ (5), d. h. dasselbe Material wie die Phonotaktik. Wenn man im Index von StatUrLE die Zahl der „Konsonanten im Wortanlaut“ (237) addiert, ergibt sich 664, was stark von 564 der Phonotaktik abweicht. Im Wortinneren wurden an der Grenze der ersten und zweiten Silbe 422 Konsonanten, bzw. 242 Konsonantengruppen vermerkt (238), gesamt 664, was viel kleiner ist als die Zahl der Etymologien in UEW, obzwar die Vokal anlautenden darin enthalten sind. Da 664 einerseits die Anzahl der Konsonantanlauten, andererseits der C, CC, CCC Inlaute ist, fehlt unverständlicherweise die Zahl der vokalisch anlautenden Morphemen. Als letzter Versuch wollte ich die Zahl der Erstsilben-vokale im UEW anschauen, da doch diese Zahl mit der der statistisch bearbeiteten Morpheme identisch sein muß. Die Zahl der erschlossenen Vokale ist weder im Index (237), noch in der Bearbeitung angegeben (demzufolge habe ich keine Ahnung, wozu die Angaben über die erschlossenen Vokale und ihrer Entsprechungen in den uralischen Sprachen — S. 7–93 — überhaupt dienen). Das Feststellen der Zahl der bearbeiteten Morpheme kann also nicht vollbracht werden.

Nur ein Detail stimmt in den zwei Werken überein. In der Phonotaktik wurden 287 C_1C_2 PFU Kombinationen analysiert, in der StatUrLE gibt es insgesamt 242 Konsonantengruppen (238), wo

³ Wenn in PU ein Beleg 0,6% ausmacht, deutet 1,2% auf 2, 1,9% auf 3 Belege hin (zufolge der Abrundung ergibt sich die scheinbare Ungenauigkeit), 2,5% auf 4, 3,1% auf 5, 3,7% auf 6 Belege, 4,3% bei *k.r* auf 7. Im PFU Material (73) wurden 401 CVCV-formige registriert, s. oben in 3. Demzufolge weisen die Prozentzahlen 4,7%, 4,2, 3,7, 3,2, 2,5, 2,0, 1,7, 1,5, 1,2, 1,0, 0,7 auf 19, 17, 15, 13, 9(?), 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3 Belege hin, 0,5% auf 2, 0,2% auf einen, was aus der ungarischen ersten Bearbeitung der Monographie (Mskr.) im Archiv der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften kontrollierbar ist.

1 $\eta k\check{c}$ und 2 wkk mitgerechnet wurden; wenn man aber die unter den „Konsonantenalternationen in der Grundsprache“ (238) befindlichen 48 zweigliedrigen hinzurechnet und die dreigliedrigen abzieht, ist $242+48-3 = 287$, wo im großen und ganzen auch die Frequenz der verschiedenen Gruppen in den zwei Werken fast dieselbe ist.

5. Unter den schwachbelegten Phonemen befinden sich alle, deren Existenz und demzufolge ihre Kombinationen mit den übrigen bestritten werden kann. Diese Kombinationen und auch die nur 1–2-mal belegten von sicher erschlossenen Phonemen können etwa als falsche Rekonstrukta aufgefaßt werden. Wegen Mangel an genügend großem Corpus muß diese Frage offen gelassen werden.

Ich habe mir überlegt, ob γ , η etwa nicht per definitionem als Inlautkonsonanten zu betrachten wären, da sie in den uralischen Sprachen auch nur inlautend vorkommen (im Samojedischen im Anlaut sekundär). Die Regel, daß sie als C_1 verboten sind, wäre dann überflüssig. In der Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung ist aber 0% nicht Zeichen der Unmöglichkeit, sondern der besonderen Seltenheit. Wenn man daran denkt, daß im Ostjakischen η sich in einem einzigen expressiven Wort im Anlaut befindet, scheint die Auffassung von Bakró-Nagy richtig zu sein. Mit U r (10, 20, 30) verhält es sich anders, dieser Laut ist in den finnougriischen Sprachen im An- und Inlaut belegt, in unsicheren Rekonstrukta auch im PU, da kann es sich eher um Unbelegtheit als um einen Verbot handeln.

Vermutlich ist die ungenügende Größe des Corpus Schuld daran, daß die häufigsten C_1C_2 Konsonantengruppen von U/FU verschieden sind (114–7) und nur die äußerst hervorragend oft rekonstruierte $k.r$ Kombination in U/FU als erstes Glied der Frequenzliste anzutreffen ist (71–3).

Aus dem reichen Material der Monographie fehlt eine Analyse: die Kombinationsfähigkeit von C_1 mit C_1C_2 , obzwar dies zu wissen nicht uninteressant ist. Eine Tabelle kann aber räumlich nicht angegeben werden. Es ist aber möglich in einer Tabelle als C_1 alle Konsonanten und auch \emptyset , d.h. den Vokalanlaut anzugeben und als C_M der Reihe nach mit abnehmender Häufigkeit alle C_1C_2 Kombinationen, die in UEW öfter als 3mal belegt sind. Über die nur 1–2mal belegten Kombinationen bin ich derselben Meinung wie über einen Teil der seltenen Konsonanten: aus unserem spärlichen Material kann nicht festgestellt werden, ob sie existieren, oder falsch erschlossen wurden.

6. Die Verfasserin meint, wie auch UEW: „The phoneme system of PU/PFU — although the status of some of its elements may be controversial — is widely known“ (1), weiterhin „It is a familiar claim within Finno-Ugristics that, as far as phonological reconstruction is concerned, PU and PFU do not differ either in principle or in methodological terms. ... PU forms are reconstructed on the basis of the same system of phonemes as PFU forms are, it follows that the phonological structure of morphemes must likewise be identical in the two periods“ (10). Aus diesen Prinzipien unterzeichne ich nur soviel, daß es noch Streitfragen gibt. Im Übrigen bin ich anderer Meinung. Es gibt natürlich Phoneme, die aus dem PU in die PFU und in die PSam. Grundsprache vererbt wurden und dort erhalten blieben, die also für alle drei Grundsprachen gleich zu rekonstruieren sind. Wenn aber für PFU x , PSam. y zu erschliessen ist, gibt es drei verschiedene Möglichkeiten:

- a) PU x , d.h. PU $x =$ PFU x und PU $x >$ PSam. y .
- b) PU y , d.h. PU $y >$ PFU x und PU $y =$ PSam. y .
- c) PU z , d.h. PU $z >$ PFU x und PU $z >$ PSam. y .

In einem jeden Fall, wenn die Rekonstruktion für PFU nicht mit der für PSam. identisch ist, muß untersucht und bewiesen werden, welche Entwicklung von den dreien die wahrscheinlichste ist.

H. Paasonen, der große Systematiker hat in seinen Werken (Beitr. usw.) nur das PFU rekonstruiert und von dessen samojedischen Entsprechungen gesprochen, keine PSam. Rekonstrukta und auch keine PU gegeben. Collinder rekonstruierte mit derselben Methode das Uralische und das Finnougriische. Auch beim Redigieren der neueren etymologischen Wörterbücher wurde mit derselben Methode PU und PFU erschlossen. Erst jüngst wurde begonnen (Janhunen, Samojedischer Wortschatz, FUF 44, JSFOu. 77, Sammallahti, Historical Phonology of the Uralic Languages in Sinor The Uralic Languages, s. noch Mikola ebd.) PSam. Rekonstrukta zu machen.

Ich halte es für unwahrscheinlich und prinzipiell für unannehmbar den Phonembestand von PU und PFU als ganz identisch zu betrachten, dabei anzunehmen, daß im Protosamojedischen ein Drittel der Phoneme verschwunden und auch andere Entwicklungen zu registrieren seien. Wenn die PSam. Grundsprache auch ca. zweimal so lange Zeit einheitlich geblieben ist als die PFU, ist es auch unwahrscheinlich anzunehmen, daß in der PFU Grundsprache 1–2 Jahrtausende lang die altererbten Konsonanten alle konserviert wurden, im PSam. hinwieder ihr Drittel verschwunden, mit anderen Konsonanten zusammengefallen sei, wenn auch die Zeitdauer dazu ca. das Doppelte gewesen wäre.

Meiner von der des UEW abweichenden Auffassung zufolge sehe ich auch in der Monographie nicht den Vergleich des PU/PFU Materials, sondern den der altererbten Morphemen mit dem ganzen Morphembestand der PFU Grundsprache.

7. Es kann nicht bestritten werden, daß zu einer Protophonotaktik in der Uralistik ausschließlich nur UEW als Grundlage dienen kann. Aber „The sufficiency of that corpus may be contested in qualitative, and especially in quantitative, terms“ (4) kann nicht gutgeheißen werden. Gemäß UEW muß man für PFU mit 20 erschlossenen Konsonantenphonemen rechnen, demzufolge sind $20 \times 20 = 400$ Kombinationen bei C_1 mit C_M und bei $C_1 C_2$ möglich. Um bei diesen 800 Situationen festzustellen, welche oft oder selten anzutreffen sind, wäre ein Corpus von einigen Tausenden oder sogar von einigen Zehntausenden Morphemen nötig.⁴

Obzwar m. E. nur 60–70% der rekonstruierten Konsonanten für PFU und noch weniger für PU als unangreifbar richtig zu betrachten sind und das Material von UEW zu phonotaktischen Analysen nicht ausreicht, gibt es in der Monographie dennoch Ergebnisse, besonders über Phonemklassen, die unbedingt typisch und haltbar zu sein scheinen. Da in Phonemklassen die Möglichkeit der Kombinationen nur $7 \times 7 = 49$, bzw. $8 \times 8 = 64$ ist, ist die Zahl der möglichen Kombinationen viel kleiner als in Einzelphonemen, so ist es verständlich, daß z. B. wahrscheinlich nach einem jeden C_1 als C_M ein labialer, dentaler oder velarer Konsonant stehen kann (33). In Tab. 4 fehlen nur 4 Kombinationen, was vielleicht Folge der ungenügenden Größe des Corpus sein kann. Diese 4 Verbote (34) könnten eigentlich nur dann als tatsächliche Verbote betrachtet werden, wenn die finnougriischen Sprachen alle dafür das Zeugnis gäben. Als weitere unbestreitbare Ergebnisse seien noch die folgenden erwähnt: nach jedem C_1 kann als C_M ein Nasal folgen (35). Die große Frequenz der *k.r. k.l* Kombinationen (71–2), die Alveolaren in C_M -Position (74–5) scheint auch unanfechtbar zu sein. Als erstes Glied sind in den finno-ugriischen Sprachen Explosiva und Nasale sehr häufig (77). Solche Ergebnisse würden noch stärker in die Augen fallen wenn in den Tabellen die Zeilen und die Spalten summiert wären und wenn anstelle der Kreuzchen überall Zahlen zu sehen wären. Die Tabellen 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16 liefern noch einige sichere Ergebnisse.

8. M. Bakró-Nagy ist mit dieser Monographie eine Bahnbrecherin, sie hat die Proto-Phonotaktik in die Uralistik eingeführt, und zwar zu einer Zeit als einige schon die Daseinsberechtigung der Uralistik abzusprechen versucht haben.

Edith Vértés

László Elekfi: Magyar ragozási szótár. Dictionary of Hungarian Inflections. Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 1994. 599 pp.

The zest of Hungarian lexicographers that, over the past five decades, has produced a number of monolingual dictionaries like the seven-volume *Értelmező Szótár* [Hungarian Explanatory Dictionary],

⁴ Es sei darauf hingewiesen, daß im Ungarischen der schwachbelegte Konsonant *zs* mit der Frequenz 0,06%, fast nur in gewissen Namen und Wörtern anzutreffen ist, in der Statistik nach den Werken von Ady in *Párizs, Zsiga, Zsigmond, Zsóka*, bei P. Veres im Wort *rozsa*, 'Rosen' (NyK 54:108, 55:17). Wo *Zsuzsa, Zsuzsó, Zsuzsanna* erwähnt wird, bekommt man wieder ein anderes Bild über die Kombinabilität von *zs*. Aus einigen 100 000 Konsonanten gemachten Statistiken wird dies nicht klar, vielleicht nur aus einigen Millionen. Diese Frage will ich ein anders Mal ausführlicher untersuchen (vgl. hierzu BiblUr. 7:140–2).

as well as *Értelmező Kéziszótár* [Concise Explanatory Dictionary], *Történeti-Etimológiai Szótár* [Historical and Etymological Dictionary], *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [An Etymological Dictionary of Geographical Names], *Szinonimaszótár* [A Dictionary of Synonyms], and others, seems to persist. One recent result of their incessant efforts is László Elekfi's monumental volume indicated in the title that will be briefly reviewed here.

It has long since been known that this volume was under preparation: originally it was to be published as an Appendix to the Concise Explanatory Dictionary. This was the intention of the Board of Editors of CED and presumably of the author, László Elekfi, too. It must have been the wealth of linguistic material covered, the abundance of information concerning the **inflectional system** of Hungarian that finally outgrew the dimensions of a mere appendix and demanded an independent, and bulky, volume to appear in.

If we read in the Introduction **what this Dictionary is good for** (5–6), our guess is immediately confirmed. We learn that it is intended to provide a faithful picture of **all inflected forms of the core of the Hungarian word stock**, including **all the acceptable alternative forms** as they occur in Standard Hungarian. Based on the approximately 70,000 headwords of CED, the present dictionary gives an exact characterization of the full grammatical paradigms of Hungarian words, revealing the typical and productive, as well as the exceptional or fossilized, rules of Hungarian inflectional morphology. It guides the reader in **word class** (part of speech) matters and sometimes in problems of **normativity**, to name but a few things.

Special mention is to be made of Elekfi's remarks on **pronunciation**, especially those concerning mid [ĕ] (= IPA [e]), as opposed to low [ɛ]. It is a well-known fact that this distinction has been losing force in Hungarian for quite some time; also the efforts that some of our best linguists, including Elekfi himself, have devoted—with Zoltán Kodály's enthusiastic support—to rescuing this "disadvantaged" member of the former sound system of Hungarian. If it is true that "the discrimination between mid *e* [ĕ] and low *e* [ɛ] is more consistent in the derivational and inflectional system of Hungarian than in the phonological shapes of individual words or stems" (12), we must be grateful to the editor of this dictionary that he shares his findings in this respect with the reader at the appropriate points of the suffixation system. At the same time, this policy makes it possible to draw some phonological conclusions; also, seen in a different aspect, it serves a certain "tradition-preserving" function as well.

The bulk of the dictionary is made up, on the one hand, by **an alphabetical list of words and word-initial morphemes** (65–588) whose paradigms (or paradigm types) are covered in this volume and, on the other hand, by the actual **tables** (33–63) in which this task is fulfilled. The latter, in turn, are preceded by **an alphabetical list of nominal and verbal endings** (32)—not necessarily derivational suffixes!—that are in general suffixed in a typical and regular manner and that are therefore indicated in the word list by a thin broken vertical line (:) that severs them from the preceding portion of the word. For instance, the words *lakás* 'flat', *művész:et* 'art', *kam:at* 'interest' are revealed at first glance as belonging to regular paradigm types that are indicated in the list just mentioned, under *-ás*, *-et*, and *-at*, respectively. (As a matter of courtesy, the editor repeats these indications for all relevant items in the word list; the fact that these are strictly speaking redundant—as he points out himself (11)—is shown by angled brackets.)

A substantial portion of the Hungarian word stock falls into such typical and regular suffixation classes; it is therefore a correct and logical solution to present these **basic inflectional patterns** first; six patterns for verbs and six for nouns. These full verbal and nominal paradigms, presented in terms of inflectional endings, as well as the tables showing the most characteristic inflected forms of adjectives and (personal) adverbs, take over a lot of the informational burden from the subsequent, and central, section entitled "The system of paradigm types" (40–63).

In this section, then, it suffices to indicate the basic pattern in a single line, followed by a list of divergent (though characteristic) forms. This economy comes in handy, given that the tables of this key section—as Elekfi points out (11)—cover a total of 153 verbal and 404 nominal paradigm types. This is the number of necessary subdivisions in which the typical and regular, as well as the (non-typical but) characteristic paradigms of the headwords of the alphabetical list can be arranged.

“Our dictionary of inflections”—we read in the preface (5)—“is to serve a number of different purposes, giving maximum information concerning each headword in a minimum of space.” This endeavour turns out to be successful in a number of respects, as the finished product shows.

Nevertheless, the proof of the editor’s intentions is the extent to which the dictionary is easy to use. The more fully these intentions show up in the individual entries, and the more easily the user can find answers to his problems without much mental effort or thumbing of pages, the better the editor’s original idea: the better the dictionary.

Ever since the volumes of *Új Magyar Tájszótár* [New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary] started appearing, I have repeatedly found what I had learnt in principle from Lajos Kiss: that even though a dictionary cannot do without an introductory section (“How to Use this Dictionary”), the editor should never rely on the reader actually consulting that section. The entries must speak for themselves; the editor must give all pertinent information within the entries, in a brief but clear and easy-to-read manner.

As a reviewer, I first read the introductory sections of the dictionary with utmost care; but then I tried to forget all that and open the dictionary with the typical attitude of the user. In the present case, the most obvious question was **which paradigm type a given headword of the alphabetic list might belong to.**

As can be seen upon a short inspection: this dictionary of inflections provides immediate access to information of various sorts. For instance, that concerning the **structure of a word**. Various kinds of slash marks and their easy-to-tell-apart combinations make it possible to tell simple words from compounds or verbal prefix + verb complexes and the latter two from one another. It is also easy to see that whenever a compound word or a prefixed verb lacks a paradigm code, it belongs to the paradigm type of its last member or basic verb.—The **pronunciation** information provided in brackets (like [ĕ]) is also easy to follow. **Word class labels** carry a lot of information (and are generally clear). Their use is economical: they are usually lacking if they are superfluous, the word class membership of the headword being self-evident; but they are present and purposeful if they have a disambiguating function or—even more—if word class membership is a (relevant) piece of information for determining the paradigm type of the item.—We could mention a number of other features ranging from cross-references (e.g. *balettezik* see *balettozik* ‘to ballet-dance’) and short glosses (e.g. *cika*¹ ‘káposzta’ [‘cabbage’], *cika*² ‘fogócska’ [‘game of tag’]) to additional information of various kinds of which there is quite a few: paradigmatic (e.g. for *cselekedik*, *cselekszik* ‘act’: ...*kesszük* [ĕ], ...*kvő* ‘we do it; active’), semantic (e.g. *hódító* I. mn (~*ak* csak ‘erős vonzalmat keltők’) [i.e. *hódító* ‘conquering; captivating’ as an adjective takes *-ak* in the plural only if it means ‘strongly attractive’]), phraselogical (e.g. *fitty*: ~*et hány* ‘flout sg’; *nagy* ~*re* v. *nagy* ~*et* ‘in vain’) and others, all of which serve a more thorough-going characterization of the headword as quickly as possible.

What I think is the least successful is the easy identification of **paradigm codes** and the way in which the appropriate **paradigm type can be found**. Of course, this is no wonder, given the high number of categories needed for presenting all the intricacies of the Hungarian inflectional system (as we saw above), including not only typical and regular formations but also the major types of the large number of deviations.

Still, someone who opens the dictionary with no previous experience in using it, perhaps just looking for the paradigms of a few words, will be hard put to figure out paradigm codes like 3B1,

<6A>, 14a2, <5a>, etc. Of course, if he is really interested he can look up the meaning of all that in the Introduction, but even that is not a simple matter. It appears that the editor himself had trouble with explaining the functions of the various components of paradigm codes. This can be the reason why he sometimes leaps forward in his explanations or why he returns to the same problem several times—maybe because he wishes to elucidate it from various aspects at various points (for instance, he lists and defines the types of slash marks on pp. 6, 13, 15, and partly on p. 16)—, yet unfortunately the explanation of paradigm codes is not clear enough for the headwords to be simply identified and looked up on the basis of their paradigm codes.

If I am not mistaken, a technical solution to this problem could have been to provide a separate **list of signs and abbreviations** either immediately after the contents page or else immediately before the word list but completely separated from the running text of the introduction; that list then could have included an explanation of the components of paradigm codes, like this:

- A or a = back-harmonic suffixation
 ({capital A} for nominals, suffixable postpositions and
 sentence-words, {lower-case a} for verbs)
 B or b = front-harmonic suffixation
 (see above for the upper-case/lower-case distinction)

And so on. Then:

- 1, 2, 3 etc. Arabic numerals = (i) before the letter code: the paradigm type
 of the headword; (ii) after the letter code: paradigm subtype, if any.

Another solution would have been to provide a few sentences containing the above type of information at the beginning of the alphabetical word list. In this case, it would have become possible to illustrate a few paradigm codes with their prose renderings, along the following lines:

álom 7A3 = back-harmonic *álom* 'dream' belongs to the 7th nominal paradigm (that of consonant-final nouns exhibiting vowel/zero alternation), subtype 3 (*bokor* 'bush': *bokron*; *bokrot*; *bokra*), i.e. its representative forms are *álom* [nom.sg.]; *álmon* [superess.sg.]; *álmot* [acc.sg.]; *álma* [3sg.poss.sg.] (cf. p.54).

Or:

gyűr 1c = the verb *gyűr* 'crumple' is conjugated according to the front-rounded basic pattern (1c, like *bűvöl* 'bewitch'), cf. p.34.

Given that these remarks are being made *post festa*—this being a review of a published book, not a preliminary report on a manuscript to be published—, one might think: why go into such details. It is my sincere belief that this objection is misguided. Let me explain why.

When I read László Elekfi's introduction where he gives ten specific purposes that his dictionary is to serve (5–6), the one that appealed to me most was the 9th: "It will (almost directly) be insertable into a revised version of the Concise Explanatory Dictionary" (6).

Well, the more I inspected the Dictionary of Inflections, the more contradictory views I formed concerning its relationship to the CED. Sometimes I thought it was in fact a good thing that the mass of information that Elekfi had compiled and systematized concerning the inflectional system of Hungarian was not squeezed into an Appendix, necessarily mutilated and leached due to space limitations and other natural considerations, but was rather presented in its entirety to the community of linguists. Although the editor modestly remarks that his book is not a "Dictionary of Hungarian

Morphology" (8), and although he is right in the sense that the latter would, in addition to conjugation and declension, involve a number of other subsystems (those of derivation and compounding, patterns of government, and a typology of set phrases), yet I think those additional pieces of information that the editor calls mere "extras" but which abound in his book over and above the central issue, inflectional paradigms, amply deserved to be published in this separate volume. This is especially the case with the portions of text in English, well positioned and well formulated, carefully adjusted to the demands of a non-Hungarian-speaking readership, and appropriately serving the purposes that the latter type of reader might have in consulting this volume. The inclusion of these English sections significantly increases the range of potential users of the dictionary.

On the other hand, on closer inspection, I increasingly thought how much it was a pity that the CED does not include these paradigm codes alongside its headwords and that at least the major paradigm types are not listed in that dictionary, as an Appendix.

The solution to this dilemma seems to be brought to us by the increasingly pressing demand (we could say social demand) for a revised and updated edition of the CED; actually, work on this new edition has already started and is in good progress. I do not think that in our computerized world finding an economical and clever way to merge this new CED with Elekfi's DHI could be a problem. We must not allow it to be a problem.

And then, in the interest of the final product and especially its future users, even my seemingly futile suggestions above may become worth thinking over, at least.

Éva B. Lőrinczy

Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen. Band II. (Kor–Zs). Hrsg. Loránd Benkő, Red. Károly Gerstner, Antónia S. Hámori, Gábor Zaicz. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1995. 795–1683.

The new Hungarian etymological dictionary (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*, abbreviated as EWUng) is based on, and is an organic continuation of, the *Magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian] (TESz). I have already reviewed the first volume of the series, the principles of its compilation, the selection and structure of the headwords (cf. Keresztes ALH 40: 489–492, FUD 3: 125–128). Under Loránd Benkő's leadership, the editors and contributors have been arduously working on this monumental German version since 1982. I am proud to announce that the etymological dictionary has now been completed in its entirety.

The two bulky volumes appeared in six booklets and, according to my calculations, contain 9876 headwords. I have already prepared a statistical report of the classification of headwords according to their origin on the basis of the first few booklets. I did the same for the remaining letters based on roughly similar principles.

Ambiguous etymologies have been classified into the set that the editors specified as most probable. The categories Iranian, Turkic, Slavic, and Romance continue to be used as umbrella terms, even though among Turkic words more specific labels like Turkish, Cumanian, or Petcheneg can be found; similarly, for some of the Slavic words the actual source language or group of languages can often be ascertained. The Romance category excludes French or Italian elements borrowed via German, since these appear under German, just like calques reflecting a German model. The category of international words includes what are known as 'wandering words'. The category 'other' may contain sporadic loanwords, borrowed for example from English or Yiddish, or less often from Armenian, some Caucasian language, or even from Permian languages. Those words have also been classified as of foreign origin that have a proper name as their origin and were derived from a compound or a phrase in the independent development of Hungarian (e.g. *portugál* 'Portuguese', *premontrei* 'Premonstratensian', *röntgen* 'x-ray', *szilveszter* 'New Year's Eve', etc.).

(Full statistics are given here for the sake of completeness and in order to make comparison easier.)

letter	A, Á		B		C		Cs	
ancient	34	8.37	7	1.14	0	—	15	4.36
innovation	132	32.51	189	31.03	55	29.72	183	53.19
Iranian	1	0.21	0	—	0	—	0	—
Turkic	15	3.69	58	9.52	0	—	24	6.97
Slavic	22	5.41	75	12.31	7	3.78	43	12.50
German	24	5.91	80	13.31	58	31.35	17	4.94
Latin	81	19.95	23	3.77	30	16.21	3	0.87
Romance	11	2.70	29	4.76	10	5.40	14	4.06
international	65	16.00	89	14.61	11	5.94	10	1.90
Gipsy	1	0.21	1	0.16	1	0.54	5	1.45
other	16	3.94	16	2.62	8	4.34	8	2.32
unknown	15	3.69	42	6.89	12	6.48	22	6.39
entries total	417	100%	609	100%	192	100%	344	100%

letter	D		Dzs		E, É		F	
ancient	6	1.84	0	—	31	9.90	73	13.79
innovation	83	25.53	0	—	164	52.39	205	38.75
Iranian	0	—	0	—	2	0.63	0	—
Turkic	17	5.23	1	20.00	10	3.09	2	0.37
Slavic	33	10.15	0	—	10	3.19	5	0.94
German	31	9.53	1	20.00	25	7.98	96	18.14
Latin	64	19.69	0	—	37	11.82	56	10.58
Romance	17	5.23	0	—	5	1.59	20	3.78
international	41	12.61	2	40.00	17	5.43	54	10.20
Gipsy	4	1.23	0	—	0	—	0	—
other	3	0.92	1	20.00	5	1.59	1	0.18
unknown	26	8.00	0	—	7	2.23	17	3.21
entries total	325	100%	5	100%	313	100%	529	100%

letter	G		Gy		H		I, Í	
ancient	0	—	5	6.41	68	13.17	16	7.27
innovation	92	28.93	25	32.05	266	51.55	96	43.63
Iranian	1	0.31	0	—	2	0.38	1	0.45
Turkic	4	1.25	26	33.33	7	1.35	11	5.00
Slavic	51	16.03	0	—	23	4.45	12	5.45
German	45	14.15	5	6.41	58	11.24	10	4.54
Latin	36	11.32	3	3.84	21	4.06	40	18.18
Romance	16	5.03	0	—	4	0.77	4	1.81
international	43	13.52	1	1.28	32	6.20	21	9.54
Gipsy	1	0.31	0	—	1	0.19	0	—
other	4	1.25	0	—	6	1.16	0	—
unknown	25	7.86	13	16.66	28	5.42	9	4.09
entries total	318	100%	78	100%	516	100%	220	100%

letter	J		K		L, Ly		M	
ancient	8	8.42	43	3.62	27	7.71	38	6.40
innovation	42	44.21	367	30.54	129	36.85	186	31.19
Iranian	0	–	0	–	1	0.28	1	0.16
Turkic	2	2.10	71	5.99	0	–	9	1.51
Slavic	10	10.52	133	11.22	32	9.14	50	8.43
German	8	8.42	162	13.67	60	17.14	74	12.47
Latin	10	10.52	149	12.57	46	13.14	87	14.67
Romance	1	1.05	55	4.64	9	2.57	21	3.54
international	7	7.36	133	11.22	24	6.85	88	14.83
Gipsy	0	–	1	0.08	1	0.28	2	0.33
other	5	5.26	7	0.59	4	1.14	8	1.34
unknown	2	2.10	64	5.40	17	4.85	29	4.89
entries total	95	100%	1185	100%	350	100%	593	100%

letter	N		Ny		O, Ó		Ö, Ó	
ancient	9	6.81	24	27.27	13	8.60	11	15.71
innovation	49	37.12	54	61.36	50	33.11	32	45.71
Iranian	2	1.51	0	–	0	–	0	–
Turkic	0	–	1	1.13	13	8.60	10	14.28
Slavic	8	6.06	3	3.40	12	7.94	4	5.71
German	13	9.84	1	1.13	19	12.58	2	2.85
Latin	20	15.15	0	–	21	13.90	1	1.42
Romance	3	2.27	0	–	3	1.98	0	–
international	16	12.12	0	–	16	10.59	0	–
Gipsy	0	–	1	1.13	0	–	0	–
other	2	1.51	0	–	0	–	0	–
unknown	10	7.57	4	4.54	4	2.64	10	14.28
entries total	132	100%	88	100%	151	100%	70	100%

letter	P		R		S		Sz	
ancient	2	0.25	17	4.29	16	3.36	45	9.84
innovation	182	23.09	124	31.31	146	30.73	170	37.19
Iranian	0	–	0	–	1	0.21	1	0.21
Turkic	11	1.39	0	–	19	4.00	26	5.68
Slavic	127	16.11	46	11.61	12	2.52	62	13.56
German	176	22.33	86	20.45	155	32.63	36	7.87
Latin	127	16.11	56	14.14	39	8.21	31	6.78
Romance	36	4.56	16	4.04	15	3.15	10	2.18
international	87	11.04	34	8.58	43	9.05	45	9.84
Gipsy	3	0.38	0	–	1	0.21	0	–
other	7	0.88	1	0.25	7	1.47	2	0.43
unknown	30	38.07	16	4.04	21	4.42	29	6.34
entries total	788	100%	396	100%	475	100%	457	100%

letter	T		Ty		U, Ú		Ü, Ű	
ancient	35	5.75	0	—	6	8.45	6	13.63
innovation	221	36.34	1	0.25	32	45.07	24	54.54
Iranian	4	0.65	0	—	0	—	1	2.27
Turkic	36	5.92	1	0.25	2	2.81	5	11.36
Slavic	43	7.07	1	0.25	11	15.49	1	2.27
German	81	13.32	0	—	2	2.81	1	2.27
Latin	54	8.88	1	0.25	10	14.08	0	—
Romance	22	3.61	0	—	0	—	0	—
international	69	11.34	0	—	5	7.04	1	2.27
Gipsy	0	—	0	—	1	1.40	0	—
other	2	0.32	0	—	0	—	0	—
unknown	41	6.74	0	—	2	2.81	5	11.36
entries total	608	100%	4	100%	71	100%	44	100%

letter	V		X		Z		Zs	
ancient	39	11.60	0	—	3	3.29	1	1.35
innovation	132	39.28	0	—	42	46.15	18	24.32
Iranian	5	1.48	0	—	1	1.09	0	—
Turkic	1	0.29	0	—	1	1.09	3	4.05
Slavic	36	10.71	0	—	19	20.87	9	12.16
German	48	14.28	0	—	9	9.89	21	28.37
Latin	24	7.14	0	—	2	2.19	4	5.40
Romance	3	0.89	0	—	0	—	3	4.05
international	28	8.33	1	0.50	7	7.69	11	14.86
Gipsy	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—
other	0	—	1	0.50	0	—	0	—
unknown	20	5.95	0	—	7	7.69	4	5.40
entries total	336	100%	2	100%	91	100%	74	100%

Total:	A–Zs	%
ancient	598	6.06
innovation	3491	35.35
Iranian	24	0.24
Turkic	386	3.91
Slavic	900	9.11
German	1404	14.22
Latin	1076	10.89
Romance	327	3.31
international	1001	10.14
Gipsy	24	0.24
other	114	1.15
unknown	531	5.38
entries total	9876	100%

The number of words of totally unknown origin has become rather small: a little over half a thousand (531 – 5.38%). To cite standard vocabulary items from Volume II (K–Zs), examples include the following: *korcs* 'mongrel', *korlát* 'limit', *kosbor* 'orchis', *kosz* 'dirt', *kösöntyű* 'bangle', *kuka* 'simple-minded', *kullancs* 'tick', *kút* 'well', *kürt* 'horn', *lanyha* 'mild', *lepény* 'flan', *lidérc* 'nightmare', *liget* 'grove', *lomha* 'sluggish', *lop* 'steal', *lórom* 'dock', *lórúm* <a simple card-game>, *lusta* 'lazy', *madár* 'bird', *makacs* 'stubborn', *makk* 'acorn', *mállik* 'crumble', *mama* 'mum', *marcona* 'grim', *mászik* 'climb', *meder* 'river-bed', *méla* 'dreamy', *mén* 'stallion', *mész* 'lime', *metsz* 'carve', *mirigy* 'gland', *mogorva* 'sullen', *nadály* 'leech', *nándor* <Bulgarian from the Danube region>, *nap* 'day', *nász* 'wedding', *nedv* 'sap', *negédes* 'mincing', *nehéz* 'heavy', *nem* 'gender', *nő* 'grow', *nyáj* 'flock', *nyárs* 'spit (n.)', *nyers* 'raw', *nyűg* 'burden', *ocsmány* 'hideous', *orhanc* 'erysipelas', *ordas* 'wolf', *otromba* 'clumsy', *önt* 'pour', *ördög* 'devil', *örv* 'collar', *ősz* 'grey-haired', *ösztövé* 'lean', *öszvér* 'mule', *őz* 'deer', *özvegy* 'widow', *pacal* 'tripe', *páholy* 'box (in theatre)', *pajkos* 'elfish', *pányva* 'tether', *papa* 'dad', *pej* 'bay (a.)', *pereputty* 'kith and kin', *poggyász* 'luggage', *ponty* 'carp', *pótol* 'complement (v.)', *puccér* 'naked', *putri* 'hovel', *racka* <a Hungarian variety of sheep>, *ránt* 'pluck', *remény* 'hope (n.)', *renyhe* 'inert', *rét* 'meadow', *rideg* 'curt', *rög* 'clod', *rügy* 'bud', *rüh* 'scab', *saját* 'own (a.)', *sámfa* 'shoetree', *sás* 'sedge', *sáska* 'locust', *seb* 'wound (n.)', *séd* 'tussock', *serleg* 'goblet', *sikér* 'gluten', *sisak* 'helmet', *súly* 'weight', *süger* 'perch', *süket* 'deaf', *szab* 'tailor (v.)', *szajha* 'harlot', *száll* 'fly', *szatyor* 'shopping bag', *szeder* 'blackberry', *szegény* 'poor', *szégyen* 'shame', *székely* 'Szekler', *szelid* 'gentle', *szemérem* 'decency', *szid* 'scold', *szigony* 'harpoon', *szike* 'scalpel', *szilke* 'earthen mug', *szín*² 'colour', *szokik* 'get used to', *szurtos* 'grimy', *szűk* 'narrow', *tag* 'member', *tahó* 'boor', *takony* 'snot', *taraj* 'crest', *targonca* 'barrow', *tataroz* 'renovate', *teke* 'bowl', *tép* 'tear', *terem* 'grow, produce (v.)', *tergenye* 'bundle', *test* 'body', *titik* 'be distinct, visible', *tető* 'roof', *tincs* 'curl', *toboz* 'cone', *tok*² 'case', *tol* 'push', *tör* 'break', *történik* 'happen', *törvény* 'law', *tusa* 'struggle (n.)', *túsz* 'hostage', *tutaj* 'raft', *tüdő* 'lung', *tűnik* 'seem', *ugrik* 'jump', *un* 'be bored', *ül* 'sit', *üst* 'cauldron', *üstök* 'forelock', *üszög* 'blight', *vackor* 'field pear', *vágyik* 'desire (v.)', *vak* 'blind', *valag* 'arse', *váz* 'framework', *ver* 'beat', *vész* 'predicament', *vét* 'make a mistake', *vézna* 'puny', *vidék* 'countryside', *von* 'pull', *zagyva* 'muddled', *záp(fog)* 'molar (tooth)', *züllik* 'decay', *zsarol* 'blackmail'.

For the purpose of this review, I also included in this category the words classified as "probably a loanword, but the source language is unknown" (e.g. *vacok* 'den', *vászon* 'linen', *zerge* 'chamois', etc.). Since the statistics of Volume I were prepared four years ago, I am not sure how I classified these words at that time; they may have been in the category of other loanwords. Consequently, the classification of about a dozen words is not consistent in this respect.

I am aware that the present review is rather simplistic, relying merely on numerical data. It is not possible to draw far-reaching conclusions from that; but the data are in any case instructive. To be sure, the statistics could have been also prepared based on other considerations. The classification of words of debated origin was nevertheless lead by the principles of sober consideration and cautiousness. Some researchers or readers may not always agree with the judgements of the editors, and the editors have naturally made some debatable decisions. (To offer an example, experts agree that the words *para* and *por* 'dust' are not part of the ancient vocabulary of Hungarian any more. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine that words like *mama* and *tata* used in child language are not ancient elements, since almost all languages contain similar words, which are results of spontaneous word-formation. Therefore they probably belonged to the basic vocabulary of Hungarian at the earlier phases of the language also.)

This dictionary will no doubt be thoroughly analysed by many experts, each of them taking into consideration different aspects. However, it has to be emphasized that EWUng is a monumental synthesis of the etymological research of the Hungarian language. Loránd Benkő, Károly Gerstner, Antónia S. Hátori, Gábor Zaicz, and the other contributors and special consultants have done an exemplary job. The clear structure of the entries, the well-arranged classification of stems and compounds, the logical, consistent, and economical system of abbreviations, the carefully prepared,

quality typography all serve practical purposes. In my opinion, this new etymological dictionary will become an indispensable handbook both for linguists and other scholars of the humanities as well as the general public.

László Keresztes

Petra Haul: Die ostjakischen Personennamen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Personennamen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1994. (= Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica; Bd. 38.) Zugl.: Diss. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR; Berlin, 1990. 10+153 S., 2 Tabellen, 3 Karten.

Das vorliegende Werk reiht sich – wie aus dem Vorwort ersichtlich – in den Kreis der von W. Steinitz initiierten Arbeiten über das Ostjakische. Steinitz hat nämlich viele Personennamen aufgezeichnet und in seinem Nachlaß befand sich eine auf seine Initiative abgeschriebene Steuerliste ostjakischer Jasakzahler aus dem 17. Jahrhundert.

Das Werk ist nicht nur Ostjakologen und Finnougriken eine wichtige, lehrreiche Monographie, sondern allen Forschern der Anthroponymie. Die Autorin selbst möchte diesem Anspruch gerecht werden, weshalb in der Einleitung das Wichtigste über die Ostjaken zusammengefaßt wird. Dann wird, in medias res, ein ganz kurzer Bericht über den Stand der Kenntnisse über ihre Personennamen gegeben, mit einer guten Begründung darüber, daß man zwangsläufig eher die Namen von *Männern* kennt (1–4).

Der Forschungsstand (5–6) kann leider auch dann nur ganz kurz angeschnitten werden, wenn die Verfasserin auch die bisherigen Publikationen über die Völker in Betracht zieht, die näher oder ferner von den Ostjaken leben. Es gibt nämlich nicht allzu viele Untersuchungen über dieses Thema.

Die Namengebung (7–11) bei den Ostjaken weicht von der in Europa ab, wie das schon seit Anfang des 18. Jh-s von mehreren aufgezeichnet wurde. Fast alle Ostjakologen haben im letzten Jahrhundert darüber Aufzeichnungen gemacht.

Gemäß dem Titel der Monographie ist die historische Entwicklung der ostjakischen Anthroponymie (12–56) das bedeutendste Kapitel des Werkes. Ohne die Kenntnis gewisser gesellschaftlichen Aspekte (12–4) wäre die Differenz (Dualismus) zwischen den einstigen und in Überresten noch existierenden heimischen und offiziellen Namen unverständlich. Russische Urkunden sowie die vermutlich aus dem 14.–16. Jh. stammenden altererbten, archaischen Heldenlieder zeugen dafür, daß es einerseits eine interne, gentilen Verhältnissen gemäß geregelte Namengebung gab, die zur Bewahrung der ethnischen Identität dem Volke auch jetzt noch nicht ganz fremd geworden ist, andererseits verbreitete sich zwangsläufig das offizielle, russische Namensystem. Das Verhältnis der zwei Namensysteme untersucht die Autorin chronologisch, wobei sie die russische Periode von der sowjetischen abgesondert behandelt.

Der Abschnitt „Das ostjakische anthroponymische System unter gentilgesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen der vorrussischen Periode“ (14–9) enthält nur sehr vage theoretische Vermutungen, die nur aus der Volksdichtung unterstützt werden können, da man über Dokumente erst aus den Zeiten nach der Eroberung von Sibirien verfügt. Die ersten ostjakischen Personennamen sind Namen von Fürsten aus der Zeit der Eroberung, also vom Ende des 16. Jh-s. Diese sind – bis auf einen patronymischen Namen – alle einnamig, genauso auch die jakapflichtigen Ostjaken der Steuerlisten vom Anfang des 17. Jh-s. Aber schon in der Steuerliste von 1639 ist die Mehrheit nach russischem Vorbild eine zweigliedrige patronymische Namensform, die dann auch die Oberhand gewann. Bei der sozialen Oberschicht erschienen schon im 17. Jh. dreigliedrige Namen mit festen, erblichen Zunamen. Am Ende des 17. Jh-s ist die konsequente Anpassung an das russische Namensystem zu beobachten, wobei die Individualnamen zum größten Teil dem einheimischen Namenschatz entstammen, da die Übertritte zum Christentum nur ganz vereinzelt vorkamen.

Im 18. Jh. (24–31) herrschen die zweigliedrigen Namen vor. Den Zwangstaufen zufolge sind die offiziellen Vornamen in den Dokumenten kirchliche Namen. Die 'Parallelnamigkeit' begann dadurch, daß die Ostjaken unter sich nicht die offiziellen, sondern die heimischen Namen verwendeten. Wegen der

eindeutigen Identifizierung der jakapflichtigen Untertanen wurde bei den Russen und bei Sibiriens früheren Einwohnern die dreigliedrige Namensformel obligatorisch. Als dritter Name erscheint bei den Ostjaken häufig ein nichtkirchlicher Name. Die Steuerlisten aus dem 18. Jh. weisen viele Namen auf, die aus früheren Jahrhunderten dokumentiert werden können und später zu Familiennamen geworden sind, von denen dann die meisten auch Karjalainen aufzeichnen konnte.

Die amtliche Dreinamigkeit hat sich im 19. Jh. noch nicht, erst im 20. durchgesetzt (32–42). Das Namenmaterial dieses Zeitalters stammt nicht mehr nur aus Steuerlisten und eventuell aus Kirchenbüchern, sondern auch von Sprachforschern. Nicht nur Männernamen, sondern auch Frauennamen können und dies nicht nur vereinzelt untersucht werden.

Die ostjakische Anthroponymie der sowjetischen Periode / Gegenwart (43–54) enthält Vornamen, Patronym und Familiennamen, was zu den Personaldokumenten nötig ist und der Integration der Ostjaken in die sowjetische Gesellschaft und dem zunehmenden Gebrauch der russischen Sprache auch entspricht; es können jedoch auch aus diesem Zeitabschnitt zweigliedrige Gesamtnamen dokumentiert werden. Die Verfasserin weist mehreren Namen ihren ostjakischen Ursprung nach. Der besseren Dokumentierung zufolge kann nicht nur der offizielle Gebrauch, sondern auch der inoffizielle belegt werden. Dies erfolgt besonders dadurch, daß die Autorin mit einer geborenen Ostjakin konsultieren konnte. Aufschlußreich sind ihre Bemerkungen über die Wortfolge der Namen.

Aus der Zusammenfassung erhellt wieder die Parallelnamigkeit. Wo das Streben nach der Bewahrung der ethnischen Eigenheiten noch lebt, wird inoffiziell die von alters her geerbte Namengebung samt Namenwechsel und verschiedenen Tabuvorschriften beachtet, wobei in der Anrede zumeist die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen verwendet werden. Offiziell sind die dreigliedrigen Namen so geartet wie die der Russen, nur in der etymologischen Herkunft gibt es verschiedene Elemente. Beim Durchstudieren der Entwicklung der ostjakischen Personennamengebung konnte man nebenbei auch das Zustandekommen und die Gründe der russischen dreigliedrigen Namen kennenlernen.

Am vollständigsten und ausführlichsten bearbeitet ist die Untersuchung der Steuerliste des Kreises Berezovo aus dem Jahre 1639 (57–128), zu der auch der Anhang, welcher die Abschrift dieser Steuerliste in kyrillischer Schrift enthält (137–53), hinzurechnen ist. Eigentlich beschäftigt sich die Monographie mehr mit dieser Steuerliste, als mit allen übrigen Problemen. Die bearbeitete Steuerliste stammt aus acht Amtsbezirken (von denen sieben die Forscher der Sowjetunion lokalisiert haben), und enthält die Namen von 1089 Jakapflichtigen, von denen die sowjetischen Bearbeiter $118+146+120+280+47+156+70+58=995$ entziffern konnten (s. 139–53, in anderer Reihenfolge, mit Angabe der im Original befindlichen Zahl der Namen, S. 58.)¹

Die Rekonstruktion der Personennamen von 1639 enthält mehrere Probleme als sie sich bei der Namenforschung sonst ergeben. Das Alter des Originals, das falsche Kopieren, das Arbeiten ohne Xerokopie usw. sind alle Quellen von Fehlern. Es muß noch hinzugerechnet werden, daß der russische Schreiber die ihm oft unverständlichen ostjakischen Namen mit dem für das Ostjakische nicht geeigneten Alphabet des Russischen aufgezeichnet hat (59–64), wo insbesondere das vom Russischen stark abweichende Vokalsystem des Ostjakischen nur eine ganz grobe Aufzeichnung ermöglicht.

Die Schreiber und die Entzifferer haben ihre Arbeit gewissermaßen gut gelöst. Dafür zeugt m. E. einerseits, daß man in der Liste mehrfach belegte Namen findet, andererseits, daß einige Namen Varianten aufweisen. Desweiteren sind zwei Namen zu erwähnen, die aus zwei dialektalen Varianten desselben ostjakischen Wortes zu erklären sind. Der Vergleich mit anderen Steuerlisten (aus 1650, 1656) ergibt dasselbe Ergebnis (64–7).

Die zur Bearbeitung dienende Steuerliste enthält zwar zumeist zweigliedrige Namen, da aber auch einige ein- und dreigliedrige darin zu finden sind, ist die Gesamtzahl der Einzelnamen 2069. Von diesem meint die Autorin 177 mit Sicherheit, 148 jedoch fragwürdig mit ostjakischen Lexemen zu verknüpfen. Mehrfachbelegungen zufolge wurden dadurch 499 Namen der Liste in das Namenverzeichnis alphabetisch eingereiht (67–70, 71–99). Es wurden dabei 325 Etymologien vermerkt, die Namenvarianten wurden ohne Numerierung als Hinweise mitgeteilt. Als wiederkehrendes Problem wird nur der Auslaut

¹ Es ist mir unklar, wie im Amtsbezirk Estyl' von nicht aufgezeichneten Namen 47 entziffert werden konnten.

-ko(v) erwähnt, der nach einem ostjakischen Wort aus dem Lexem 'Mann' des Ostjakischen stammt, aber auch in Namen russischer Herkunft anzutreffen ist, wo er als Suffix zu erklären ist (die ostjakische Informantin hat diese aber auch als ostjakisches Wort gedeutet!).

Aus der lexikalisch-semanticen Gruppierung (99–112) der ostjakischen Wörter, die bei den Personennamen verwendet worden sind, ist ersichtlich, daß hierzu meistens physische Merkmale – Körperbau, Gang, physische Besonderheiten, Farbe und Beschaffenheit von Haut und Haar, physische Verhaltensweisen – gedient haben. Häufig sind auch psychische Merkmale, die meliorativ oder pejorativ verwendet wurden, sowie Tiernamen und Gegenstände des täglichen Lebens. Seltener sind hingegen Pflanzen- und Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen, Tätigkeiten, soziale Stellung und Zahlennahmen. Bezeichnungen der Herkunft und der Wohnstätte sind wiederum etwas häufiger, wobei es auch nirgends einreihbare Einzelfälle gibt. Besonders aufschlußreich ist der Vergleich zwischen den Personennamen der Liste und denen der Volksdichtung (100): die Gruppierung paßt zu beiden.

Der gemischten ethnischen Bevölkerung der Umgebung von Berezoŭo und den Sprachkontakten zu den benachbarten Völkern zufolge gibt es in der Liste Namen russischer, wogulischer, syrtjanischer, nenzischer und tatarischer Herkunft. Die mitgeteilten Beispiele schätze ich auf 50–60. Diese sind ja auch Namen deren Etymologie für das Ostjakische gelöst wurde, also insgesamt über ein Viertel der Liste.

Die sprachliche Zusammensetzung der Gesamtnamen ist natürlich nur bei Namen feststellbar, wo es gelungen ist, alle Komponenten zu etymologisieren. Die Verfasserin teilt 24 rein ostjakische, 8 rein russische Namen mit. Obwohl vermutlich die Komposita von unterschiedlicher sprachlicher Herkunft die häufigsten sein müßten, gibt es russisch-ostjakische nur 6, ostjakisch-russische 4, fünf weitere anders geartete Zusammensetzungen je eins (117–8).

Im letzten Teil der Monographie hat man zweimal den Eindruck, als hätte die Autorin den Gesichtspunkt gänzlich verändert. Bei der Behandlung der Struktur der Gesamtnamen könnte es sich um die Namen einer Personennamensliste handeln, wobei man nichts mit den Ostjaken und mit der ostjakischen Sprache zu tun hat. Die Mehrzahl der Gesamtnamen ist zweigliedrig, wobei die Verwandtschaftsbeziehung jener in der Liste aufgenommenen Person angegeben wird, aus dessen Name die patronymische Namensform stammt. Meistens ist es der Sohn, in der bearbeiteten Steuerliste oft der Bruder, seltener der Neffe, noch seltener der Stiefsohn, ganz selten der Schwager; Schwiegersohn, Enkel und Cousin kommen je einmal vor. Mit der Zeit blieben aus den Listen diese Beziehungsangaben weg. Die Typen der Zweinamigkeit dürfen wohl nicht nur für diese Steuerliste, sondern auch für das Zeitalter typisch sein. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der Dreinamigkeit und mit der in Spuren noch existierenden Einnamigkeit (118–22).

Die Hinweise geschehen auch nur auf die Listen des Anhangs, man kann nur selber alphabetisch suchen, ob es unter den Namen überhaupt solche gibt, die im Namenverzeichnis zu finden sind. Die Namenbildung im Ostjakischen (122–7) kann nicht ohne das Namenverzeichnis gelesen werden, da die Bedeutung der ostjakischen Wörter nicht angegeben wurde. Die Typen der Namengebung der Steuerliste entsprechen dem, was aus der Volksdichtung und aus den Wörterbüchern schon bekannt war. Die Namen der verschiedenen Steuerlisten bringen keine neuen Typen.

Aus dem Buch fehlt natürlich auch das Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen und der Quellen, der Literatur, nicht. Die Tabellen geben einen Überblick über die Namengebung der Ostjaken und über ihre historische Entwicklung. Die Angaben wurden auch hier nach Jahrhunderten geordnet mitgeteilt, was hinsichtlich des ostjakischen und des russischen Namensystems als eine gute Periodisierung zu betrachten ist. Unsere Kenntnisse und die Quellen für die ostjakische Namengebung hätten aber beim Registrieren der Namengebung eine geeignetere Einteilung empfohlen: nicht nur im 18. sondern auch bis zum Ende des 19. Jh-s gibt es hierüber Aufzeichnungen von Reisenden, von Leuten, die nicht ihre Erfahrungen gemacht haben, um die Ostjaken und Wogulen bzw. ihre Sprache zu studieren. Da über das vorliegende Thema Regulý, Castrén und auch Ahlquist keine bedeutenden Aufzeichnungen gemacht haben, hätte die Grenze des Zeitabschnittes bei den Forschungsreisen von Ahlquist gut gepaßt. Die Forscher um die Jahrhundertwende, von Munkácsi, Patkanov an bis zum ersten Weltkrieg, repräsentieren dieselbe Periode, von der das, was während der Sowjetzeit eingebracht wurde, zu trennen ist. Natürlich unabhängig vom Zeit-

punkt der Publikation! Der Zeitpunkt der Wahrnehmung ist zu betrachten. Es entspricht nicht den Forderungen Pápay mit Patkanov im 19. Jh. und Karjalainen, der etliches mit Pápay zusammen unter den Ostjaken erlebt hat, im 20. Jh. zu vermerken.

Auf die Volksdichtung wurde zwar einige Male, sogar geschickt, hingewiesen, aber m. E. geschieht dies immer noch nicht oft genug. Bei der Anrede im inoffiziellen Gebrauch, bei der Betonung der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse wären gute Beispiele aus der ostjakischen und aus der wogulischen Volksdichtung anzugeben. Irreführend wurde die Volksdichtung bei der Verwendung der Patronyme erwähnt (34): die Schicksalslieder sind Improvisationen des Alltagslebens, ihre Sonderstellung im Vergleich zur archaischen Volksdichtung hätte da betont sein müssen (Karjalainen hat sie nicht einmal aufgezeichnet).

Bei der Rekonstruktion der Namen der Steuerliste fehlt ein Hinweis auf die zwei-, bzw. dreifache Möglichkeit bei mit *E-* und *I-* Anfangsbuchstaben aufgezeichneten Namen. Diese können auch mit *Je-*, *Jo-*, *Ji-* angelautet haben. Dann stehen sie oft den ostjakischen Wörtern — woraus Haul sie erklärt — viel näher (s. im Namenverzeichnis 48–63 über die Hälfte der Wörter). Da wäre ein Hinweis auf die Präjotation angebracht, bzw. auf den Schwund von *j-* im Anlaut in den ostjakischen Mundarten, sowie auf die Probleme von *w-* im Anlaut hinzuweisen. Bei den allzuvielen Möglichkeiten der ungenauen Rekonstruktion ist aus dieser Namenliste m. E. etwas gewagt auf den Zeitpunkt des Wandels von *k* in Velarwörtern zu folgern (62, vgl. 70).

Wenn im Anhang in der Abschrift der Namen nach jedem Namen angegeben wäre, unter welcher Nummer er etymologisiert wurde, bzw. mit \emptyset angegeben wäre, daß dies im vorliegenden Werk nicht erklärt wurde, dann könnte eher gehofft werden, daß sich die Erklärungen vermehren werden, als jetzt, wo man alles selbst nachschlagen muß.

Die Übersetzungen der Bestandteile des Namenmaterials sind unkonsequent. Es gibt Stellen, wo der Nicht-Ostjakologe nur nach Nachschlagen unter den 325 etymologisierten Namen die Bedeutung der ostjakischen Wörter erfährt (68, 122–3), in anderen Fällen kann man den Text leichter lesen (100). Wo die Übersetzung unbedingt nötig ist (32, 35, 38), ist sie zu finden (s. auch bei den russischen Wörtern S. 28, 119). Es gibt Stellen, die nur den Ostjakologen lesbar sind (42, 122 ff.).

Kleinigkeiten: von der Anrede des Ehemannes *Tahe* (18) kann auf Anm. 18 hingewiesen werden. Buchstabenfehler gibt es selten, so einen wie *nang manlem* '... gehst du' (52) verbessert der Uralist in *manlen*, der Namenforscher bemerkt jedoch den Fehler nicht. Im Namenverzeichnis (207) wird ein Name viermal mit *u*, einmal mit *ju* im Wortinneren angegeben, im Anhang nur einmal mit *u*. Ohne solche Fehler gibt es keine Bücher. FN, GN, IN, PN, SN, VN, ZN (IX) sind gelungene Abkürzungen verschiedener Namen, da aber SN nicht nur auf Sippenname hindeuten könnte, sondern eventuell auf Schützname oder Spottname, wäre das Lesen doch leichter, wenn diese Abkürzungen im Text des Buches nicht vorkämen.

Edith Vértés

László Honti: Die Grundzahlwörter der uralischen Sprachen. Bibliotheca Uralica 11. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1993. 356 S.*

1. Das vorliegende Werk ist „die geringfügig veränderte Fassung der Dissertation“ (17), die der Verfasser „zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Sprachwissenschaft bei der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eingereicht und am Karfreitag 1989 verteidigt“ (ebd.) hat.

2. In der Einführung (19–41, dazu Anm. 1–40, S. 229–43) wird das Zahlwort als Kategorie, Zeit und Entstehung, Etymologisierbarkeit, und Deformation der Zahlwörter, weiterhin ihre Beweiskraft bei

* László Honti hat in bezug auf die kritischen Auseinandersetzungen der Verfasserin bereits früher Stellung genommen. Vgl. Wie weit konnten die Urfinnoungrier die Zahlen nennen? (Anmerkungen zu einer falsch formulierten Frage.) In: FUF 53 (1996): 309–29. Zu Hontis „philologischer Genauigkeit“ darin, s. Verfasserin, hier Fußnote 6. (Anmerkung des Schriftleiters)

der Sprachverwandtschaft, die magischen Zahlen und das Verhältnis von Zahlensystem und Zahlwortsystem untersucht. Die Stellungnahmen des Verfassers sind vernünftig: beim Zählen konnten Körperteile, Gesten usw. zur Hilfe genommen werden, doch muß ein Zahlwort nicht unbedingt einst eine andere Bedeutung gehabt haben, es kann und muß nicht „um jeden Preis... aus den übrigen Schichten des Wortschatzes“ (33) herleitbar sein. Die Zahlwörter sind wichtige Zeugnisse der Sprachverwandtschaft, ihr Fehlen widerlegt aber nicht die gemeinsame Herkunft von Sprachen. Die magischen Zahlen sind mythologisch unbedingt wichtiger als zur Kenntnis des Zahlwortsystems.

Der Unterschied zwischen Zahlen- und Zahlwortsystem wird im Vorwort klargelegt, über die möglichen, verschiedenen Zählssysteme findet man aber weder hier noch im Weiteren etwas. Anm. 37 teilt Argumente zur Beweisführung „für die einzelnen (wahren oder angenommenen) Zahlwortsysteme“ (236–42) mit (wobei Zahlen- und Zählssysteme durcheinandergeraten sind). Welche der 13 angeführten Zahlwortsysteme für Honti als wahre bzw. angenommene zu betrachten sind, wird aber nicht ersichtlich.¹

Aus Anm. 37, wo über die primitiven Völker die diesbezügliche Fachliteratur bis zu den 80er Jahren reichlich herangezogen wird, ist **nur** beim Efersystem mathematisch einwandfrei, daß es sich de facto um ein Zahlensystem handelt, über die Quelle dieser Angabe wurde doch behauptet, daß ihre „Glaubwürdigkeit ... höchst zweifelhaft“ (239) sei. Bei allen übrigen, angeblich nicht-dezimalen Zahlensystemen, fand ich beim Kontrollieren, daß über Zählweisen, Zählmethoden, Zählseinheiten usw. geschrieben wurde bzw. keine genügenden Daten — bis auf das Vigesimalsystem — angegeben, um die Existenz eines Zahlensystems zu beweisen, Honti zitiert von Reichenkron (197) — der überhaupt nichts über Zahlensystem geschrieben hat — einiges der mitgeteilten vigesimalen **Zählweisen**, ohne dem Leser klarzulegen, daß dies nichts mit dem Zahlensystem zu tun hat; anderorts äußert er aber sogar expressis verbis (129), daß die isolierte Benennungsart ung. *húsz* samt Entsprechungen kein Vigesimalsystem impliziert.

3. Meine von Honti verwiesenen Meinungen über die Probleme der Zahlwörter habe ich nach der Verteidigung der Dissertation publiziert (MNY. LXXXIX, 144–63, 296–311, ausführlicher FUF LI, 1–97), im Weiteren wird auf diese hingedeutet.

3.1. Die Definition des Zahlwortes gibt Honti diejenige von Greenberg an, aber ergänzt (23, vgl. noch hierzu ein Zitat nach Hammerich, 25). Die Grundzahlwörter eines Zahlwortsystems müssen m. E. per definitionem auch bei der Benennung von höheren Zahlen in der Bildung der konstruierten Zahlwortbenennungen als „Baustein“ im System fungieren. Dadurch fallen aus der möglichen Liste der Zahlwörter fast alle Synonyme aus, ob sie im Alltagsleben oder in Gedichten zu finden sind, z.B. bei ung. 19, 450 die eine Benennung, im Ostseefinnischen einige mit dem Abessiv konstruierten, viele in der ostj. Folklore aufgezeichneten usw.

3.2. Zweifellos sind „einzelne Glieder oder Teilsysteme des Zahlwortsystems ebenso ständig Veränderungen unterworfen ... wie beliebige andere Bereiche des Wortschatzes“ (22, vgl. 227), doch -- m.E. -- mit gewissen Bedingungen. Das ständige Abschleifen der Lautform im Gebrauch, im schnellen Zählen, durch Einfluß der in beständigen Ordnung einander folgenden Lexeme usw. (vgl. 32, s. noch 54, 61, 167 usw.) ist unbedingt wahr und gut beobachtbar, auch daß „an die Stelle der ursprünglichen Zahlwörter neue (einheimische oder Lehnwörter) treten“ (23, 30, 36 usw.) können, kann nicht bestritten werden, doch a) kommt dies nur ziemlich selten vor, b) wenn doch, dann dient die neue Benennung auch als Baustein zu höheren Zahlen.

¹ Honti schreibt: „Nach Zeugnis der Frachliteratur [sic! EV] sind in den Sprachen der Welt vielerlei Zahlensysteme für die Gestaltung der Zahlwortsysteme gebräuchlich. Demnach dienen die folgenden als Basis: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 60, und möglicherweise ist die Liste nicht einmal vollständig.“ (39). Anderswo: „Trotz der wirklich beliebten magischen Zahl 7 gibt es nirgendwo ein 7er Zahlen- oder Zahlwortsystem, dessen Rangschwellen die 7 und ihre Mehrfachen sowie ihre Potenzen bzw. deren Zahlwörter wären“ (38, vgl. 47–8). Über die Anhänger des Siebener-Zahlwortsystems der FU-Grundsprache berichtet er dennoch ausführlich (50–2, 93–4), die Unmöglichkeit dieser Annahme beweist er aber besonders gut (47–48). Vgl. aber zu dieser, für die uralischen Verhältnisse unbedingt negativen Stellungnahme: „Die ‘7’ in der obugrischen Volksdichtung erweckt tatsächlich manchmal den Anschein, dem Zahl(wort)system als Basis zu dienen“ (51).

3.3. „Das Zählen nach Bündeln“, sogar nach Zehnerbündeln erwähnt Honti immer wieder (40–1, 58–9, 153, 173, 184, 203 usw.), doch mutet er diesem Verfahren nicht dieselbe Wichtigkeit in der Zustandekunft des Dezimalsystems zu, wie ich; obzwar auch er der Meinung ist daß »der Mensch beim Zählen als natürliche, immer „zur Hand liegende“ Hilfsmittel vor allem seine Finger in Anspruch nimmt« (181), d.h. »die stets „vorhandene“ Rechenmaschine, die Finger« (226).

4. Nach den allgemeinen Fragen der Zahlwörter werden die speziell uralischen behandelt (42–74, Anm. 41–73 S. 243–7), mit einer guten historischen Übersicht über alle Zahlwortsysteme, die bisher der FU-Grundsprache zugeschrieben worden sind. Die Existenz des Zehnersystems in der FU-Grundsprache wurde, zwar schon vor über hundert Jahren von Szilasi und Budenz (1883, 1887–90), aufgeworfen, dennoch werden die 6er, 7er, 8er, 9er, 20er, 60/70er Systeme bis zu unseren Tagen immer wieder erwähnt. Honti beweist mathematisch und sprachwissenschaftlich ausgezeichnet die Unmöglichkeit eines Sechser-Systems in der FU-Grundsprache (48–9), dies ist in seiner Monographie der überzeugendste Teil (einem Mathematiker selbstverständlich, dem Sprachforscher aber nötig). Diese Beweisführung kann mutatis mutandis auf alle nicht-dezimal Systeme verwendet werden. Aus dieser vorzüglichen Beweisführung folgt natürlich nicht die **Existenz** des Dezimalsystems in der Grundsprache, sondern nur ihre **Möglichkeit**. Nach Hontis Meinung sei aber die Existenz des Dezimalsystems evident s. E. existierten ja 10, 100 und 1000 als Zahlwörter schon in der FU-Grundsprache; demgegenüber meine ich, daß von diesen damals nur die **Wortform** von **šata* vorhanden war s. 5.5. (MNY. LXXXIX, 147–8, 155, 298–9, FUF LI, 3, 24–5, 48–50, 61–2, 83, 89).

Honti spricht — ohne jegliche Beweisführung — ex cathedra aus: „In der finnougriischen und samojedischen Grundsprache war das Zahlwortsystem zweifelsfrei dezimal, als höchst unsichere Hypothese kommt vielleicht noch in Frage, daß in der finnougriischen Grundsprache sich ein mehr oder weniger vigesimale Weise der Zahlwortbildung mit der dezimalen kreuzte“ (46).

Die Potenzen eines Zahlwortsystems richten sich aber immer und überall nur nach **einer einzigen Grundzahl**, ihre Benennung kann jedoch auch aus einer anderen Zählweise stammen,² z.B. 10^6 = Million und von da an bekommen die Potenzen der Million neue Namen, sie sind aber dennoch auch Potenzen von 10 .³

4.1. Über die Strukturtypen der Grundzahlwörter in den uralischen Sprachen meint Honti, daß sie teils elementare Grundzahlwörter sind, die im häufigen Gebrauch abgeschliffen worden sind (54), und daß bei der Konstruktion der übrigen zumeist die vier Grundrechenarten und noch eine von Greenberg „going-on operation“, von Honti ingredientes Verfahren genannte Bildungsweise verwendet wird (55). Nach 10 Jahren Mathematikunterricht in der Mittelschule dünkt es mir unmöglich, daß zur Zeit der Entstehung der Zahlwörter indirekte Operationen dazu gedient haben können (s. MNY. LXXXIX, 151, 297, FUF LI, 13–6, 31–2, 57–8).

4.2. Die Ordnungszahlwörter untersucht Honti eigentlich überhaupt nicht, nur ihr Suffix (69–74), um ihr Alter festzustellen. Da er kein uralisches Ordnungszahlwortsuffix findet (was auf die Existenz der Zahlwörter in der U-Grundsprache deutete), hat er für die Ordinalia kein weiteres Interesse, demzufolge bleibt das in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen von 11–19 nötige Wort fi. *toista* samt Entsprechungen unerklärt (vgl. IpL *nup(pē-)* und N I usw., jedoch erklärt, 145). Bei ingredient benannten Einern über 20 ist aber einem jeden Sprachforscher, auch den Nicht-Uralisten ersichtlich, daß es sich bei den Ordinalia um eine suffigierte Form der Kardinalia handelt.

² Da man die Benennung des Zwanzigers in sechs der finnougriischen Sprachen mit einem elementaren Grundzahlwort benennt, kann hier von keiner Zahlwortbildungsweise die Rede sein, wie auch der nicht aus dem Zahlwort stammende Name von '40' im Russischen überhaupt nichts mit einem 40er-System zu tun hat. Wo die Benennung von '20' zur Bildung höherer Zahlen verwendet wird, wie im französischen bei 80, 90 (im Altfranzösischen auch über 100) handelt es sich auch nur um eine Zählweise, nicht um Relikte eines anderen Zahlwortsystems.

³ Auch wenn die Potenzen von zwei Zahlen sich ab und zu treffen, kann ein Zahlwortsystem nicht auf ihre Kombination gebaut werden: 16 ist 4^2 bzw. 2^4 , 16 ist also im 4er-System der Hunderter des Systems, im 2er hinwieder der Zehntausender.

5. „Die uralten Grundzahlwörter der uralischen Sprachen“ (75–136, Anm. 74–137, S. 247–57) behandelt die Basiszahlwörter gemeinsamen Ursprungs, d.h. 1–10, 100, 1000 und 20, weiterhin ihre charakteristischen Eigenschaften (also das **t* Element im Wortinneren von FU Grundzahlwörtern, den attributiven und nicht-attributiven Gebrauch). Bei der detaillierten Behandlung der Zahlwörter der heutigen uralischen Sprachen (137–220, Anm. 138–212, S. 257–70) werden nur die neueren erörtert, sonst gibt es nur Hinweise.

5.1. Für das Uralische ist — bis auf '2' — kein Zahlwort rekonstruierbar, demzufolge werden die samojedischen Zahlwörter aus dem Ursamojedischen abgeleitet, wobei die Rekonstrukta von Janhunen beibehalten werden.

5.2. Finnougrischerseits gab es und gibt es auch noch jetzt Probleme. Bei '1' greift Honti ins vergangene Jahrhundert zurück und leitet alle diese Zahlen — wie Ahlqvist und Budenz — aus einem FU Rekonstrukt her, wo aber im Wortinneren kein **kt*, sondern nur ein **k-* steht. So können die Zahlwörter aller drei ugrischer Sprachen und des Mordwinischen ohne Schwierigkeiten daraus stammen, die der übrigen Sprachen könnten unzweifelbar auch aus **-kt-*, das *t* sei aber nach Honti später auf Analogie der '2' hingelangt (75–83). Nach meiner Logik folgt daraus, daß „FW **üke eksä* '9'“ auch erst im **Sonderleben der FW Sprachen** zu einem Zahlwort geworden sein kann, weil **üke* darin sich in einem verblaßten Kompositum nicht unbedingt genau so entwickelt hätte wie im Satz 'eins existiert nicht'. Die Gleichheit in den FW Sprachen von '1' und des ersten Gliedes von '9' spricht dafür, daß erst dank der Analogie von '2' auf '1' in drei Sprachen die Benennung von 9 aus einem aus der FW-Grundsprache **geerbten Satz** zur Bezeichnung dieser Zahl zustande gekommen sei. Diese späte Entstehung von *-kt-* in drei verschiedenen Sprachen und die Entstehung des Zahlwortes 9 aus einem altererbtem Satz dünkt mir unwahrscheinlich. Ich halte es für wahrscheinlicher, daß das Zahlwort 9 in der FW-Grundsprache entstand, und daß die FP-Grundsprache ihren Tochtersprachen nicht **üke*, sondern **ükte* als Erbe gab. Im Mordwinischen konnte im häufigen Gebrauch, im schnellen Reden in zwei ähnlich beginnenden Zahlwörtern aus der Mitte vieler Konsonanten ein *t* auch dann abgeschliffen werden, wenn dies sonst keine regelmäßige Lautentwicklung ist. Hierfür spricht auch der Umstand, daß die Benennung von 8 und 9 vermutlich schon in der FP-Grundsprache nötig geworden ist, es wurde schon damals versucht mit Hilfe von 2 und 1 auf diese Zahlen hinzuweisen, die gute sprachliche Formulierung gelang aber erst in der Urpermischen und in der FW-Grundsprache, es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß der Neuner viel später als der Achter in den finnisch-wolgaischen Sprachen einen Namen bekommen hätte.

Auch rhythmische Gründe sprechen für die Rekonstruktion mit *kt* bei beiden ersten Zahlwörtern. In den ugrischen Sprachen kann dem häufigen Gebrauch die Verkürzung der ersten Zahl zugeschrieben werden und auch dem, daß beim Zählen auf das erste zu zählende Konkretum auch mit dem nahe weisenden Demonstrativpronomen hingewiesen werden kann, damit konnte das Zahlwort kontaminiert werden.

Bei U '2', FU '3', '4' ist die Geschichte der Etymologien gut interpretiert, da gab es eigentlich schon lange keine Probleme.

Wie wohlbekannt, bei '5' und '6' sprechen die ostseefinnischen Sprachen für das Erschließen von **-t-*, das Ungarische, die permischen Sprachen und das Mordwinische für **-tt-*, die übrigen sind aus beiden ableitbar, im Lappischen hinwieder gibt es hinsichtlich der Rekonstruktion dialektal verschiedene Probleme. Ungeachtet der noch bestrittenen quantitativen Korrelation der Grundsprache (Hajdú, BUNy. 43), rekonstruiert Honti entweder **vite*, **kutte*, oder **vitte*, **kute* '5, 6' (d.h. miteinander wechselnd die zwei von E. Itkonen erschlossenen Grundformen) und nimmt überall einen späteren Ausgleich an.

5.3. Drei auch als Titel verwendete Rekonstrukta — „FP **sejccem*“, „Ug. **θäptz*“, „Sam. **sejtʰwə* (?*sejkwə*)“ (100, 103, 106) — und sich denen anschließende Behauptungen über '7', bzw. Ug. auch 'Woche' wie z.B. „Dieses Wort ist ein jüngerer Lexem als die bisher behandelten“ (100), nämlich die Zahlwörter von 1 bis 6, festgestellt vom FP-Wort, bzw. vom Ug. „Dieses Wort ist ohne jeden Zweifel

aus irgendeiner iranischen Quelle ins Ugrische gelangt“ (103, vgl. 106) scheinen darauf hinzudeuten, daß Honti sich in dieser Frage den neueren etymologischen Wörterbüchern anschließt, die, wie Forscher unserer Zeiten „die in den finnisch-permischen und ugrischen Sprachen ähnlichen Lautformen des Zahlwortes ‘7’ voneinander“ (44) etymologisch getrennt haben. Es gibt aber bei ihm auch dieser Meinung widersprechende Aussagen, das samojedische Lexem hängt möglicherweise „mit FP **sejčcem* ‘7’ zusammen und wäre so letztlich als Erbschaft der finnisch-permischen und samojedischen Sprachen aus uralischer Zeit zu betrachten“ (106). Dem entspricht die Vermutung beim ugrischen Wort: „daß die Einbürgerung der iranischen ‘7’ durch zwei besondere Ursachen gefördert wurde: daß ‘7’ eine magische Zahl ist und — vorausgesetzt, daß FP ‘7’ aus U/FU stammt — die relative phonetische Nähe der ursprünglichen ‘7’“ (ebd.), weiterhin mit Hinweis auf Probleme, aber mit persönlicher Stellungnahme: „Zwar ist auch die Zusammenstellung des FP und sam. Zahlwortes nicht frei von phonetischen Schwierigkeiten, da sie aber verwandte Sprachen sind, halte ich den gemeinsamen Ursprung ihrer Lexeme gleicher Bedeutung für wahrscheinlicher als die Entlehnung aus fremder Quelle. Und möglicherweise wurde die Übernahme der ‘7’ iranischer Herkunft durch die ugrische Grundsprache dadurch gefördert, daß nach dem Wandel FU *š- > Ug. *s- die eventuell uralisch- (oder finnougriech-)zeitliche und iranische Lautform der ‘7’ einander relativ nahe standen. Im übrigen ähnelt der Anlaut der ‘7’ in den uralischen, den indoeuropäischen und sogar den semitischen Sprachen sehr, so daß die ... Entlehnung eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit haben kann“ (103). Der Widerspruch wird dadurch nicht enthoben, daß nach Honti „obwohl sämtliche finnisch-permischen Sprachen auf Anlaut-*š hindeuten, auch urspr. *s nicht“ (101) auszuschließen ist, das Alter des Siebeners wird dadurch nicht erfäßbarer, auch die Stellungnahme von Honti nicht. Meine Ansicht s. MNY. LXXXIX, 148–9, XCIII, 76–9, FUF LI, 26–9.

5.4. Der Achter und der Neuner lauten in den finnisch-wolgaischen Sprachen auf dieselbe Silbe aus, und beginnen mit ‘2’ bzw. ‘1’, was dem Sprachforscher evident, vermutlich auch den Laien wahrnehmbar ist. In den ugrischen Sprachen hingegen zeigen sie „meist eine Verbindung mit der aktuellen ‘10’ ..., die in allen drei ugrischen Sprachen mit je einem anderen Lexem ausgedrückt wird“ (111). Zusammengefaßt: „‘8’ und ‘9’ bestehen ... aus mehr als einem Morphem, sie sind Zusammensetzungen oder durch Analogie entstandene Pseudokomposita“ (106).

„Nur suchte man eben das die Subtraktion ausdrückende Element in ihnen nicht, ... erklärte sie als durch einfache Verbindung von ‘2’ bzw. ‘1’ mit ‘10’ entstanden“ (108), oder bezeichnete sie als „elliptische Gebilde“ (109). Die Forderung des sprachlichen Ausdruckes der Subtraktion stammt eigentlich nicht von Honti, sondern von Greenberg.⁵

Honti meint, die von E. Itkonen gegebenen Erklärungen für die finnisch-wolgaischen Zahlwörter ‘8’ und ‘9’ sind „höchstwahrscheinlich als endgültig zu betrachten“ (110), d.h. ‘zwei existieren nicht’ = ‘8’ bzw. ‘eins existiert nicht’ = ‘9’. Dabei wird m.E. weder von ‘10’ noch von einer Subtraktion gesprochen. Wem der Begriff von ‘10’ noch fremd ist, — dies dürfte wohl die allgemeine Situation gewesen sein, als ‘8’ und ‘9’ benannt werden mußten, — wer nur bis 7 zählen kann, kann dies behaupten beim Hinreihen von konkreten Dingen zu den Fingern, wenn zwei Finger dabei leer bleiben bzw. nur einer, d.h. wenn kein dazu hinlesbares Ding existiert.

Eine mathematisch unangreifbare, sprachlich korrekt ausgedrückte Subtraktion gibt es in der für die permische Grundsprache entworfenen Rekonstruktion für die in Frage stehenden Zahlwörter von Honti: ‘2 aus zehn’ und ‘1 aus zehn’ (158), nach den bis jetzt bewahrten Zahlwörtern ‘2’ und ‘1’, soll ein FU/?U Zehner **min* mit dem Elativsuffix *s* gestanden haben, da sei zufolge der Analogie von dem derzeit übernommenen Lehnwort *das* ‘10’ eine Depalatalisation samt Schwund des Vokals vor dem Suffix, dann eine Denasalisation die Auslautsilbe *-mis* zustande gebracht haben. Da ich die Existenz

⁴ Ganz genau: im Wogulischen lauten beide, im Ostjakischen der Neuner auf die ihm folgende Zahl ‘10’ aus, im Ungarischen soll das Zahlwort *tiz* ‘10’ im Auslaut-*c* von ‘8’, ‘9’ erhalten sein.

⁵ Greenberg schrieb seine Werke — wie aus seinen Literaturverzeichnissen ersichtlich — ohne Inanspruchnahme von uralischen Quellen, jedoch bei Kenntnis sehr vieler Zahlwörter verschiedenen Ursprungs. Honti beruft sich auf seine Feststellungen wie auf unkritizierbare Offenbarungen.

eines, geschweige denn von zwei Zehner-Zahlwörtern in der FU-Grundsprache — auch nach dem gründlichen Durchstudieren von Honti's Werken — für ganz und gar unwahrscheinlich halte, betreffs der Zusammengehörigkeit der permischen und ugrischen Zehnersuffixe auch skeptisch bin (MNy. LXXXIX, 304–7, FUF LI, 68–74), die Sprecher aller Grundsprachen der finnougri-schen Sprachen nicht für fähig schätze eine indirekte Operation zu verstehen oder vollzuführen, ist diese Erklärung für mich auch dann nicht überzeugend, forciert und unannehmbar, wenn ich nicht noch auf die zahlreichen Hypothesen des erschlossenen Entwicklungsganges hinweise.

„Das Zahlwort ‘8’ der ugrischen Sprachen ist ohne jeden Zweifel nicht subtraktiv gebildet“ (114), meint Honti, dazu stimme ich ihm bei. Er hält es aber „für möglich, daß dieses Wort mit der Lautform **nyls* kein ugrischzeitliches Zahlwort ist, im Prinzip kann es bereits das Lexem für ‘8’ in der finnougri-schen Grundsprache sein. ... Man könnte also hypothetisch mit **nyls* ‘8’ in der finnougri-schen Grundsprache rechnen“ (ebd.), da sind wir schon nicht derselben Meinung, da m.E. in der Zahlenreihe aller finnisch-permischen Sprachen ein Satz nicht ein kurzes Zahlwort verdrängt haben kann, sogar zu verschiedenen Zeiten, in verschiedenen Grundsprachen (s. ausführlicher MNy. LXXXIX, 153–4, FUF LI, 33).

Auch daran kann man nicht zweifeln, daß in den ugrischen Sprachen „Bei der ‘9’ ... sich keinerlei materielle Übereinstimmungen feststellen“ (111) lassen. In beiden obugri-schen Sprachen lautet der Neuner auf ihren eigenen Zehner aus, was davor steht, konnte wohl im Ostjakischen aus ‘1’ und noch ein Wörtchen erklärt werden, mit der früheren Bedeutung: ‘eins-zusätzlich-zehn’ (167), woraus es verkürzt worden ist. Diese Behauptung ist keine Subtraktion, sie kann etwa als Pseudo-Addition aufgefaßt werden. Auch die neue, von Honti gegebene Erörterung des wogulischen Neuners, demnach er nicht ‘Seite-zehn’, sondern ‘seitenlose Zehn’ (179) sei, (was möglich, dennoch komplizierter und weniger wahrscheinlich ist, als die von Munkácsi stammende Annahme), ist auch mit dem vermuteten Abessivsuffix auch kein Subtrahieren. Man kann nämlich aus einer abstrakter Zahl nur eine andere, kleinere abstrakte Zahl, nicht aber eine Seite abziehen; wenn eine Zahl als Attribut vor einem Konkretum steht, kann eine gewisse, kleinere Zahl **desselben** Konkretums daraus subtrahiert werden, aber keine Seite(n). Bei dem wogulischen Neuner ebenso wie bei der ungarischen Zahl *kilenc* ‘9’, kann nur von einer Relation zu zehn gesprochen worden sein, bevor diese Komposita zu Zahlwörtern geworden sind, ähnlicherweise verhalten sich die obugri-schen Benennungen ‘80’ und ‘90’ zum Hunderter, s. noch ostj. ‘18’, ‘19’ (vgl. MNy. LXXXIX, 149–57, FUF LI, 29–42).

Daß „die uralischen Sprachen ... ‘8’ und ‘9’ bezogen auf 10“ (107) bilden, ist also bei den finnougri-schen Zahlwörtern nur mit der Beschränkung wahr, daß einerseits 10 nicht unbedingt als Zahlwort, sondern als ein Hinzählen bis zum letzten Finger zu verstehen ist (erst im Sonderleben der ugrischen Sprachen wurde ein tatsächliches Zahlwort hierzu verwendet), andererseits ist die Beziehung keine Subtraktion. In den finnisch-permischen Achtern und Neunern wird der Diminuend nicht benannt, in den ugrischen hinwieder nur der Diminuend. Zur Bestimmung des Restes fehlt überall noch eine Angabe.

Samojederseits verhält es sich nicht viel besser um die von Honti festgestellte uralische Bildungsweise von ‘8’ und ‘9’. Da nur im Selkupischen im Namen von ‘8’ und ‘9’ die Zahlwörter 2 bzw. 1, das Partizip von ‘fehlen’ und das Zahlwort 10 — häufig verkürzt — zu finden sind (210–11) und solch ein Ursprung auch bei einigen ausgestorbenen südsamojedischen Sprachen erschlossen werden kann, finde ich die Behauptung, daß „die in den uralischen Sprachen (noch) analysierbaren Zahlwörter ‘9’ sämtlich subtraktiv gebildet werden“ (203) durchaus unbegründet, da m.E. ein Satz wie ‘2 oder 1 fehlend zehn’ auch eine Aussage, Ankündigung eines Tatbestandes, nicht eine Subtraktion ist.

5.5. Betreffs des von Honti angenommenen Dezimalsystems der FU-Grundsprache hat das Zahlwort 10 samt Potenzen eine besonders große Bedeutung.

Zwei Rekonstruktionen für den Zehner unterstützen sich nicht gegenseitig; bei den unanfechtbar aus der FU-Grundsprache ererbten Zahlwörtern 2–6 gab es keinen Anlaß die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob sie Synonyme hatten. Wie ich oben (5.4.) darauf schon hingewiesen habe, m.E. ist keiner der Zehner-

Rekonstrukta überzeugend. Bei **mn̄s* '10' (117–20, vgl. 159–60) steht: „Dies mag das ursprüngliche Zahlwort '10' der finnougriichen (oder gar uralischen?) Grundsprache gewesen sein“ (117), daß es ein „einst selbstständiges Zahlwort“ (ebd.) war, wird genau so nicht bewiesen, wie die etwaige uralische Herkunft. Honti operiert mit diesem Rekonstrukt, s. seine Erklärung von '8' und '9' des Permischen, weiterhin behauptet er über syrj.-wotj. 30, syrj. 40, 50, 60, daß „der Vorgänger des Ableitungssuffixes *-mj̄n* noch sicher ein Lexem mit der Bedeutung '10'“ (159) war, als diese Mehrfache von 10 entstanden sind. M.E. ist nur soviel sicher, daß 30 der permischen Sprachen desselben Ursprungs sind und daß — wie E. Itkonen meint (FUF XXXI, 315) — im Syrjänischen der Erstsilbenvokal von 40 und 50 nicht voneinander zu trennen sind, des Übrigen ist mir fraglich, ob die syrjänischen höheren Zehner etwa nicht die Auslautsilbe von 30 volksetymologisch als Zehnersuffix übernommen haben, der Erstsilbenvokal von 30, 40, 50 ist mir genau so nicht klar, wie die Silbenzahl des Suffixes, ob es vokalisches oder konsonantisches anlautet, und ob es mit dem (ober den) wogulischen Suffix(en) zusammengehört oder nicht, und ob das ungarische damit zusammenstellbar ist oder nicht (s. MNy, LXXXIX, 305–7, FUF LI, 72–4).

Die Vermutung einer Entwicklung „‘das (bis zum letzten Finger) Gezählte’ → '10'“ (120) ist höchstwahrscheinlich gut getroffen, scheint überzeugend, sie dürfte aber wohl nicht in der FU-Grundsprache, sondern im Wogulischen und in einigen Dialekten der FW-Grundsprache, bei den Vorfahren der Tscheremissen und der Lappen abgelaufen sein, nachdem '8' und '9' schon benannt wurden und auch der Zehner schon nötig geworden ist. Dieses Wort als verblaßtes Kompositum im ostjakischen Achter zu suchen (115), dünkt mir übertrieben zu sein (MNy, LXXXIX, 151–3, FUF LI, 34–6).

Das iranische Lehnwort FU **šata* dürften wohl die Finnougrier so erlernt haben, daß sie aus ihren Fellen, Fischen usw. bis zum letzten Finger eines hinreichten, dann solche Bündel wieder bis zum letzten Finger hinreichten. Aus dieser Maßbestimmung konnte wohl m.E. ziemlich spät ein bestimmtes Zahlwort entstehen (s. oben 4.), und zwar so spät, daß bei den Südlappen das Hinreihen dreimal nacheinander gemacht wurde, und das Wort dadurch zu '1000' geworden ist (MNy, LXXXIX, 298–9, FUF LI, 49–50). Was nun „?FU **šasra* > **šarsa*“ '1000' belangt, es kann als ein viel späteres Lehnwort in die permischen und obugrischen Sprachen gelangt sein. Hinsichtlich des letzten ererbten Zahlwortes '20' stimme ich denen zu, nach deren Meinung es später zu einem Zahlwort geworden ist (MNy, LXXXIX, 158–9, FUF LI, 45–7).

6. Das reiche Belegmaterial (271–317) befindet sich vor dem imposanten Literaturverzeichnis (318–51) und den Abkürzungen (352–6). Die Art der philologischen „Genauigkeit“ erhellt schon aus dem Text des vorliegenden Buches: z.B. „P *kus ā̄r̄ay ont̄alow* '28' [ɔ: '29', EV]“ (185), aus der allzu großzügigen Behandlung der diakritischen Zeichen, der Angaben der Fundorte, s. offensichtliche Korrigenda aus dem Belegmaterial: „Estnisch — S ... 144 000 A *sadda p̄āle wijet kūmmend tuhhat* (278), wo das dritte Wort (*nelli*) fehlt; ostjV „56 *kutj̄n kut*“ (291, ɔ: 66 *kutj̄n kut*), wogN *kit sāt̄an ontolow* (300) steht als '109' an der richtigen Stelle, ist aber als '110' überflüssig. Selbst aus den Fundorten des Belegmaterials erhellt, daß ostjV „840 *ñil̄ōy sat ñēl̄aj̄ñ*“ (K 169) nicht a.a.O. nachschaltbar sein kann, weil dort Vj. Pronomina und Adverbien behandelt werden usw. Die Zahl der in das Belegmaterial nicht eingereihten aufschlußreichen Zahlwörter ist auch bedeutend.

Die Referate über frühere Meinungen sind nicht immer objektiv. Die neueren etymologischen Wörterbücher weisen prinzipiell in der Frage der Urverwandtschaft und von Lehnwörtern nur auf die frühere ural-altaische, indouralische usw. Literatur ohne Stellungnahmen hin (s. MSzFE 38), dazu benützen sie stereotype Wendungen; „mit erheblichem Zweifel erwähnt“ (118) kann diese Mitteilung nicht geschehen. (Noch ärger steht es um die Objektivität bei Zitaten aus Manuskripten.⁶)

⁶ Die Opponenten-Stellungnahmen sind m. W. nur im Archiv der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften offiziell bewahrt, können dort nur mit besonderer Erlaubnis benutzt werden. (Aus der eigenen zur Dissertation von Honti besitze ich eine Xerokopie.) Honti zitiert in Anm. 59 aus dem Kontext herausgerissen aus meiner Opponenten-Stellungnahme einige Zeilen mit seinen mir unannehmbaren Korrekturen und mit einem Fehler und zieht daraus — falsch übersetzt [*tizes kötegek* als 'Zehner' interpretiert!] — unannehmbare Konklusionen. Nur a) entspricht meinem Text, b), c), d) nicht! Hätte er auch die ersten 8 Zeilen

7. Widersprüche gibt es ziemlich viele, in der etymologischen Stellungnahme des Zahlwortes '7' (5.3.), bei den rhythmischen Forderungen der Rekonstrukta (5.2.) in Aussagen über Lehnwörter (10), in Fragen der Transkription (die hier nicht untersucht werden) und besonders in der Beweisführung. Behauptungen der Vorfahren werden schroff abgelehnt, wenn sie den Lautgesetzen nicht in Allem entsprechen (75–83, bes. 81, 128 usw.), eigene hinwieder — da Honti überhaupt keine Fragen offen lassen will — können durch paradigmatische Assimilation, durch häufige Unregelmässigkeiten bei Zahlwörtern, Rhythmus, häufigen Gebrauch, Analogie, Sprechtempo, Abschleifung, Verkürzung, Deformation usw. unterstützt und als bewiesen betrachtet werden. So werden sogar zwei FU '10' als unangreifbar betrachtet, für glaubwürdig geschätzt, daß im Mordwinischen aus *kemeň* '10' -*m* in *koms* '20' hineingeraten konnte (130–1), daß im Ungarischen der Auslautkonsonant von *negyven* '40', ... *kilencven* '90' aus dem alten *harmic* das neuere *harminc* '30' zustande gebracht hat (192) usw.

7.1. Die Zahlwörter sind gewissermaßen ab ovo widerspruchsvoll. Honti hat recht, sie „bilden eine der Schichten das [ɔ: des, EV.] Wortschatzes, die die abstraktesten Begriffe ausdrücken“ (21). Das Kennenlernen der Zahlwörter einer unbekannten, primitiven Sprache kann dennoch nur mit Hilfe von zählbaren Konkreta geschehen. In Anm. 13 behauptet Ishi, „der Mann, der aus der Steinzeit kam“ — wie ihn der Titel der deutschen Übersetzung von Th. Kroebers Werk apostrophiert — nachdem er in seiner Yahi-Sprache bis zehn gezählt hat, „Nichts mehr, das ist alles“ (231), seine ersparten Dollars zählend konnte er aber richtig 40, 20, 60, 80 zusammenlegen. „Das Zählen war zum Registrieren greifbarer Dinge erfunden“ (ebd.).

7.2. Aus der Abgrenzung des Materials stammt auch ein Widerspruch. Honti steckt sich das Ziel „die Grundzahlwörter der Zahlen zwischen 1 und 1000“ (42) zu behandeln, dennoch werden auch die Mehrfachen von 1000 — die Einer, Zehner und Hunderter zwischen Hundertern und Tausendern — und schließlich auch die Million abgesondert behandelt. Auch im Belegmaterial gibt es höhere Zahlen als 1000, wo solche zur Verfügung stehen (272–95, 297, 300–3, 306–8, 310, 313). Dem Leser wäre es nicht günstig gewesen, wenn die estnische und ostjakische attributive Benennung der Million weggeblieben wäre.

7.3. Honti ist der Meinung, daß „trotz der genauen phonetischen Entsprechung“ (94) '5' der finnougri-schen und '10' der samojedischen Sprachen nicht miteinander zu verbinden sind (93–4, 123, s. noch 85, Anm. 112). Amerswo nimmt er die „Umbewertungen“ an (40), nicht nur bei der Billion in verschiedenen Sprachen; Werte von 10^9 bis 10^{18} , sondern auch Beispiele wie hindustanisch *karor* '10⁷' > persisch *kurur* '5×10⁵', *laksa* '10⁵' > *lāk* '10⁴', ja sogar er selbst vermutet für das Südlappische den Bedeutungswandel '100' > '1000' (was auch anders erklärt werden kann, s. MNy. LXXXIX, 298–9, FUF LI, 49–50).⁷

von derselben Seite (4) zitiert, dann wäre ersichtlich, daß die Finnougrier m.E. zwar nur bis 6 zählen konnten, aber Lebewesen und Dinge usw. zu ihren 10 Fingern reihend Zehner-Bündel, Zehner-Rudel usw. verfertigen und solche „Komposita“ bis 6 auch zählen konnten. Zufolge der Inanspruchnahme der 10 Finger also den Keim des Zehnersystems in ihrer **Zählweise** vorhanden hatten.

In Anm. 114 zitiert Honti — wieder mit mir unannehmbaren Korrekturen — ein falsch getipptes Wort (*ugor*) (S.7) beibehaltend (obzwar *ugo* zweimal durchgestrichen und darüber *fg* geschrieben wurde). Das falsche Zitat ist natürlich in Widerspruch mit meinen übrigen Aussagen über das Alter des Bestandteiles **nylś* in den igrischen Zahlwörtern '8'. Er schreibt mir eine lächerliche Etymologie zu, was sogar aus seinem Zitat ersichtlich nicht meine Meinung sein kann: man konkludiert doch nicht am Ende eines etymologischen Vorschlages damit: „Die Bedeutung von Ug. **nylś* ist auch weiterhin unbekannt, sie ist ... zu suchen“ und zwar von A bis Z, von Alfa bis Omega unter den U/FU/Ug. Wörtern die mit *ny* anlauten und im Wortinneren ein *-l-* haben.

Mit diesem Verfahren ging Honti noch weiter (MNy. XCI 257–70 ds. deutsch FUF LIII, 309–29). Er stellt — ohne mit Interpunktion auf weggelassene Sätze, Satzteile hinzuweisen — meinem Kontext widersprechende „Zitate“ zusammen; erreicht dabei eine Vollkommenheit: der Mangel von zwei Buchstaben ändert ganz den Sinn; bei mir: „ohne die Zahl 10 zu kennen“, im Zitat: „ohne die Zahl zu kennen“ (FUF LIII, 318, MNy. XCI, 264). Dem Leser wird das Nachschlagen abgeraten, zur Diskussion dienen doch „authentische“ Zitate von mir, nicht die Interpretation von Honti (FUF LIII, 310, MNy. XCI, 258)!

⁷ Meine Stellungnahme (SpecSib.III, 233–9, erschien 1990) blieb unerwähnt, obwohl Honti „nach Einreichen der Dissertation neue Fachliteratur einzuarbeiten“ (17) hatte.

7.4. Von den magischen Zahlen behauptet Honti: „Die populärsten Zahlen gehören zumeist zu den ersten zehn ... und die höheren sind häufig Mehrfache dieser ersten zehn ... Die magischen Zahlen gehören zum großen Teil zu den Primzahlen“ (37). So formuliert sind die zwei Sätze miteinander in Widerspruch, da doch die Mehrfachen einer Zahl keine Primzahlen sind und auch die ersten zehn magischen Zahlen nicht unbedingt alle Primzahlen sind.

7.5. Die Division ist die schwierigste der vier arithmetischen Grundrechenarten, die nicht einmal Leonardo da Vinci, der einer der größten Architekten seines Zeitalters war, verwenden konnte. Heutzutage erlernen die Kinder in der Schule das Dividieren, es wird aber mit der Zeit vergessen.⁸

Nach zehn Jahren Schulunterricht der Mathematik finde ich es unmöglich, daß ungeschulte Leute je mit Hilfe der Division — die keine bedingungslose Operation ist — ein Zahlwort benannt haben sollen. Außerdem kommt in allen — vermutlich ziemlich jungen — Zahlwörtern nur das Halbieren, wie Jägern bei der „Bearbeitung“ der Beute vor (224), durch ung. *fél* ‘Hälfte’, estn. *pool* ‘id.’ ausgedrückt.

7.6. Die syrischen Grammatiken von Flërov und Savvaitov (1813, 1850) geben 30–60 auf *mīs*, d.h. genau so auslautend an, wie syrj.-wotj. ‘8’ und ‘9’. Nach Honti herrscht hier „unbestreitbar ein schwerer logischer Widerspruch, und es ist kein Wunder, daß sich in den späteren Sammlungen keine Spur dieser Zehner-Bildungsweise mehr findet“ (160). Weiterhin meint er seine „einzig rationale ... Erklärung für ‘8’ und ‘9’ schließt die Möglichkeit aus, daß das *mīs* in Einern und Zehnern historisch identisch wäre“ (ebd.). Da ich Honti’s Erklärungsweise nicht gutheiße (s. oben 5.4.), stelle ich zwei Fragen: sind entweder *low* in wogT *nalälöw* ‘8’, *ontälöw* ‘9’, *ñelöw* ‘40’, *ätlöw* ‘50’, *katlöw* ‘60’, *sälöw* ‘70’, *nalälöw* ‘80’, *antälöw* ‘90’, (s. noch KU P So. 8, 9, 70, P 60, 80, 90 im Belegmaterial von Honti) bzw. *jöŋ* in VVj. *əjəŋjöŋ* ‘9’, *kəŋməjəŋ* ‘30’, ... ‘70’ historisch nicht identisch, oder ist der Zehner hier in den Einern und in den Mehrfachen von zehn illogisch?

7.7. Eine Unfolgerichtigkeit erscheint als Widerspruch: Die Abkürzung der kollektiven etymologischen Wörterbücher ist nicht folgerichtig. Einerseits weisen die Anfangsbuchstaben des Titels auf das Werk, s. MSzFE, TESz., andererseits bekommt man den Eindruck, als handelte es sich um die Arbeit eines einzigen Verfassers. Statt UEW (= Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch) steht Rédei (1988), was sogar nicht wahr ist, die 7 etymologischen Hefte sind ja 1986–88 erschienen.

8. Die Übersetzung der Monographie ist zwar gelungen, s. jedoch *falunyi* mit der Übersetzung ‘dorfgröß’ (21). In der Folklore der Uralier kann z.B. ein Uhu dorfgröß sein, wenn man aber „zur Bezeichnung einer Gemeinschaft, eines Kollektivs“ (ebd.) *falunyi* benützt, würde m.E. die verdeutschung ‘dorfviel’ auf die unbestimmte Zahl der Menge hindeuten. Auch *csomó* ‘Klumpen’ (ebd.) kann nicht zur Übersetzung von *egy csomó férfi, nő, gyerek, ember, állat* usw. verwendet werden, man kann aber von einer ‘Menge von Männern, Frauen, Kindern, Menschen, Tieren’ sprechen.

Die bisher erwähnten nicht treffenden Übersetzungen haben keine weiteren Folgen. Das Wort *phonetisch* kommt aber oft in solchen Zusammenhang vor, daß der Satz — zumindest mir — unverständlich ist, s. oben solche Zitate (5.3. von S. 103, 106, auch 7.3. von S. 94, s. noch 10. von S. 106), weiterhin: „phonetische Hindernisse“ (50), „ph. Unregelmäßigkeit“ (86), „ph. Hinsicht“ (115) usw. (19, 43, 79 usw.) bei Etymologien, erschlossenen Angaben der Grundsprachen bedeuten soll, ist mir in Kenntnis der Phonetik von Laziczus und der Diskussionen über die übertriebene phonetische Genauigkeit der Aufzeichnungen nicht verständlich. Wo mir dieses Wort in die Augen fiel, ist es nur m.E. in „(phonetisch üblicherweise unmotivierte) Schwankung“ (105) verständlich, sonst überall ist es durch *lautlich* zu ersetzen. Beim Nachschlagen der unverständlichen Stellen im ungarischen Werk, steht dort überall *hangtani; fonetikailag* nur dort, wo die Übersetzung mir richtig, in den Text hineinpassend, schien.

⁸ Dóra Csanak sprach mir über eine Bankbeamtin, die das Dividieren verlernt hat, an dessen Stelle durch mehrere Multiplikationen den Quotienten feststellte. Ich sage ihr hier für ihre Mitteilung Dank.

9. Honti hat die Zahlwörter folgerichtig in Teilgruppen, wie angekündigt (42–3), „nach Bereichen“ untersucht (226). Dabei gibt es eine nicht sehr wünschenswerte Folge: das ganze zerfällt in allzu kleine Einheiten. S. 221–5 zerfällt z.B. in 43, durch Dezimalbrüche separierte Teilchen. An Seite 219 gibt es z.B. 26 Dezimaltitel und weitere 22 Hinweise, dadurch wird der Text unlesbar.

In meisten der virtuell möglichen Zahlwörtern — in allen nicht runden höher als 100 — gibt es eine oder mehrere latente unbezeichnete Addition(en) und eine oder mehrere latente Multiplikation(en). Zuzufolge der zerbröckelten Behandlungsweise kommt der Verfasser nirgends dazu, die Struktur dieser aus zwei Gesichtspunkten aus nicht explizit ausgesprochenen Konstruktionen zu behandeln. In der Monographie von Honti wird nicht gefragt, demzufolge auch nicht beantwortet: wie einerseits fi. *sata kaksi*, ung. *százkét*, jurTu.Kan. *jur sid'e* '102', andererseits fi. *kaksisataa*, ung. *kétszáz*, jurTu., Kan. *sid'ejur* '200' voneinander zweifellos zu unterscheiden sind. Hier kann die **Sprache** nur die **Reihenfolge** zur Unterscheidung der zwei Operationen verwendet haben. Die Reihenfolge ist hier betont ein sprachliches Mittel, da sie bei den direkten mathematischen Operationen keine Rolle spielt, das Vertauschen der Addenda oder der Faktoren nicht die Summe oder das Produkt ändert. Die Zahl vor einer Potenz der Grundzahl des Systems ist ein Multiplikator, dürfte wohl einst ein Zahlwortattribut gewesen sein, vor einem (Zehner-)Bündel bedeutenden Wort der Grundsprache; hinter der (vielfachen der) Potenz der Grundzahl steht immer ein Addend. Die Reihenfolge ist also eine der „Konstruktionsprinzipien der nicht-einfachen Grundzahlwörter“ (43), eine der „in ihnen erscheinenden Regularitäten“ (ebd.), die Honti außer acht ließ.

10. Zur Beurteilung der Zahlenkenntnis der Uralier und der Finnougrier geht Honti daraus aus, daß »nur die „im weichen Schoß der Natur“ lebenden Naturvölker sich mit 3–6 Zahlwörtern begnügen, während die Existenz der Gesellschaften der Fischer und Jäger, Viehzüchter oder Ackerbauern davon abhängt bzw. abhing, ob sie fähig sind oder waren zu planen, mit der Zukunft zu „rechnen“« (28). Fischer und Jäger waren schon die Uralier, aber m.W. müßen sie unbedingt **nomade** genannt werden. Wenn die Natur im Norden auch nie einen allzu weichen Schoß gehabt hat, gab es doch einst Zeiten als sich die nicht zahlreichen Horden dessen bedient haben, was sie vorfanden; war dies erschöpft, zogen sie weiter. Das Dasein der Uralier in Eurasien konnte wohl nicht in einer organisierten Gesellschaft, sondern in nomaden Horden beginnen. Honti will die „Antwort auf die Frage finden, ob die Sprecher der uralischen Grundsprache zählen konnten und zählten“ (17). Für das Uralische kann er nur ein einziges Zahlwort rekonstruieren: U **käktä* '2' (84). Dessen ungeachtet sei s.E. „Aufgrund der Funde aus dem Paläolithikum... nur damit zu rechnen, daß die Bevölkerung der uralischen Grundsprache vor 6–8000 Jahren sehr wohl die Kunst des Zählens kennen und auch die Zahlen benennen können mußte. Dazu zwangen sie auch ihre Lebensumstände.... Deshalb ... [meint Honti] daß sich das Wissen der Uralier zumindest bis zur Zahl 100 erstreckt haben mag“ (30, vgl. 45).

Auch betreffs der Finnougrier vermutet Honti eine höher liegende Grenze bei den Zahlenkenntnis als beweisbar ist, bei der Rekonstruktion ?FU **šasra* ... '1000' meint er, dies „ist gewiß durch den Handel zu den Finnougriern gekommen und beweist überhaupt nicht, daß sie vor diesen Kontakten nicht bis 1000 und mit den Tausendern zählen konnten“ (126).

Wenn es dem tatsächlich so gewesen wäre, ist die spätere Geschichte des finnougriischen Zahlwortvermögens ganz eigenartig. Die oft verwendeten ersten sechs Zahlwörter wurden überall, bis heute bewahrt. Veränderungen wurden von 7 an mit steigendem Wert immer später vorgenommen. Widerspiegeln die Titel der Rekonstrukta von 7 Hontis Auffassung (?), dann haben die Ugrier und die Sprecher der finnisch-permischen Grundsprache ein neues Wort zur Benennung von '7' errungen. Der Achter der Ugrier ist auch nur bei ihnen zu finden. Die FP-Grundsprache muß unbedingt begonnen haben 8 und 9 statt der Altererbtten mit den Zahlen 2 und 1 beginnend zu benennen, aber erst in ihren Tochttersprachen gelang es erst 8 und 9 nur in einem Satz so zu definieren, daß daraus ein noch existierendes Zahlwort werden konnte. Die Ugrier tauschten erst im Sonderleben ihrer Sprachen den altererbtten Neuner aus. Die neuen Benennungen für zehn und seiner Vielfachen stammen zumeist auch erst aus dem Sonderleben der finno-ugrischen Sprachen, die Obugrier schufen eine neue Benennung für 80, so gut gelungen, daß dies im Sonderleben beider Sprachen zur neuen Benennung

von 90 als Vorbild diente. Anstelle der zwei altererbten Zehner, die nur hier und da noch Spuren haben, wurden noch über zehn neue geschaffen oder als Lehnwörter eingebürgert. Das Lehnwort der FU-Grundsprache für 100 und in einigen Sprachen das bodenständige Zahlwort 20 wurden begnadigt, erlitten sogar kaum Veränderungen. Die Zahlen zwischen 10, 100 und 1000 bzw. noch höher mußten neu benannt werden. Obzwar es strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten in der Bildungsweise dieser Zahlen im älteren Finnischen, Estnischen, Schwedisch-Lappischen, Ungarischen, Wogulischen (T-Mundart) gibt, stellt Honti objektiv fest: „Historisch haben sie allerdings nichts miteinander zu tun, aus ihnen lassen sich keine Schlußfolgerungen über die Struktur der zusammengesetzten Zahlwörter ‘11’–‘19’ der Grundsprachen U/FU, FP und Ug. ziehen“ (182). Aus dieser Feststellung folgt, daß die finnougri-schen Sprachen der Reihe nach nicht nur 7, 8, 9, 10 (die obugrischen auch 80, 90) mit Hilfe von neuen Zahlwörtern benannten, sondern im Sonderleben auch 11–19 verjüngerten. „Es läßt sich kaum bezweifeln, daß die Zahlwörter durch neue ausgetauscht werden können“ (36), meint Honti und er fügt noch hinzu: „die ursprünglich einfachen (durch Stammwörter ausgedrückten) Zahlwörter können durch die der herrschenden fremden Sprache ersetzt werden“ (ebd.); d.h. ein altererbtes durch ein Lehnwort. Dem widerspricht aber gewissermaßen, daß er Regel 54 von Greenberg⁹ gutheißt, zufolge der die Zahlwortlehnwörter nur über den einheimischen Grundzahlwörtern zu finden sind. Beim iranischen Lehnwort ‘7’ der ugrischen Grundsprache weist z.B. Honti darauf hin, daß diese Zahl zwar kleiner ist als einige der altererbten (s.E. 10, 20, 100), sie konnte jedoch übernommen worden sein, weil sie magisch ist, und „die relative phonetische Nähe der ursprünglichen ‘7’“ (106) halfen dazu. Anderswo, im Samojedischen kommt ein ähnlicher Widerspruch zu Greenbergs Regel vor. Den kam., koib., abak., mot., ?karag., ?taig. Neuner hält Honti für Lehnwort, den Zehner für altererbt. Ist da die Regel 54 nicht gültig?

Die Uralier und ihre Nachfolger gehörten nach Honti nicht zu den primitiven Völkern, die „nach gewissen Zahlwörtern als folgenden Wert ‘viel’ angeben“ (Anm. 17); s. Literatur hierzu von 1847 bis 1980 reichlich. Nach seiner persönlichen Meinung ist: „Andererseits ... auch bekannt, daß diese Völker, wenn sie tatsächlich wenige selbständige Zahlwortlexeme besitzen, aus deren Kombinationen auch höherwertige Zahlen benennen können“ (ebd.). Ich denke aber anhand der etymologischen Ergebnissen, unterstützt durch ihre Chronologie, daß die Uralien nie so ein Kulturniveau erreicht haben, erst die Finnougrier und die Ursamojeden höher gelangten. Als die Finnougrier schon bis 6 zählen konnten, dürften sie wohl natürlich auch auf höhere Mengen einerseits durch Kombination der ersten sechs Zahlen gelegentlich hindeuten, andererseits konnten sie sich auch anders helfen: sie konnten Bündel, Haufen, Pakete, Rudel usw. zusammenlegen, zusammentreiben und diese zusammengesetzten Einheiten bis 6 zählen. E. Itkonen konnte an so etwas denken, als er über Gruppenzahlen schrieb (FUF XL, 334). Erst später, nicht in der FU-Grundsprache bekamen der Reihe nach die folgenden Zahlen Namen: 7 (Ug., FP), 8 (Ug. im Obugrischen auch ‘8Bündel’ > ‘80’), 8 und 9 (P, FW), 9 (im Sonderleben der drei ugrischen Sprachen), 10 (P, FW, im Sonderleben der drei ugrischen Sprachen, und auch im Wotjakischen), 11–19 (im Sonderleben aller finnougri-scher Sprachen). Also, je „höher“ der Wert, umso „jünger“ ist das Zahlwort, dies weist m.E. auf das Erlernen, auf das Weiterzählen, nicht auf Austausch hin. Die Zahlwörter ‘100’ und ‘20’ stammen m.E. aus FU Maßbestimmungen. Dafür, daß das **Zahlwort** ‘100’ im Nordwogulischen kein hohes Alter hat, spricht sein lautlicher Zusammenfall mit ‘7’.

Nach dem Gesagten schätze ich das vorliegende Werk als Geschichte der Zahlwortetymologien und als reiche Sammlung der diesbezüglichen Literatur — von „Laudaturtyö“ an bis Zeitungsartikel — besonders hoch. Die etymologische Forschung der Zahlwörter dürfte wohl mit dieser Monographie dennoch nicht abgeschlossen worden sein, im Gegenteil, die Probleme wurden nicht gelöst, sie haben sich eher vermehrt.

Edith Vértés

⁹ „If an atomic numeral expression is borrowed from one language into another, all higher atomic expressions are borrowed“ (Anm. 102).

Géza Kállay: „Nem pusztá szó”: Shakespeare Othellója nyelvfilozófiai megközelítésben [“It is not words”: Shakespeare’s *Othello* via the philosophy of language]. Liget Műhely Alapítvány, Budapest 1996. 298 pp.

When, in his book, Géza Kállay ventures to explore and to clarify the eternal enigma of language and speech, his scholarly curiosity—as both the title and the promising subtitle indicate—engages him in two ways: one brings him into philosophy, the theories of language and speech; the other is in line with his literary interest in Shakespeare, and, more specifically, in *Othello*, and his treatment of the linguistic body of the tragedy becomes a genuine measure of the applicability and value of the theoretical framework in actual text-analysis.

As a point of departure, or, rather as an overall guiding principle of his approach, Kállay selects the *logos* as the primordial experience of reflecting on language (*In the beginning, there was the logos*). The *logos* may undoubtedly be found—he argues—at the root of both the Judeo-Christian and the Greek philosophical traditions, which, in turn, serve as the main source and supply of even our present-day consciousness and understanding.

Before going into the interpretation of the text of *Othello*, the author makes an ambitious attempt at surveying theories of language and speech in order to find the most congenial one, which can (also) become the ground on which the method of analysis can be erected.

The “initial sentence”, *In the beginning, there was the logos*, seems to prove a solid and stable starting point: in its structural simplicity yet weighty, terse and rich content it may even establish itself as a reliable principle of orientation. However, the author is well aware of the difficulties when it comes to clearing ground in the history of the philosophy of language, when the task is to find a beaten track in the intriguing but also often frightening abundance of the numerous and diverse speculations, views and theories concerning language.

In the end, in quest of a systematic arrangement of various approaches to the phenomenon of language, he claims to have been able to differentiate between three fundamental views: the *epistemological*, the *ethical* and the *ontological* approach. In the first part of his book (5–84) these are critically introduced, with the reminder that this tripartite and ultimately philosophical division is far from being final or absolute: the function of these categories is merely to orient him and the reader (12).

One thing is certain: the three economically and expediently designed chapters on theories of language not only provide a convenient and indispensable background for the author’s upcoming textual analysis but also make the reader face the most significant trends and features of these theories. The contact thus established between reader and author will be enough just to refer, in the course of the later linguistic analysis, to some of the main theoretical points and thus it will be easy to understand which of them is applied to various texts and why.

I also take it to be a merit of the book that, considering the three basic attitudes to the phenomenon of language one by one, each chapter starts with the succinct definition of the *essence* of the respective approaches: “Language is conceived as an epistemological category when it is primarily treated as something through which one may either acquire or communicate knowledge”—we read, for example, in the first sentence of the chapter discussing the epistemological conception of language (12). At the opening of the next section it is then asserted that the ethical approach considers language to be first and foremost a vehicle of ethically assessable *deeds* and *actions*: “When we thus ascertain that a sentence is misleading or deceitful, the immediate object of our judgement is no longer the epistemological content of the sentence but an *act* carried out by someone: the *communication* of a piece of knowledge” (24). And finally, in the ontological conception of language, the Heideggerian *logos* (‘speech’) and *legein* (‘to speak’) is taken to be “something *with* which, *from* which and *through* which [...] the content, the basic ontological pattern of *Dasein* (the being most capable of manifesting the sense of Being) [...] may come, or can be brought, to the open. That is: [...] the *being* which is available for our understanding *is language*” (50).

For both author and reader, an easier orientation among the various and briefly described theoretical trends is made possible by Kállay’s detailed subsequent introduction of their most significant

representatives. The epistemological approach is, for example, presented through the views available in Plato's *Cratylus* (12–6), through the work of the late seventeenth century conventionalist, John Locke, arguing for the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign (17–9), and through the logical-philosophical theses of W. O. Quine from the twentieth century. A sound understanding of what the ethical approach is about and what it will amount to in the analysis of *Othello* is secured, for the perhaps less well-versed or up-to-date reader in the philosophy of language, by the author's account of the views of Wittgenstein (33–8), Austin (38–43) and Grice (43–8), using the problematic of rhetoric in classical antiquity (Plato, Aristotle) as a point of departure (26–31). The third chapter, treating the ontological conception of language, starts with a reference to classical antiquity too, at least as far as a quotation from the didactic poem of the pre-Socratic philosopher, Parmenides goes, who as readily connects truth with Being as the epistemological approach was insistent on the fundamental importance of the relationship between truth and falsity with respect to knowledge. However, after these introductory lines, we have already reached the early twentieth century and Heidegger, and we may read an expert and sympathetic, yet somewhat still critical, or, I would like to say, detached, elegant and objective account of Heidegger's programme of reminding the human being of the question of Being, and of engaging him in the re-thinking of the relationship between Being and the *logos* (49–73).

After orienting the reader and himself in these three theories of language, Kállay precisely describes what he means by a philosophical approach to *Othello* and how he will proceed in his analysis (73–84). More than one of the eminent philosophers of the second half of the twentieth century surprised their readers with interpretations of literary texts (Ricoeur, Cavell), discovering the immense potential of literature in philosophical analysis. In these experiments, Kállay thinks to have found a new way of philosophical thinking, a new device for analysis and investigation, "which sets the concepts (to be) worked out by philosophy on a thematically corresponding, image-based, metaphorical plane; there these concepts are dissected, analysed, explained and understood, in order to be made general, abstract categories of genera and species again" (82). It is in the spirit of this method that Kállay wishes to "stage" the philosophical concepts of the epistemological, the ethical and the ontological approaches to language in the course of his investigation of *Othello*, it is thus that he wishes to "better understand, interpret and analyse" these three, undoubtedly fundamental attitudes to language "via the images of human actions, contexts and relations, via the metaphors of the Shakespearean stage" (83). In his method, striving at a two-way traffic between philosophy and literature, he considers the three approaches to language to be the theoretical framework of his analysis. He, on the other hand, also believes that the action and speech on the stage, turning into metaphors in the various verbal and factual contexts and situations, will throw further light on the concepts of the philosophical system. "As an initial hypothesis"—he writes—"the three conceptions of language (the conceptual level) will correspond to the following stage metaphors: the epistemological approach to *Iago*, the ontological to *Othello*, while the ethical point of view goes to the audience, the viewer, who, better informed than any of the characters of the play, is able to witness to the power of the persuasive, convincing and deceitful characteristics of *Othello's* and *Iago's* language" (p. 84).

The real "great adventure", for both author and reader, is, of course, in the second, longer part of the book (83–237), where the analysis of *Othello*, based on the above principles, can be found. The method of the *explication de texte* (close-reading), which was a source of real delight even fifty years ago at our university seminars in French literature, reveals, now coupled with the results of the research of the past five decades, some of the hidden meanings of Shakespeare's tragedy. Kállay is right when he writes: "Today we may rely on the results of semiotics, logic, classical and Biblical philology, descriptive, historical and comparative linguistics, analytic philosophy, hermeneutics, psychology, psychoanalysis and sociology and of the other disciplines dealing, directly or indirectly, with language" (9). This may be easily granted, even when one is well aware of the amount of the toil

and patience it requires to be so well oriented in the jungle of the various theories and conceptions of language as, judging by his book, the author can beyond doubt be said to be.

Unfortunately a review like this one does not permit even a brief account of Kállay's literary analysis. However, this might not totally be to our disadvantage. A reference in passing could never do justice to his brilliant characterisation of Iago—this including, by the way, that of Roderigo and Cassio as well (96–123), or to the expert portrait of Othello (124–58), which, at the same time, is wonderfully revealing about the *true* nature of the relationship between man and woman (esp. 150 and *passim*). This, ultimately, need not puzzle us. Since, according to the author, in the sequence of Shakespeare's "four great tragedies" (*Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*) "*Othello*—with the archetypal metaphor of marriage, of becoming *one flesh* in its middle—problematizes the possibilities of human existence by way of enquiring into an ontology, or at least into the possibilities of an ontology where two selves, two autonomous beings wish to exist solely and exclusively through each other" (95). And such a review, for its various confines, must sadly and necessarily remain in debt as regards a truthful account of the further exciting chapters as well.

The greatest power of this book ultimately lies in the perfect unity the author achieves between the theoretical background and practical literary criticism, the philosophical theses becoming reliable and genuine tools and pillars of the textual interpretation. The legion of end-notes (238–83) and the wide-ranging bibliography (284–98) are organically, indispensably and inalienably woven into the living texture of the book. *This book must be read*, and each scholar, working in his or her specific field, should *acknowledge and use* it—a book which has not only been *written* but also *lived through*. Géza Kállay equally makes use of the best traditions of his discipline and the most recent results of our day to communicate the highly original findings of his research, which—as far as I, from my somewhat more distant field, am able to judge—will surely prove to be significant indeed.

Éva B. Lőrinczy

András Kertész: Heuristik der deutschen Phonologie. Eine elementare Einführung in Strategien der Problemlösung. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1993. 291 pp.

Has phonology found the right path—or rather just a better one—since *SPE* (Chomsky and Halle's *The Sound Pattern of English*, published in 1968, the book that created generative phonology)? The question arises in a theoretical sense with respect to a new book that, understandably and quite appropriately, locates its centre of interest in the boundary zone between phonology and epistemology. (A special motivation for the above question is provided by the fact that the author relies, at certain points, on theoretical insights and practical procedures of some *post-SPE* frameworks.)

In the wake of a theory that was able to establish a direct link between the phonological component and higher-order structural levels on the one hand and to account for phonological processes in terms of a formal rule system on the other, it seems unfair to expect similarly monumental accomplishments. In some respects, the past twenty-five years have been spent quite fruitfully. The technical subtlety of phonological statements has increased, their predictive force has grown. Interdependencies between structural levels, especially those between phonology and morphology, have become more accurately represented (primarily due to Lexical Phonology). Similarly, the study of longer stretches of speech in correlation with rule-governed use of suprasegmental devices has extended the realm of phonology to larger units of communication in a well-constrained manner. Losses and deficiencies, however, have been equally heavy. (i) Prompted ultimately by Chomskyan ideas, the present-day phonologist tends to rely mainly on linguistic intuitions, especially those of his own. Breaking contact in a sense with phonetic observables, he concerns himself with what might be called imaginary data. (This attitude is frowned upon by the scientist, and with good reason.) (ii) Present-day phonologies strive to make highly predictive, strict statements, normally in the form of rules (and ordering restrictions). Compared to these, any attempt to define an inventory of abstract

components is often looked upon as a “golden oldies tour” into the bygone world of taxonomic phonemics. (iii) Today’s phonologist does not ask why things are the way they are (with the exception of Natural Phonology, as far as it goes). Causal interpretations are outside his purview, even though traditionally ‘why’ is the most important leitmotif in science. As a result, (iv) historical facts have a decorative role, if any.

The current ambition of phonology can be identified on the analogy of an important line of research within the natural sciences. It is to be able to tell what optimally happens under certain conditions in the phonological component of a language. This area, diverging as it is from science proper, is known as ‘technology’. Such treatment of the phonology of a language may nevertheless have its own merits. It may be especially useful if the immediate aim is to acquaint an uninitiated readership with the basic skills of the trade. András Kertész sets himself exactly that task, with respect to German. His didactic purpose can be read off the Schopenhauer quote of the introduction: it is to explore and construct an edifice of knowledge with active participation on the part of the reader, the result of which is ‘zusammenhängend’, ‘deutlich’, and ‘gründlich’.

1. The first of the four parts (“Hintergrundkenntnisse”, 9–43) introduces the subject-matter of the book starting from scratch, as is appropriate for the particular set of readers the book is devised for. ‘Background knowledge’ here actually stands for ‘the basics’, involving what is common in all divergent approaches at hand. First of all, ‘langue’ and ‘parole’, respectively ‘language system’ and ‘speech’ are told apart, on a Saussurean basis of course, but with the added proviso that language use is itself systematic. The presentation of structural levels of language is traditional and traditionally reliable (see esp. 21–3); but a few remarks are in order here. (i) This presentation makes the impression that structural levels are like separate blocks with rigid walls in between. Dressler’s book (Morphonology. The dynamics of derivation. Ann Arbor 1985)—that the author cites—is a good example of showing, in a fully documented manner, how this is exactly not the case with phonology and morphology: those two levels blend into one another with a smooth transition in all respects. The same conviction emanates from the whole conception of Lexical Phonology, also referred to by Kertész (see especially K.P. Mohanan’s *The theory of Lexical Phonology*. Dordrecht 1986). On the other hand, (ii) hierarchical relationships are not as purely unidirectional as they are pretended here to be; lower levels affect higher ones, too. In this section, the author further circumscribes ‘present-day’ and ‘German’. (A small note here: ‘synchrony’ is not a matter of time; rather, it is a chosen dimension in which signs are contemplated.)

In accordance with his program, the author devotes separate subsections to logical procedures and maxims (from component operations of abstraction to the demands that a rule formulation is to meet) that the student—as well as the adult scholar—should follow in order to obtain correct and relevant pieces of information or conclusions. This section might seem superfluous in principle; however, Kertész illustrates each theorem with linguistic examples and instances of linguistic analysis. (The enjoyable logic lesson is circumspect and detailed; one principle whose inclusion the reader misses is that of consistency, even if it is involved in a logical derivation anyway.)

In general, the author reaches well back into the past for foundations: he demonstrates on the basis of Trubetzkoy’s theory and its extensions that ‘technology’, in the above sense, has its proper role in gathering and forwarding scientific knowledge.

2. The opening chapter of the topical part of the book presents some basic information about phonetics (“Grundlagen der Phonetik”, 44–58). The fact that at least some post-SPE frameworks tend to be vague (to put it mildly) about phonetic properties (concerning both their sequential positions and the scope of corresponding phonological features) highlights the special importance of an overview of phonetics. This remains true even if the overview is somewhat too traditional, focusing on a description of speech organs and a classification of sound types. Two debatable points will suffice here. (i) It is wrong to say that phonetics “deals with directly observable properties” (since the facts of perception are far from being that). (ii) Nor is it the case that we are able to consider these phenomena

"irrespective of their systematic status" (44). In fact, the appearance of phonetic qualities in speech depends on the phonologically relevant system of the given language. As far as classification is concerned, Kertész's approach is characteristically Bloomfieldian (anticipating a fundamental tenet of his phonological conception, too) in that he factors 'glides' (*Gleitlaute*) out of what are traditionally taken to be diphthongs and that he takes syllabic consonants to be a separate class. Thus neither glides nor syllabic consonants are seen as belonging to the appropriate major classes (vowels and consonants, respectively; cf. 54–5). This is an interesting point of disagreement; yet given that [±syllabic] is introduced in the next chapter as a distinctive feature (or dimension), from a purely methodological point of view it cannot be rejected. Of course, the phonetic situation is a different matter. (Notice also that syllabic consonants are always phonologically derived in German.) Another difficulty arises from the fact that, given the above interpretation of glides, diphthongs are necessarily analysed as sequences of segments. This accords with what chapter 6 claims (106–8), referring this time to the principle of economy. What economy means in this respect is to posit a smaller inventory of underlying segments—even if at the price of having to state a larger number of rules.

3. The phonological introduction ("Grundlagen der Phonologie", 59–78) tacitly capitalizes on some classical Praguian notions. (The author claims otherwise: he points out that the framework he assumes is entirely based on that of SPE, see 199. However, the external observer is perhaps right in recognizing the oedipal shadow of a dominant father figure looming in the background.) Be that as it may, Kertész cannot start describing the segmental phonological system of German without having delineated the domain of linguistic signs he wishes to cover. Obviously, the crux of the matter is telling which part of the lexical stock is to be excluded or, rather, submitted to special treatment. The author rejects the now dated categories of original, borrowed, and foreign words; instead, he defines 'native' and 'non-native' on the basis of whether or not a given lexical item conforms to the rules of (German) grammar (61). The analysis is naturally based on the former set of words. The theoretical framework, then, is made up by Praguian analytical devices, including contrasts, minimal pairs, distinctive value, allophones and alternants, as well as pattern congruity. The author's point of departure is undoubtedly practical; but he does not tell the reader that the notion of *phoneme* as it was known in 1939 has since gone through a period of neglect—in which SPE certainly had a hand—and that since its reemergence it is not used in quite the original sense. However, fair recompensation is in store at the end of the book, in the form of a digest of current phonological frameworks.

4. The chapter on the phoneme inventory of present-day German ("Das Phonemsystem des Deutschen", 79–173) evinces the author's erudition as well as his theoretical/methodological rigour. The feature system he proposes shows some influence of the *post-SPE* climate while it also preserves Praguian values in that he expressly utilizes phonotactic criteria in the phonological evaluation of certain components. Some doubts nevertheless remain. (i) Are all features binary? In the case of tongue body features, more than two significant positions are phonologically required. The set of features is therefore assumed to include an extra item (i.e. two binary features rather than a single multi-valued scale). The four-way combinability of binary values then provides for a maximum of four possibilities. This is a reasonable move—yet it is like representing the third dimension by a combination of two parallel planes. (ii) German diphthongs are analysed into two-member phoneme sequences. This interpretation tallies with the phonotactic generalization that word-final vowels are invariably preceded by a consonant. It follows that the second element of the diphthong in *Ei* 'egg' must be a consonant (given that neither the whole diphthong nor its offglide is preceded by a consonant, the generalization can only be upheld if the word is not vowel-final). Although this is borne out by historical facts, the phonotactic statement itself is not quite true in this form (cf. *eh und jeh*), unless one wishes to assume abstract (archiphonemic) units. Elsewhere—in particular, in the phonological analysis of 'non-native' vocabulary—the author is not reluctant to do exactly that (see *Balkon* → /balkon/, 89).

5. The treatment of (segmental) phonological rules is also fundamental ("Das phonologische Regelsystem", 174–86). This chapter is methodologically brilliant primarily because it demonstrates that rules are just as hierarchically interrelated as (sub)segmental components are. Kertész's classification includes structure building rules (*Strukturregeln*) and redundancy rules (*Redundanzregeln*) that are jointly opposed to structure changing rules (*Alternationsregeln*). Within the latter group, the author includes the category of 'introducing rules' (*Einführungsregeln*; roughly: rules not subject to the principle of structure preservation), even though in German such rules have a small and special range of application (cf. 259). (Given that all other rule types are amply documented, the reader was hoping to find an example, even if a dialectal one, for the last-mentioned type, too. However, in the appropriate place he has to do with a remote reference. Thus the student who happens not to have read, say, Hooper's *Natural Generative Phonology* is deprived of an exciting phonological adventure. On the other hand, it is didactically most commendable that, in discussing extrinsic rule ordering categories, the author refrains from covering—along with 'feeding' and 'bleeding' orders which he does mention, albeit under different names—the corresponding 'counter' orders which might constrain the application of counterfed (and extend the application of counterbled) rules.)

6. The best critic of a book is always the exigent author. Having concluded the main body of discussion, Kertész hastens to add a list of desiderata, i.e. to point out respects in which the foregoing eleven chapters were inconclusive or not quite satisfactory. These involve (i) alternative phonological approaches that might provide different solutions and (ii) open issues that could be settled by extending the frame of reference. In short, self-revision is called for. This task is fulfilled in the form of a discussion of a specific problem area, that of *umlaut*, in terms of various other theoretical frameworks ("Ausblick am Beispiel des Umlauts", 195–235). Three frameworks are chosen: Natural, Autosegmental, and Lexical Phonology. The subject-matter of discussion is the set of *a/ä* umlaut alternations of the type *Kalb/Kälbe*, *lag/läge*.

All three frameworks are presented as we might expect them to be. (i) Natural Phonology (and Natural Grammar in general) is appropriate for discussing historical aspects of semantic markedness as it relates to *umlaut*; (ii) Autosegmental Phonology traces *umlaut* back to (harmonic) spreading as an explanatory principle (with the usual difficulties that spring from the theoretical insufficiency of this approach, cf. *wahr* – (ich) *wahre* – (es) *währt* – *Währung*, in the case of which a necessary *i* component cannot be ascribed to the representation shared by these lexical items in a consistent way); and (iii) in terms of Lexical Phonology, the issue is related to lexical levels and to the Elsewhere Condition. (The reader here misses an explanation of alternative plurals like *Wort* – *Wörter/Worte* that would have been made possible by the theoretical machinery of Lexical Phonology—in particular, one invoking the device of 'inverted loop' that is assumed to be able to skip levels and go directly into the syntactic component rather than go back to an earlier lexical level.)

7. The book refers to itself as a "Lehrbuch" in several instances. It is indeed primarily a textbook, and follows the requirements of that genre in the way it presents its material. Numerous 'problems' (exercises) are provided (with the cooperation of Katalin Szilágyi); model solutions to those problems are also given in an appendix ("Anhang", 237–67). Both the exercises and the solutions are presented in an easy-to-follow format. (Although the latter includes some instances that could have been further simplified, e.g.

$g \rightarrow j / _ \text{ — Silbengrenze oder Konsonant}$

could have been replaced by $g \rightarrow j / _ \text{ — } \{\$, C\}$ cf. 257.) Also, the author's schoolmasterly attitude sometimes takes him too far: on p. 177, the student is asked to analyse various branches of sport using binary features and to provide redundancy rules to account for their interdependencies.

By way of a summary, we can go back to the Schopenhauer quote in the introduction: the book discusses its subject-matter in a *coherent* manner, its presentation is *clear* and altogether *well-grounded*.

Tamás Szende

Georges Molinié–Pierre Cahné (eds): Qu'est-ce que le style? Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1994. 354 pp.

This volume contains the proceedings of a colloquium held 9–11 October 1991 at Sorbonne, Paris, organised by P. Cahné and G. Molinié. Eighteen of the papers read there (or rather, their extended versions, complete with footnotes and full references) are included. At the end of the contents page, the editors announce with regret that Nicolas Ruwet's paper ("Le style, une notion préthéorique") was unavailable for inclusion in this volume. This is indeed regrettable.

The volume is introduced by a "Préface" by Pierre Larthomas and a section entitled "Préliminaire" by Robert Martin. Thus, it includes a total of twenty well-written essays. The actual conference papers are presented in an alphabetical order of authors' names. This means that the volume has no internal structure, as is appropriate to the great variety (not to say 'heterogeneity') of the papers both in terms of contents and attitude. However, it is to be noted that the volume has no subject index or index of names, either. This makes it rather difficult, at least initially, for the reader to get orientated.

The conference in October 1991 was entitled "What is style?". Nevertheless, the papers presented there covered a much wider area of topics. Apart from the issue of what style is, they involved the following, equally thorny, questions: What is stylistics? What should stylistics look like? What is its research objective and what is its range of competence? How does it relate to rhetorics, poetics, semiotics (or, using the French term, *sémiologie*), etc.? Most papers are of a theoretical or methodological perspective but some are actual stylistic studies: Jean-Michel Adam analyses the first sentence of Rimbaud's prose poem "Une saison dans l'Enfer" as a stylistic object; Michel Arrivé (the same Arrivé who, in 1969, gave a funeral to stylistics) writes about the style of Lacan the psychoanalytical philosopher. The more theoretically-oriented papers also include a number of fine and thorough stylistic analyses like that by Riffaterre on Balzac and Proust or that by Harald Weinrich on the Chanson de Roland, Corneille and Giraudoux.

The conference participants were almost all Frenchmen, except for two Germans (Wolf-Dieter Stempel, Harald Weinrich), the veteran Michael Riffaterre who could best be described as American, as well as Hungarian-born Áron Kibédi Varga (University of Amsterdam).

The volume includes a number of 'famous names' (in addition tho those mentioned so far, we could pick, more or less at random, Michel Le Guern, Georges Molinié, Jean Molino, François Rastier). But the largest amount of new ideas, according to this reviewer, were offered in the papers by Riffaterre and Weinrich. These will be described in some more detail now.

Riffaterre's paper "L'inscription du sujet" presents the reader with a brainteaser in its title. Here, *inscription* does not mean 'epigraph' or 'dedication' but signifies a peculiar new concept: the process by which the speaker, the subject of written communication 'inscribes' himself into the text. In other words, this is a 'textualization' of the narrator. In particular, Riffaterre introduces two subtypes, 'intertextual' and 'anamorphic' inscription.

The former is exemplified by an extract from Balzac's "Paysans". Both in the narration and in the perception of the love episode, a crucial factor is what is known as 'intertext', i.e. the 'text between texts': a set of myths, commonplaces, literary motifs and clichés as the writer's and the reader's shared background knowledge. (See two earlier studies by the same author: "Fonction du cliché dans la prose littéraire" and "L'étude stylistique des formes littéraires conventionnelles". In: Riffaterre, M. 1971. *Essais de stylistique structurale*, 161–81 and 182–202. Flammarion, Paris.)

The other subtype of inscription is termed 'anamorphic'. I would refrain from interpreting this technical term (?), even more than in the case of 'inscription'. An example will perhaps make clear what is meant here. In the volume entitled "Sodome et Gomorrhe" of "A la recherche du temps perdu", Proust includes what looks like a pun but what is in fact a profound connection between the mythological name *Andromède* and the word *androgyne*, thus referring to the double sexual identity of the homosexual baron de Charlus.

The summary of Riffaterre's paper comes in the form of two paradoxes concerning inscription and subjectivity:

(a) The paradoxicality of inscription is based on the fact that it does not take place in the text but elsewhere: either in the unsaid, on the hidden side of syllepsis, or else in the intertext.

(b) The uniqueness (*unicité*) of the speaker of a text can only be perceived with respect to commonplaces or predictable statements. The subject is precisely delineated by the marks he leaves on known portions of text (clichés, mythical stories, etc.). Briefly: the creator of a text, the speaking subject 'inscribes' himself into the work of fiction via Another (312).

Harald Weinrich's paper deals with the connection between style and memory (or rather: *memoria*, the act of committing something to one's memory, the fourth stage of the speaker's activity in ancient rhetorics). Of the classic sequence *inventio—dispositio—elocutio—memoria—actio*, the stage most closely related to today's stylistics is *elocutio* (converting to linguistic form, ornamentation). This much has been known. What Weinrich points out is that *elocutio* actually served *memoria*, had a mnemonic significance. The speaker concretized abstract concepts, adorned them by concrete, visual images, in order to make them easier to remember, for himself as well as for his audience.

In Europe, Weinrich states, the importance of memory has been on the decline ever since the age of enlightenment (think of the almost total disappearance of 'memoriter', learning something by heart as a school task). Today, with the loss of monopoly of the written medium of communication, this bias may lose force and memory may regain some of his former significance.

Weinrich tries to prove the identity of the stylistic and mnemonic functions through an analysis of three literary texts taken from three different periods: he explores the relation between language and memory in the medieval *Chanson de Roland*, in a classical drama by Corneille and in a modern play by Giraudoux.

A missing 'famous name' is that of Daniel Delas, the guest editor of a recent issue of *Langages* entirely devoted to stylistics, including a comprehensive review article by Delas on the present situation of French stylistics (*La stylistique française*. In: *Langages* 118 (1995): 85–96).

Some authors of the volume—as the author of the preface points out—discuss problems of stylistics in a historical perspective: thus, we can read on Latin stylistics (Jacqueline Dangel: "Imitation créatrice et style chez les Latins"), on the notion of 'grand style': one of the three Theophrastian style types, also known as 'uppermost' or 'sublime' or 'heavy style', *stilus gravis* in Latin (Marc Fumaroli: "Le grand style"), and on the rhetorics of the 'classical' period, i.e. 17th–18th century France (Michel Le Guern: "Sur la place de la question des styles dans les traités de rhétorique de l'âge classique").

Other authors are more interested in problems of general stylistics: there are valuable papers on the ways of expressing irony (Philippe Hamon: "Stylistique de l'ironie"), on the notion of style within text semantics (François Rastier: "Le problème du style pour la sémantique du texte"), and on a prospective semiotic theory of style. The last-mentioned topic is discussed in two papers which, due to a coincidental similarity in their authors' names, are adjacent in the volume (Georges Molinié: "Le style en sémiostylistique"; Jean Molino: "Pour une théorie sémiologique du style"). All this diversity of topics and approaches does not make the volume incoherent, though. Whatever the topic of individual papers, they invariably tackle the same major issues like the relationship between thought and language, the validity of a distinction between content (*fond*) and form, the use/usefulness of certain key notions.

Most papers take up a historical perspective. Of ancient authors, Plato and (especially) Aristotle are most often referred to. Of modern classics, Jakobson is not (or rarely) mentioned. (The author of

the preface remarks that this may be due to one of two reasons. Either it is the case that Jakobson's famous factors and functions have become controversial since or, quite on the contrary, they have evolved into common knowledge, a shared intellectual property of all those working in this domain.) It is notable that Bally is more often cited than Spitzer, even though the former excluded the study of individual and artistic expression from the realm of stylistics. (But in view of the fact that most participants were French, the predominance of Bally over Spitzer is much less surprising.)

Our overall opinion on this volume can be summarized as follows. Despite all unevenness in its contents and quality, this book will serve as a handbook for many years to come; it is indeed a valuable research tool for all stylists and other scholars interested in stylistics.

Gábor Kemény

MAGYAR
 FÜGYMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
 KÖNYVTÁRA

PRINTED IN HUNGARY

Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

(continued from back cover)

BOOK REVIEWS

Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok 18. Nyelvészet és pszichológia (<i>J. Harlig</i>).....	371
Sz. Bakró-Nagy, M.: Proto-Phonotactics. Phonotactic investigations of the PU and PFU consonant system (<i>E. Vértes</i>).....	373
Elekfi, L.: Magyar ragozási szótár. Dictionary of Hungarian inflections (<i>É.B. Lőrinczy</i>).....	379
Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen. Band II. (<i>L. Keresztes</i>) ..	383
Hauel, P.: Die ostjakischen Personennamen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Personennamen des 17. Jahrhunderts (<i>E. Vértes</i>).....	388
Honti, L.: Die Grundzahlwörter der uralischen Sprachen (<i>E. Vértes</i>)....	391
Kállay, L.: „Nem pusztá szó”: Shakespeare Othellója nyelvfilozófiai megközelítésben (<i>É.B. Lőrinczy</i>).....	402
Kertész, A.: Heuristik der deutschen Phonologie. Eine elementare Einführung in Strategien der Problemlösung (<i>T. Szende</i>).....	404
Molinié, G.-Cahné, P. (eds): Qu'est-ce que le style? (<i>G. Kemény</i>)	408



INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Please provide typewritten double-spaced manuscripts with wide margins (50 characters per line, 25 lines per page). Type on one side of the paper only and number all the pages consecutively. The following information should be provided on the first page: the title of the article (or, in case of reviews, the title of the book under discussion, the name of the publisher, the place and date of publication as well as the number of pages), the author's full name and address and an abbreviated title of the paper (not exceeding 45 characters including spaces). Only original papers will be published and a copy of the Publishing Agreement will be sent to the authors of papers accepted for publication. Manuscripts will be processed only after receiving the signed copy of the agreement. Authors are requested to send two hard copies of their manuscript + a floppy disk under DOS.

The manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of about 100 words. It should be typed on a separate sheet of paper. Tables, diagrams and illustrations (with the author's name and an Arabic number) should be presented on separate sheets. Captions should be typed on a separate sheet and placed at the end of the manuscript. Footnotes should be typed double-spaced on a separate sheet at the end of the article. All language examples (and only these) are to be italicized (single underlining). Citations in the text should be enclosed in double quotation marks (" ") in case of a paper written in English, „ " in German and « » in French).

Reference to a publication should be made by the name of the author, the year of publication and, when necessary, by page numbers in the following ways:

- ... as described by Schmidt (1967) . . .
- ... as referred to by Hoover (1967, 56-78; 1976, 43).
- ... mentioned by several authors (Elgar 1978, 77; Williams 1981, 154-6) . . .

An alphabetically arranged list of references should be presented at the end of the article as follows:

- Bárczi, G. 1958a. Magyar hangtörténet [The history of Hungarian sounds]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Bárczi, G. 1958b. A szótövek [Word stems]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Lakoff, G.-Peters, P.S. 1969. Phrasal conjunction and symmetric predicates. In: Reibel, D.-Schane, S. (eds): Modern studies in English, 113-41. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs.
- Leben, W.R. 1980. A metrical analysis of length. In: Linguistic Inquiry 11: 497-509.
- Ross, J.R. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. Ph.D. dissertation. MIT, Cambridge MA.

For marking subsections decimal notation should be applied. Do not use more than four digits if possible.

Examples within the text should be marked in italics. Meanings are to be rendered between inverted commas (' '). If glosses are given morpheme by morpheme, the initial letter of the gloss should be placed exactly below that of the example. Grammatical morphemes can be abbreviated in small case letters connected to the stem or the other morphemes by a hyphen. No period should be applied in such abbreviation. For example:

- (1) (a) A sólymaid elszálltak
 the falcon-gen-pl-2sg away-flew-3pl
 'Your falcons have flown away.'

Examples can be referred to in the text as (1a), (1a-d), etc.

One proof will be sent to the author. Please read it carefully and return it by air mail to the editor within one week.

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

VOLUME 45, NUMBERS 3–4, 1998

CONTENTS

<i>Alberti, G.</i> : Argument hierarchy and reflexivization	215
<i>Israeli, A.</i> : The speaker as observer: Russian color verbs in <i>-sja</i> and deixis	253
<i>Kertész, A.</i> : Linguistics self-applied: A case study	271
<i>Keszler, B.</i> : Probleme der Wortartklassifizierung in der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache	291
<i>Mátai, D.M.</i> : Die funktionalen Gruppen und die Typen der Bedeutungsveränderung von Adverbien im Altungarischen	311
<i>Reinhardt, M.</i> : Zu englischen und ungarischen Äquivalenzen der deutschen Abtönungspartikel <i>ja</i>	335
<i>Wolff, R.</i> : Einige Überlegungen zur Wahl der Informanten und zur Dateninterpretation in der Wortgeographie	343
<i>Zelliger, E.</i> : Der Weg von den engen Wortbindungen zu den Wort- zusammensetzungen	361

(continued inside)

ACTA LINGUISTICA HUNGARICA

VOLUME 45, 1998

CONTENTS

<i>Alberti, G.</i> : Argument hierarchy and reflexivization	215
<i>É. Kiss, K.</i> : Guest editor's note	1
<i>É. Kiss, K.</i> : Multiple topic, one focus?	3
<i>Horváth, J.</i> : Multiple WH-phrases and the WH-scope-marker strategy in Hungarian interrogatives	31
<i>Israeli, A.</i> : The speaker as observer: Russian color verbs in <i>-sja</i> and deixis	253
<i>Kenesei, I.</i> : Adjuncts and arguments in VP-focus in Hungarian	61
<i>Kertész, A.</i> : Linguistics self-applied: A case study	271
<i>Keszler, B.</i> : Probleme der Wortartklassifizierung in der ungarischen Gegenwartssprache	291
<i>Mátai, D.M.</i> : Die funktionalen Gruppen und die Typen der Bedeutungsveränderung von Adverbien im Altungarischen	311
<i>Molnár, V.</i> : Topic in focus. On the syntax, phonology and prag- matics of the so-called "contrastive topic" in Hungarian and German	89
<i>Puskás, G.</i> : On the NEG-criterion in Hungarian	167
<i>Reinhardt, M.</i> : Zu englischen und ungarischen Äquivalenzen der deutschen Abtönungspartikel <i>ja</i>	335
<i>Wolff, R.</i> : Einige Überlegungen zur Wahl der Informanten und zur Dateninterpretation in der Wortgeographie	343
<i>Zelliger, E.</i> : Der Weg von den engen Wortbindungen zu den Wort- zusammensetzungen	361

BOOK REVIEWS

Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok 18. Nyelvészet és pszichológia (<i>J. Harlig</i>).....	371
Sz. Bakró-Nagy, M.: Proto-Phonotactics. Phonotactic investigations of the PU and PFU consonant system (<i>E. Vértes</i>).....	373
Elekfi, L.: Magyar ragozási szótár. Dictionary of Hungarian inflections (<i>É.B. Lőrinczy</i>).....	379
Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen. Band II. (<i>L. Keresztes</i>) ..	383
Hauel, P.: Die ostjakischen Personennamen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Personennamen des 17. Jahrhunderts (<i>E. Vértes</i>).....	388
Honti, L.: Die Grundzahlwörter der uralischen Sprachen (<i>E. Vértes</i>)....	391
Kállay, L.: „Nem pusztá szó”: Shakespeare Othellója nyelvfilozófiai megközelítésben (<i>É.B. Lőrinczy</i>).....	402
Kertész, A.: Heuristik der deutschen Phonologie. Eine elementare Einführung in Strategien der Problemlösung (<i>T. Szende</i>).....	404
Molinié, G.–Cahné, P. (eds): Qu'est-ce que le style? (<i>G. Kemény</i>)	408